THE BOOK OF GOVERNORS

BY

THOMAS, BISHOP OF MARGÂ

THE BOOK OF GOVERNORS:

THE HISTORIA MONASTICA OF THOMAS BISHOP OF MARGÂ A. D. 840

EDITED FROM SYRIAC MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM AND OTHER LIBRARIES

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CONTENTS

THE BOOK OF GOVERNORS

OR,

THE EXCELLENT HISTORIES AND STORIES CONCERNING THE HOLY MEN AND MONKS WHO LIVED, GENERATION AFTER GENERATION, IN THE HOLY MONASTERY OF BÊTH ʿÂBHÊ, WHICH WERE COMPOSED BY THE PIOUS MÂR THOMAS, BISHOP OF MARGÂ.

[P. 3.] By the might of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the excellent histories and stories concerning the holy men and monks who lived, generation after generation, in the holy monastery of Bêth 'Abhê,[1] which were composed by the pious Mâr Thomas,[2] Bishop of Margâ.

First, we write the headings and contents of the Books in which all the histories are set forth.

[1] The geographical positions of the countries, towns, etc., will be described in the notes to the chapters in which they occur.

[2] Thomas of Margâ was the son of one Jacob of Bêth Shîrwânâyê, or Bêth Shârônâyê, in the district of Salakh; cf. ܝܥܩܘܒ ܐܒܝ ܕܝܠܝ ܦܠܚܢܐ: ܕܡܢܟܝ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܫܪܘܢܝܐ. ܕܐܬܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܢܘܗܕܪܐ. (Bk. ii. cap. 32, text, p. 109) and in 217 A. H. = 832 A. D., the year in which Sabhr-Îshô' II. became Patriarch, he entered the Monastery of Bêth 'Abhê, being at the time a young man. (ܟܕ ܐܢܐ ܛܠܝܐ ܐܬܝܬ ܠܥܘܡܪܐ ܗܢܐ ܡܒܪܟܐ: ܒܫܢܬ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܫܒܥܣܪ̈ܐ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܛܝ̈ܝܐ. Bk. ii. cap. 40, text, p. 125). In A. H. 222 = 837 A. D. he acted as secretary to the Patriarch Abraham, who sat from 837 to 850, by whom he was promoted to be Bishop of Margâ, and afterwards Metropolitan of Bêth Garmai. His brother Theodosius was ordained Bishop of al-Anbâr, Thomas being present at the ceremony, and subsequently became Metropolitan of Gundê-Shâbhôr as Catholicus in 852. See Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 848; Assemânî, *B. O.*, ii. 435; iii. 1, pp. 204, 488, 505 ff. and 510; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 244—245. The 'Book of Governors', of which a translation is given in the following pages, was written at the request of 'Abhd-Îshô', a monk, who had for many years urged him to commit to writing

THE CHAPTERS OR SECTIONS OF THE FIRST BOOK.

the histories of the most famous of the monks of Bêth 'Abhê. In *B. O.*, ii, pp. 490—497, No. XIII, Assemânî gave a list of the heads of the chapters, and in *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 464—501 he gave a tolerably full analysis of this work, with a few extracts. A full description of the plan and scope of his '*Historia Monastica*' is given in the introduction to the present work.

[1] Here ܩܘܡ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܐ — ܠܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܐ in the heading as given on p. 15 (text).

[1] Supplied from p. 39 (text).

[2] [Syriac] rendered by Assemânî 'collis Beth-Abe', but more correctly 'monastery of Beth-Abe' by Hoffmann (*Auszüge*, p. 171) and Payne Smith (*Thes.*, col. 2920).

[P. 6] THE CHAPTERS OF THE SECOND BOOK.

[1] Vat. reads ܕܢܫܐܠ. [2] Read ܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ.

[1] For ܐܒ݂ܪܳܗܳܡ read ܐܒܪܳܗܳܡ.

[1] Vat. reads ܡܩܕܡ.

THE CHAPTERS OF THE THIRD BOOK.

[1] Read ܕܗܘܐ.
[2] Vat. reads ܘܕܡܫܠܡܐ.

[1] The heading of the chapter on p. 153 (text) has ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܡܝܛܪܘܦܘܠܝܛܐ ܠܐܪܒܝܠ.

[P. 10] THE CHAPTERS OF THE FOURTH BOOK.

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XIII. Of the miracle which our Lord wrought by the hands of Mâr Îshô-yahbh.

XIV. Of the finish and completion of the temple; and of the death of Îshô‘-yahbh.

XV. The history of Rabban Ḳûryâḳos (Cyriacus) of Gĕbhîltâ, the head[1] of the monastery of Bêth ‘Âbhê, and Bishop of the city of Balâdh.

XVI. Of the origin of the blessed Cyriacus, and of his coming to this monastery of Bêth ‘Âbhê.

XVII. Of the call of Abbâ Cyriacus to the headship of the monastery.

XVIII. Of the first miracle which Christ wrought by his hands.

XIX. Of how that man came to this monastery, and of how he rewarded it with a noble recompense as was meet, and of the rest of his signs.

XX. Of the revelations which that holy man received when he was with the whole congregation in the refectory.

XXI. Of the coming in of ‘Amran bar-Muḥammad to this country of Margâ, and of how having seized many villages and slain their owners, he also wished to kill the holy [Cyriacus] and to inherit this monastery.

[1] Read ܪܺܫܳܐ (?)

THE CHAPTERS OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

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[1] Literally, "Of the laying on of hands which he received".

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XI. Of the entrance of the pious Mâr Elijah into Môḳân, of his preaching therein, of his return to this monastery, and of the end of his life.

XII. The history of the holy man Mâr Narsai, Bishop of Shennâ.

XIII. [p. 13] Of the origin of Mâr Narsai, and of his coming to this monastery.

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III. Of his leaving the wilderness and going to the island of Yâwân (Greece).

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[2] Reading ܘܒܣܝܡܘܬܐ, as on page 304 (text), l. 12.

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XIV. Of the headship of the Monastery of Mâr Cyprian which Rabban Gabriel received, and of his care for everything which had been established.

XV. Of the ascetics and holy men who were found in various places in the days of Rabban Gabriel.

[1] Vat., Which Christ wrought by the hands of the holy man.

Here end the headings and contents of the Histories.

[P. 15]

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

THE AUTHOR['S APOLOGY][1] TO HIM WHO ASKED HIM TO SET [THE HISTORIES] DOWN IN WRITING.[2]

In accordance with the causes which summoned us to converse with each other from time to time, and the histories of the holy men, praises of whom were stirred up in us, and the glorious stories and rehearsings of whose histories I was shewing forth before thee, O our brother ʿAbhd-Îshôʿ, thy mind was filled with truth, and thy tongue with the praise of the power Who made them victorious, and Who moved His saints. And thy wisdom offered to me earnest supplications, and helpful persuasions and directions, to set down [my] stories of holy men in writing, in order that their unwritten histories might neither be forgotten nor sink into oblivion. And [thou didst ask] me to give to thee written accounts of them as a rich inheritance, and as an excellent loan, that thy holiness might meditate upon them, and that thy divine understanding might be sanctified thereby. And although for some years past this wish hath never been absent from thee, and thou wast diligently urging me to do [this], sometimes with the living voice, and

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[1] Literally 'the writing'. Here ܡܦܩ ܒܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܫܬܥܝܢܝܬܐ ~ ܡܫܬܥܝܢܘܬܐ.

[2] This apology has been published from the Vatican MS. with a Latin translation by Assemâni *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 464–466.

sometimes by many-lined epistles which thou wast sending to me to the place where I was, in times past I did not yield[1] to this thy entreaty. But at one time I took refuge in the inexperience of my speech, and at another [in the excuse] that there was no necessity[2] for these histories [to be written], inasmuch as the Catholic Church aboundeth in histories of holy men, even as gardens are filled to overflowing with all kinds of fruits,—for what are these[3] feeble repetitions of mine in comparison with [other] books which speak of holy men?—Yet thy desire was not diminished, nor thy ardour quenched, for by the intercession of others with thy praiseworthy self,[4] thou didst specially [p. 16] and promptly come[5] to the monastery in which I lived, together with the sage and philosopher, the wise, and enlightened, and excellent Rabban Paul, [who] very willingly[6] joined with thee on his own behalf in this exhortation. Thou hast softened the clay of my understanding with the gentle water of thy persuasion, and therefore since I attribute all this thy earnestness to the Divine Will I accept thy love's command with all willingness. And behold, by the help of our Lord, I will make ready to satisfy this thy desire with all the joyful care of which thy honour is worthy, and I will expand my speech to praise and glorify the ascetics and holy men

[1] Read ܐܬܪܡܣܬ. [2] ܐܠܨܝܬܐ for ܐܠܨܝܬܐ.

[3] We should read here ܘܡܢܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܗܠܝܢ܆ ܡܦܩܢ̈ܝܬܐ.

[4] Reading, with Vat. ܒܡܫܬܒܚܘܬܟ.

[5] Literally "ye did come". Assemânî has.... sed intercessores quaesivisti, tuque ipse vir laudatissime unàcum illus ad monasterium, ubi degebam, utrique comparati meditatique venistis, maxime vero doctissimus..... Paulus. [6] ܡܬܚܡܣܢܐܝܬ, a rare word.

who have lived in thy holy Monastery of Bêth 'Âbhê; for to write down the things concerning them thou hast persuaded[1] me enough. And although I shall turn aside from [the writings] of others, yet wherever it is necessary, I shall add the record and narrative of others, in order to piece together and to harmonize the histories,—which in this respect require methodical arrangement, and consecutiveness[2] of completing portions,—and also such repetitions as shew forth the style and manner of the lives of the holy men concerning whom thy holiness hath persuaded me to speak. Pray then, with love, and readiness of mind, and good will, and charity, that our Lord, in His grace, may grant a completion to the praise of His Godhead!

CHAPTER II.

THE CAUSE OF THE HISTORIES.

When I directed[3] my thoughts to travel along the difficult path of the strict way of life of holy men, and to bring to light the things concerning them with my mouth, and my tongue, [p. 17] and my right hand, by the hand of Christ, and by my beloved brethren, and also by His living word which saith, "All things, whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive",[4] and, "All things are possible to him that believeth",[5] I was commanded to make Christ my leader and director.

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[1] ܦܝܣܬܳܢܝ for ܦܝܣܬܰܢܝ.

[2] ܐܩܘܠܘܬܝܐ̈ is glossed in A by ܣܕܪܐ ܡܬܢܩܦܐ 'consecutive order'.

[3] ܐܬܪܥܝܬ for ܐܬܪܥܝܬ.

[4] St. Matthew xxi. 22.

[5] St. Mark ix. 23.

And since His treasury is open to faith, "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you,"[1] I will become a stranger unto all doubt, and I will believe that His graciousness will not repulse me, and that He will not shut the door of His gift in my face, and that He will shew forth in my ignorance a free and full gift beyond my merit[2]—even[3] as in times past His all-sufficient power made manifest speech in the she-ass of the soothsayer,[4] out of the course of her nature,[5]—and that through me He will display the glory of His saints, in the one case by His working, in the other by the praise of His majesty, for the glorification of excellent men is the glorification of God Who made them victorious. For without Him they are nothing, and are even like unto the tools[6] of a craft without the craftsman, and without Him they are incapable[7] of anything, and are like unto the clay which[8] can neither contend with him that mouldeth it, nor can of its own self choose[9] that it may be fashioned according to its own will.

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[1] St. Matthew vii. 7. [2] ܬܘܗܡܝܢ for ܬܘܗܡܝܢ.

[3] Hoffmann prefers the reading ܕܠܒܪܝܗ.

[4] *I. e.*, Balaam, ܒܠܥܡ, (Numbers xxii. 28), the son of Beor, who is described as a "Priest of idols" ܟܘܡܪܐ ܕܦܬܟܪܐ from Harran in Mesopotamia. See Duval, *Lex. Syr. auctore Bar Bahlule*, col. 401, and Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 540. Zoroaster was called the "second Balaam" because he prophesied concerning the stars; see Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 82.

[5] Literally 'above her nature'.

[6] We must read ܡܐܢܝ ܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ, striking out ܕܠܐ. B reads, "the instruments of the craft of the craftsman".

[7] ܕܠܐ ܗܘ ܟܫܝܪܘܬܗܘܢ = ܕܠܘ ܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ. [8] Read ܘܠܐ.

[9] ܘܠܡܓܒܐ for ܘܠܡܓܒܐ. Hoffmann prefers the reading ܗܝ.

Now, I am commanded[1] by the holy brethren of the holy Monastery of Bêth ʿÀbhê,[2] in which I have ministered for many years, that of the written and unwritten histories, and excellent stories of the holy men who have lived therein, and have been victorious, I should spin a thread of the stories concerning them, formed of the matters omitted by the compilers of written and unwritten histories, and of a small selection of stories which I have heard from approved and venerable men, with whom I have become acquainted there, and that I should set forth in writing, with much brevity, such accounts as I should find scattered here and [p. 18] there in the narratives of others, and in the ecclesiastical histories of ancient authors. And since in the stories which are my own I do not repeat untrue things, I shew forth the trustworthiness of theirs. And behold I will go into the gardens of

[1] An extract from this chapter (p. 17. l. 15—p. 16 l. 2) has been printed with a Latin translation in *B. O.*, iii. 1. 466. col. 2.

[2] The famous Monastery of Bêth ʿÀbhê was situated near the town of Bêth ʿÀbhê (probably the Bithaba of Ptolemy vi. 1) under Mount Niphates, (*B. O.*, ii, p. 420, note 2) to the south of Ḥerpâ in Saphsaphâ, on a mountain, not far from the right bank of the Great Zâb; it was founded by Bar-Ḥadh-be-shabbâ, and was afterwards greatly enlarged and became famous under Jacob of Bêth ʿÂbhê (*B. O.*, iii. 2, pp. 730 and 876). It was one of the monasteries exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop by Ìshôʿ-yahbh of Gĕdhàlà ܝܗܒ ܐܦ ܫܘܠܛܢܘܬܐ ܠܕܝܪܐ. ܕܒܝܬ ܥܒܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ .... ܕܡܢܗ ܢܦܩܘ ܕܒܝܬ ܥܒܐ (Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*. t. x. Rome 1838, p. 296, col. 1, at the foot), and was called by the Nestorians who wrote in Arabic با عابا (*B. O.*, ii, p. 420 note 2) or با عابى (Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 226, note 1798). Bêth ʿÀbhê means "the house in the forest": in I Kings vii. 2 and Isaiah xxii. 8 it is the rendering of בֵּית יַעַר and בֵּית־הַיָּעַר.

[3] Read ܐܬܒܕܩܬ.

their victorious deeds as into a field, and, as it were, I will glean and gather up together the choice and well-filled ears of corn, and I will pile up into one sheaf the heap of their bundles, that from thence they may go into the threshing-floors of hearing, and be ground in the mill of discernment, and be kneaded in the kneading-trough of belief, and be baked in the oven of love, and laid as a glorious offering upon the altar of the mind[1] of the Holy of Holies. For it is said, "The mind which journeyeth to and fro in its state of nature is able to perceive, and to see, and to believe the glorious things of glorious men, and the accounts of the contests of mighty warriors, at the same time adding to its knowledge belief", even as spake he that saith, "and to belief also, confidence; and to confidence, excellence; and to excellence, righteousness; and to righteousness also, holiness; and to holiness also, constancy; and to constancy, hope; and to hope, stability; and to stability, strength; and to strength, love;[2] which is the crown of the completion of the excellent things, in which standeth our profession, and upon which is laid the foundation of our doctrine." And all things which have been, and which are, and which shall be, inasmuch a we have not been spectators[3] of them, we

[1] Read ܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܕܗܘܕܐ.

[2] "In the law is bound up faith, and in faith is true love established". Wright, *Aphraates*, p. ܠܓ ll. 12. 13. "A man should first build his building upon the rock, which is Christ, on the rock faith should be laid, and upon faith should the whole building rise up." Wright, *Aphraates*, p. ܝ ll. 15, 16.

[3] "To speak briefly, every thing is of the Spirit, and the whole world of spiritual things is seen and perceived by faith. For if we do not take faith in our souls, we shall be

must accept the saying concerning them in faith, for without it no single one of the things which are related, without seeing could we accept.

Now those who only in a small degree have themselves laboured in the virtues of holy men, and have participated in the smallest degree in the great joy which is bestowed upon prosperous toilers in the ascetic life and upon discreet penitents, [p. 19] possess from within a firm conviction concerning these things which is not an external matter produced by misery and rumour, inasmuch as experience has taught them that these things which are stated are true.

Let the reader, then, perceive clearly, and let the listener understand, that the things concerning holy men which my narrative recounts are not vain imaginations of my own, for I have collected the materials for them from the things which have been said concerning them in the living speech, and from the written statements which I have found concerning them in the histories and traditions of others. And I shall finish the contest which I have undertaken at the wish of my brethren, and shall add according to the inclination of my opinion, those things which are accepted by discreet

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able to understand nothing that is not visible, while for the things which are visible faith is unnecessary, for the sight of the eye seeth them." ܘܐܝܟ ܕܒܦܣܘܪ̈ܬܐ ܢܐܡܪ: ܕܠܡܢܐ ܕܐܘܪܚܐ ܗܘ. ܘܠܡܢܐ ܠܗ ܕܐܘܪ̈ܚܐ: ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܒܗ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܒܩܕܡ ܠܐ ܢܣܒܝܢ ܣܗܕ: ܡܕܡ ܐܚܪܝܢ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܗܿ ܠܝ ܕܢܣܬܟܠ. ܘܠܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܙܝܢ: ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܚܙܬܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܚܙܝܐ ܠܗܝܢ܀ Philoxenus on Faith (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 12,163, fol. 12*a*, col. 1).

and prudent men, provided that they are not prejudicial to the truth in any particular, not the wonderful signs and miracles, and mighty deeds which these holy men have wrought, but to speak as [each] occasion shall require, and to add a word concerning each, one after another, on the things which have been wrought by them,[1] and to arrange all these things, one after another, in one consecutive order, a matter which belongeth to the care of writers, and which the order of historical works requireth. I shall[2] not confound story with story, or history with history, in such a manner that the mind of the reader will become confused by the mixture of matters, but I shall, with much brevity, set down each narrative by, and to itself, that from[3] here universal history may arise,[4] and I shall add story after story, in the form of chapters [each having] a distinct number. I shall begin my history with Mâr Abraham the Great, the father of the fathers of the holy men whom I have made ready my words to praise, as the cause of the effects and as the origin of the orders of ascetics which have sprung up after him, even as the blessed Abraham is considered to be the father of all nations,[5] and Israel the father of the Israelites,[6] and Aaron the father of the priests.[7] And I ask our Lord, through the prayers of Mâr Abraham and of the children of his holiness, [p. 20] and I beg

[1] We should read, with BC ܕܒܗܘܢ.

[2] Lines 13—22 (text, p. 19) have been printed with a Latin translation by Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 466. col. 2.

[3] Read ܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ.

[4] Assemânî 'ut inde historiam universalem habeas'.

[5] Genesis xvii. 5.

[6] Genesis xlvi. 8.

[7] Exodus xxviii. 1.

and entreat Him to give me of His spirit, even as [He gave] of the spirit of Moses to the elders of Israel,[1] that I may hear and relate glorious things of Him; that I may speak of the glorious things of Him in His saints; that the hearing of the listeners may be sanctified by the speech of my mouth; that His holy name may be glorified by my polluted tongue; and that by author and scribe, reader and listener, confessor and believer, may be woven the rope of glorious things for His holy name for ever and ever.

CHAPTER III.

THE INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY.

In the everlasting knowledge of the wise Creator, the elect are set apart, and the predestined are written down for the kingdom of heaven. And the types of the Divine[2] government which were written by the hand of Moses, testify that they indicated aforetime the things which should happen and should be given at the end, for the confirmation of the fore-knowledge of the election of holiness[3]. For every matter of Christ our Lord was plainly brought about thereby, and inasmuch as it was given from heaven, it was inscribed on a rock in the face of heaven, for there, on mount Sinai, being overshadowed by a cloud for forty days, Moses wrote down the histories of the worlds which had been, and the commandments which had been given

[1] Numbers xi. 17, 25—29. [2] Hoffmann would read ܕܐܠܗܝܐ.
[3] Hoffmann would read ܕܢܒܝܘܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ "prophecy of the holy man (Moses)".

to the seed of Abraham.[1] And there, by the glory with which his face was clothed,[2] was it indicated that virginity and holiness[3] should spread abroad in later times and be exalted.

And that thou mayest know that such is the case, follow after the footsteps of the life and conversation of Christ, and thou shalt find that He expounded [p. 21] and taught this plainly to His Apostles in taking them up to Mount Tâbhôr (Tabor), where He was changed to glory (*i.e.*, transfigured) in their sight. And He commanded the earth and it brought up Moses, and He beckoned to the heavens and they brought down Elijah,[4] and He shewed that the virginity and holiness which were with Moses were counterparts of the virginity and holiness which were with Shĕmʿôn (Simon) in the heights of His kingdom. And He made virginity and holiness perfect for them at the time of His Ascension from the earthly Shâlîm (Salem) to Jerusalem, the great city which is in heaven, when He lifted up His holy hands and blessed them, and commanded them, saying, "Go ye forth and teach all nations, and baptize them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and teach them to keep everything which I have commanded you; and behold I am with you all the days in which the world maintaineth the course of its generations".[5]

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[1] Exodus xxiv. 18. [2] Exodus xxxiv. 35.

[3] "Virginity and holiness" here mean the ascetic life.

[4] This sentence has reference to Deut. xxxiv. 6 and 2 Kings ii. 11, where it is stated that Moses was buried in the earth, and that Elijah went up to heaven in a chariot of fire.

[5] ܕܕܪ̈ܐ ܡܩܝ̈ܡ ܥܠܡܐ ܒܫܘܪ̈ܒܬܗ takes the place of ܥܕܡܐ ܠܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܥܠܡܐ of the Pĕshîṭtâ version of St. Matthew xxviii. 19,20.

Virginity and holiness then descended from hand to hand among all nations, but especially among the pious armies of monks that exist in all quarters of the earth. And inasmuch as virginity and holiness were established in the mountains, and handed down from them,—by Moses in Mount Sinai,[1] by Elijah in Mount Carmel,[2] by the blessed Elisha,[3] by the sons of the Prophets,[4] and by Saint John in the wilderness,[5] by those who were with Simon on Mount Tabor,[6] by the Lord of the Prophets at the time of His fasting in the wilderness,[7] and also at the time of His going up into the Mount of Olives,[8]—the ascetic fathers also went forth into the wilderness and the mountains to preserve the virginity and holiness which had been handed down to them by the Apostles, and to do battle against "principalities and powers, and with the evil spirits which are under heaven".[9] And that the Spirits and Will of God, which completed in the one case and maketh perfect in the other, is one, one of the saints testifieth, and saith, [p. 22] "The power which I have seen abiding in baptism, which giveth adoption as sons, and freedom, to those who are baptized, I have also seen in the dress of a brother on the day in which he received the garb of the solitary life, and it sanctified him for[11] his work."

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[1] Exodus xxiv. 18.
[2] 1 Kings xviii. 20. 21.
[3] 2 Kings ii. 15.
[4] 2 Kings ii. 3.
[5] St. Matthew iii. 1.
[6] St. Matthew xvii. 1.
[7] St. Matthew iv. 2.
[8] St. Matthew xxiv. 3.

[9] Ephesians vi. 12. Gr. πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις.

[10] Lines 10—18 (text p. 21) have been printed with a Latin translation by Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 467, cols 1 and 2.

[11] Read ܠܗ (?).

And that the venerable army of monks may not be despised in thine eyes by reason of the [superior] manner of life of the Prophets and Apostles, enter, in thy mind, into the garden of their noble deeds and triumphs, and there, as thou readest, thou shalt be able to understand the greatness and excellence of this pure and venerable habit of life. There shalt thou see Abbâ Pâwlê (Paul),[1] who for seventy years, more or less, was ministered unto by a bird like Elijah the Great;[2] and Abbâ Anṭônîs (Antonius) with a company of devils standing before him in perfect subjection; and Abbâ Pambô, who like Moses[3] received the glory of the image of Adam, and his face shone and became like unto lightning, and he was like unto a king sitting upon his throne; and Abbâ Silvanus;[4] and Abbâ

[1] See the Additional Notes at the end of this chapter.

[2] I Kings xvii. 6.

[3] Exodus xxxiv. 29. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܥܠ ܐܒܐ ܦܡܒܘ. ܕܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܩܒܠ ܡܘܫܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܕܕܡܘܬܗ ܕܐܕܡ. ܘܐܙܕܗܝ ܦܪܨܘܦܗ. ܗܟܢܐ ܐܦ ܐܒܐ ܦܡܒܘ ܗܘܐ ܦܪܨܘܦܗ ܐܝܟ ܒܪܩܐ. ܘܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܝܬܒ ܥܠ ܟܘܪܣܝܗ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܐܒܐ ܣܝܠܒܢܘܣ. ܘܐܦ ܐܒܐ ܣܝܣܘܐܝܣ܀ "They say concerning Abbâ Pambô that, as Moses received the glory of the likeness of Adam, and his face shone, so also was the face of Abbâ Pambô like lightning, and that he was like a king sitting upon his throne. Thus also were Abbâ Silvanus and Abbâ Sisoes". *Paradise* of Palladius, fol. 279*a*, Sayings of the Fathers No. ܬܢܘ.

[4] Probably Silvanus the comedian whose life is given in Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vii, pp. 88. 89. At the age of twenty he became a monk in the Monastery of Pachomius the Great in the Thebaïd, and for some time led an ascetic life with all diligence and care, but little by little he became careless and finally began to sing improper songs and to dance before the brethren, ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܙܒܢܐ ܩܠܝܠ ܐܬܪܦܝ. ܐܟܡܐ ܕܡܬܗܡܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܩܢܗ. ܫܪܝ ܕܢܙܡܪ ܡܢ ܠܡܙܡܪܘܬܐ ܘܠܡܫܒܚܘ. ܘܗܘܐ ܩܠܐ ܙܡܝܪܬܐ ܕܡܬܬܠܝܢ ܒܬܘܡܠܝܢ ܒܬܪ ܒܒܐ ܐܢܫ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܚܙܐ.

Sûsâis[1] (Sisoes); and Abbâ Nastir[2] who [served] in the monastery; and Abbâ Arsânis[3] (Arsenius) who was clothed with heavenly light; and another[4] (?) [monk] whose cell was light by night as by day. May we be sustained by their prayers in the toilsome strife of their ascetic lives!

Pachomius (born A. D. 292, died about 348) rebuked him, and threatened him with expulsion, but one Petronius interceded for him with the angry abbot, and he was allowed to remain. For eight years after this event he led a life of remarkable piety ܒܟܘܫܪܐ ܣܓܝ ܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܠܐ ܠܡܘܬܐ ܘܪܕܝ ܡܬܘܗܒ, and died having acquired great renown for virtue. See *Acta Sanctorum*, May 14; and Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, Antwerp, 1615, p. 128.

[1] A monk, a native of the Thebaid, who retired to the desert of Scete after Antony's death. He employed his time in weaving baskets. He finally lived in the mountain of Clysma where Antony died, and was there visited by Ammon, Abbot of Raithe. He died about A. D. 429, aged 62 years. See Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, July 4; *Acta Sanctorum*, July 6; Cotelerius, *Ecclesiae Graecae Monumenta*, t. i, pp. 662—678; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 508, col. 2.

[2] Perhaps the abbot referred to in Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 2403. Many of his sayings are extant in the *Paradise* of Palladius.

[3] Arsenius was born A. D. 354 and died about A. D. 449—50. He was recommended by the Bishop of Rome to be tutor to Arcadius and Honorius, sons of Theodosius, about A. D. 383; at the age of 40 he retired from this service and went to Scete. He left Scete in 434, and lived for a time at Troë near Memphis; shortly after he went to Canopus and lived there until 444, when he returned to Troë where he ended his days. See Cotelerius, *Monumenta*, I. p. 353; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 506; Cave, *Hist. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 80; Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, and *Acta Sanctorum*, July 19. For a work by him, see Combefis, *Auctarium Novissimum Bib. Pat.*, Paris, 1672, p. 301.

[4] The word ܠܡܢܕܪ is probably the corruption of a name. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܥܠ ܡܪܝ ܡܪ ܦܝܡܢ. ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܗܘܐ ܒܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܐܬܢܟܦ. ܗܘ ܫܬܐܘܗܝ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܠܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܝܡܡܐ ܘܦܠܚ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܫܬ ܗܘܐ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܐܝܡܡܐ Sayings of the Fathers by Palladius No. ܬܪܦ, fol. 279*b*.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO BOOK I. CHAP. III.

PAUL.

Abbâ Paul of Thebes, called by Jerome 'auctor vitae monasticae' is said to have retired to the Egyptian desert in the Thebaïd during the persecution of Decius and Valerian, A. D. 250, and to have made his dwelling-place in a cave at the mouth of which were a palm tree and a spring of water. From the age of 22, when he retired to the desert, until he was 43 years old he lived on the fruit of the palm tree, which also supplied him with clothing; but afterwards, for the space of 70 years, he was fed by a raven who brought him half a loaf a day. Paul knew the Greek and Egyptian (*i. e.*, Coptic) languages. By the command of God he was visited by Saint Antony, who discovered his cell by the light which shone from it; on the occasion of this visit the raven brought a whole loaf each day. This visit took place A. D. 341 (Tillemont, *Mémoires*, viii. 34. col. 2, at the top). Antony borrowed a cloak from Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, in which to bury Paul (who by this desired to show that he belonged to the communion of Athanasius), and inherited his palm leaf tunic which he wore on great occasions. Paul died about A. D. 342, aged 113 years, and his grave is said to have been dug by two lions. On the dates of the birth and death of Paul see Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vii. 308, and for the life of Paul see Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Jan. 15; *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 10; Jerome, *Vit. St. Pauli;* Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, Antwerp, 1615 fol. p. 17; and Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vii. 55; and Verger, *Vie de Saint Antoine*, Paris, 1890.

ANTONY.

Antony the Great was a native of the village of Coma, which was situated near the town of Heracleopolis. He was born about A. D. 251, and he died on Jan. 17, 356, aged 105 years. He probably knew the Coptic language, but it is tolerably certain that he had no knowledge of Greek literature. Having lost both parents about the year 270, he gave all his goods to the poor, and retired to the desert at the age of 19; here he

stayed for 20 years. His food was bread and salt, his drink water, and he never broke his fast until after sunset; he fasted five days at a time, watched all night, and prayed until day-break. He neither bathed nor anointed his body with oil, and he lived for years in a tomb and ruined fort. When he was 55 years old he founded his first monastery in the mountains to the east of the town of Aphroditopolis, but later he lived on Mount Clysma, near the Red Sea. He begged that his body might not be mummified, for he believed that Christ would restore it to him, without blemish, on the day of the resurrection. See Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Jan. 17; *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 17; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 35; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vii. 48 ff.; Athanasius, *In Vit. St. Anton.*; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.*, I. 13; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, I. 21. For descriptions of the monastery near the Red Sea which now bears his name see Sicard, *Missions du Levant*, t. v; pp. 122—200.

The following graphic description of Antony's temptation by devils is given in the Syriac version of Palladius (fol. 17*b*):—

[illegible]

[illegible]

PAUL THE SIMPLE.

Paul the Simple was one of the most celebrated disciples of Antony, and was considered to be the first disciple of that saint. He was alive in 338. For his life see Tillemont, *Mémoires,* vii. pp. 66—99; and Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.* i. 13. The Syriac version of the account of his life by Palladius is as follows (fol. 68*b*): —

[illegible]

ܠܐ ܡܫܒܩܢܐ ܠܟ. ܠܐ ܡܫܒܩ. ܡܫܒܩ ܐܢܐ ܠܐ ܕܒܪ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ̇. ܐܠܐ. ܗܝ ܐܡܪܬܗ̇ ܠܝ ܗܟܢ.
ܘܩܥܐ ܗ̇ܘ. ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܙܠ. ܐܢܐ ܘܗܘܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܘܟܕ ܡܕܡ ܠܐܚܪ ܠܐ ܐܡܪ. ܐܙܠ ܠܡܥܪܬܐ
ܦܬܘܪ̈ܐ ܒܥܘܡܩܐ. ܘܡܚܝܬ ܥܒܕܬ ܠܥܠܝܬܗ ܕܡܪܝ ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܪܒܐ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܐ ܒܐܬܪܐ.
ܢܦܩ ܠܘܩܒܠܗ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܡܢܘ ܐܢܬ ܐܢܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܦܘܠܐ. ܕܡܪܝܐ ܫܕܪ ܐܢܐ
ܕܐܬܗܘܐ. ܫܪܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘ ܡܪܝ ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܠܥܠܡܐ ܦܘܠܐ ܥܡ ܡܪܝܐ ܡܫܟܚ.
ܗܕܪܐ ܕܐܬܗܘܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܪܝܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܠܡܫܪܝܘ. ܘܦܠܛܘܢ ܦܬܚ ܒܗ ܡܥܪܬܐ
ܐܢܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܡܪܝ ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܕܡܫܒܚܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܐ. ܫܪܝ ܕܝܢ ܐܙܠ ܦܘܠܐ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܘܠܛ ܐܢܬ ܠܟ ܗܘ ܫܒܩ ܐܢܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ. ܐܬܚܙܐ ܠܝ
ܕܡܪܐ ܐܢܬ ܘܠܐ ܡܫܟܚܬ ܐܢܬ. ܐܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܨܒܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬܗܘܐ ܕܡܪܝܐ. ܐܦ ܠܝ ܠܕܡܪܝܐ ܠܬܘܡܪܐ
ܕܐܚ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܕܩܘܫܒܬܐ ܒܫܘܪܝܐ. ܐܢܐ ܠܡܪܐ ܗܕܪܐ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܗܢܐ
ܐܢܐ. ܘܠܚܡܪܐ ܠܡܫܒܚ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܠܟܘܠ ܐܢܐ. ܘܗܘܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܩܘܕܫܐ. ܒܗܠܝܢ ܩܠ̈ܐ ܘܒܪܟ ܗܠܝܢ
ܡܫܬܠ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܦܘܠܐ. ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܐܬܦܢܝ ܠܗ ܕܡܫܐ. ܟܠ ܠܥܠܡ ܘܐܬܒܪܗ ܠܐܬܪܐ
ܗܠܝܢ ܩܘܕܫܐ. ܘܡܫܬܠܛܗ ܐܦܠܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܗ ܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܒܥܘܪܐ ܒܗܠܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܩܘܕܫܐ.
ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܫܒܩ. ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܒܥܬ ܕܐܠܝܬܗ ܡܫܝܚܗ ܕܦܘܠܐ. ܦܩܕ ܠܚܕܐ ܘܩܦܣ.
ܘܐܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܐܦ ܠܝ ܫܒܩ. ܡܢܐ ܫܦܝܪ ܐܢܬ ܠܟ. ܠܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܬܗܘܐ ܗܕܪܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ
ܦܘܠܐ. ܠܡܐ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܕܒܝܘܡܢܐ ܠܚܕܐ ܐܝܟܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܗܕܪܐ. ܟܕ ܐܬܦܢܝ ܕܝܢ ܘܫܪܐ
ܠܘܩܒܠ ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ. ܕܡܕܡ ܫܡܥܬܐ ܠܐ ܠܒܝܫ. ܠܐ ܠܡܫܪܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܚܝ̈ܐ. ܘܐܬܒܪܟ ܩܘܕܫܐ
ܠܗ ܒܩܘܡ ܠܘܬܗ. ܐܡܪ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܕܠܡܫܐ ܢܦܠܛ ܘܢܩܛܐ. ܘܡܠܒܒܢܘܗܝ ܠܢܦܫܗ ܒܒܩܘܬܐ.
ܘܒܥܠܡܗ ܘܐܢܠܗ. ܘܡܫܬܠܛܗ ܗܒܪܐ ܕܦܘܟܪܐ ܡܫܪܝܐ ܐܬܒܪܟ ܒܩܘܕܫܐ ܗܘܘ. ܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܦܠܐ
ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܗ. ܘܐܬܐ ܫܕ̈ܐ ܘܗܘܠܝܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܒܩ ܠܒܘܠܝ ܫܪܝܐ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܫܕ̈ܐ
ܕܐܡܪܬ. ܐܡܪܐ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܠܒܘܠܝ ܐܢܐ. ܘܫܡܥ ܗܘ ܗܕܪܐ ܠܒܘܠܝ ܥܒܕܬ ܠܐܚܪܢܐ ܐܚ̈ܝ.
ܡܬܚܫܒܢܘܬܐ ܐܚܝ ܥܒܕܬ ܕܐܡܪ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥ ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܠܒܘܠܝ. ܐܬܩܪܒ ܒܗ
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܦܪܘܫܘܬܐ ܠܒܘܠܝ ܥܒܝܕܬ. ܘܗܦܘܟ ܠܒܘܠܝ ܫܦܝܪܬܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܥܒܝܕܬ
ܠܗ ܡܕܡ ܕܒܠܒܘܠܝ. ܘܐܬܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܕ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܫܕ̈ܐ ܠܒܘܠܝ. ܘܠܒܘܠܝ ܐܬܐ ܦܪܝܫܬܐ.
ܡܫܟܚ ܕܐܬܦܬܠܐ ܗܘܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܫܒܠܐ ܘܥܒܕܐ. ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐܘܗܝ ܨܡܪܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܠܗܘܢ
ܩܘܡܐ. ܘܡܫܒ̈ܚܐ ܢܦܩܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܩܘܫܬܐ ܗܘ ܐܠܗܘܗܝ. ܐܝܟ ܕܒܝܬܗܘܢ ܠܗ ܘܥܒܪ ܡܢ ܨܠܘܬܗܘܢ.
ܡܢ ܕܫܪܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ. ܕܠܐ ܕܪܟ ܘܠܐ ܐܬܦܢܝ ܘܠܐ ܕܒܪ. ܐܠܐ ܬܫܡܫܬܗܘܢ. ܘܟܕ
ܗܘ ܐܚܪ ܚܘܪܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܨܒܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܐܠܒܟ ܒܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܠܚܡܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܫܪܝ ܦܘܠܐ ܐܝܟ
ܕܥܦܪܐ ܠܗ ܠܐܒܐ. ܘܐܬܐ ܗܕܝܢ ܐܬܡܪܢܬ ܢܚܩܬܗ ܠܡܪܝ ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܕܠܐ ܪܗܛ ܒܨܒܝܢܗ
ܠܘܬ ܒܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܡܬܪܒܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܥܒܝܕܝܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܠܒܠܘܗܝ ܨܒܝܢܗ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܡܫܒܚ ܫܒܩ
ܦܬܘܪܐ ܘܐܟܠ ܠܚܡܐ. ܘܫܒܩ ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܒܟܠ ܦܬܘܪܐ ܕܠܚܡ̈ܐ ܐܬܒܪܟ. ܕܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܒܟܠ ܡܢ
ܡܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܥܠ ܐܦܝܩܘܬܐ. ܘܨܒܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܫܒܚ ܕܡܫܟܚ̈ܐ ܗܘܘ. ܘܫܒܩ ܡܫܬܡܗܘܢ ܡܢ

ܘܡܚܕܐ ܦܘܠܐ ܐܬܐ܂ ܘܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܕܢܚܬ ܢܦܩ ܥܡܗ ܠܗܘ ܡܘܡܬܐ܂ ܕܢܚܬ ܗܘܐ ܐܦܐܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ
ܕܢܝܢܘܐ܂ ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܐܦܐܣܩܘܦܐ ܡܢ ܕܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܠܦܘܠܐ܂ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܫܘܠܡܐ ܫܠܚ
ܐܢܘܢ܂ ܘܟܕ ܐܦܐܣܩܘܦܐ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܐܬܘ ܕܢܫܠܡܘܢ ܒܐܝܕܝ ܐܢܫܝܢ܂ ܘܟܕ ܠܘܬܗ ܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ
ܡܢ ܡܠܘܐ܂ ܠܐ ܢܐܦܘܟ ܠܡܐܬܐ܂ ܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܦܘܠܐ ܒܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ ܗܘܐ܂ ܘܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ
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ܡܢܗ܂ ܐܬܘܒ ܕܝܢ ܫܡܥ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܗܘ ܗܘ ܕܝܘܬ ܠܐܢܐ ܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ܂ ܘܠܗ ܠܫܡܥ ܦܘܠܐ܂
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ܠܒܝܬ ܘܐܡܪ܂ ܠܐ ܢܦܫ ܐܢܐ܂ ܘܐܬܡܫܚܬ ܒܠܘܬܗ ܕܝܘܒܐ ܦܘܠܐ܂ ܘܢܦܩ ܡܢ ܒܝܬܗ܂

[illegible]

PAMBO.

Pambo, Πάμβω, Παμβώς, the friend of Macarius and Isidore, was famous for his labours, fasting and silence; he was a disciple of Saint Antony. He was visited by Melania the Elder who found him making mats; he died about A. D. 393, aged 70 years. See Butler, *Lives of the Saints,* Sept. 6; *Acta Sanctorum,* July 1; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 23; Rosweyde, *Vit. Pat.*, pp. 531,938; Tillemont, *Mémoires,* vii, p. 65. The Syriac version of the account of his life by Palladius (fol. 55*b*) is as follows: —

[illegible]

[illegible]

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE BLESSED RABBAN MÂR ABRAHAM[1] THE GREAT, THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY IN MOUNT ÎZLÂ.[2]

Now as God of old brought out the blessed Abraham from Ôr (Ur) of the Chaldees,[3] and made him, by faith,

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[1] Abraham of Kashkar (al-Wâsit) or Ibrahîm al-Kashkarâni, the head and father of the hermits, is said to have been baptized in the time of the Catholicus Bâbhai who died A. D. 502, and he is described as an 'old man' ܣܒܐ when Sabhr-Îshô' was Catholicus A. D. 596—604. He was a student at Nisibis under Abraham the nephew of Narsai. He went to Ḥêrtâ where he converted some of the idolatrous natives, and afterwards visited Egypt and Mount Sinai; he finally settled in Mount Îzlâ, and became the founder of the famous monastery there "in quo cœnobitarum Ægyptiorum mores omnes, atque adeò continentiam, adamussim observari præcepit." (*B. O.*, iii. 1. 93). He must be distinguished from another Abraham of Kashkar who lived at Ḥazzah, and who went to Jerusalem and Egypt; he returned to Ḥazzah, near Arbêl in Adiabene, where he lived until his death which took place thirty years later. He was distinguished as a philosopher, and wrote a treatise on the monastic life which was translated into Persian by his disciple John the monk. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 172—173; Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 837; *B. O.*, iii. 1. 155, 431; iii. 2. 873. These two Abrahams are confounded by Assemânî in *B. O.*, iii. 1. 154.

[2] Mount Îzlâ, the جبل الازل of the Arabic writers (*B. O.*, iii. 1. 155*a*), is situated on the southern edge of the mountain called Ṭûr Abhdîn, about three *farsakh* from Nisibis, and the river al-Hirmas flows at its foot. In this mountain were four monasteries, viz., the "Great Monastery" founded by Rabban Abraham; 'Umr al-Za'farân (see دَيْرُ الزَّعْفَرَانِ Yâkût ii. 663, and for other monasteries of this name see Hoffmann *Auszüge*, note 1312, p. 169); 'Umr Mâr Awgîn (see *B. O.*, iii, 1. 147, note 4); and 'Umr Mâr Yûḥannâ. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 167 ff.

[3] Genesis xv. 7.

the father of a multitude of nations, [p. 23] so also He spread abroad and made to increase this holy habit of the solitary life in all the country of the East, by the hand of [this] spiritual man, worthy of Abraham in name, and country, and deed, whom He established to be the father of the army of virgins and men of abstinence. For thus the ancients write concerning him, more particularly Abbâ[1] John, the writer of the 'History of Rabban Bar-'Idtâ',[2] and Rabban Rôsṭâm,[3] of the Monastery of Bêth Ḳôḳâ,[4] in the History of Rabban Mâr Abraham, the

[1] Lines 4—18 (text p. 23) are quoted by Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1. pp. 93 col. 2, and 467 col. 2.

[2] Bar-'Idtâ, *i. e.*, 'the son of the church', the founder of the monastery which bore his name, was a contemporary of Bâbhai of Îzlâ and Jacob of Bêth 'Âbhê; he must be distinguished from another Bar-'Idtâ, a monk in the Monastery of Ṣĕlîbhâ, near the village of Haighlâ on the Tigris, who lived about 690, with whom he has been confounded by Assemânî (*B. O.*, iii. 1. 458). He wrote a monastic history which is quoted with respect by Thomas of Margâ (Bk. i, cap. 23, text p. 47; cap. 34, text p. 62; bk. ii, cap. 6, text p. 73 etc.). See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 181, Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 838. The day of the commemoration of Bar-'Idtâ was the same as that of Jacob of Bêth 'Âbhê, Bar-Ḥadh-be-shabbâ, Ḳâm-Îshô', Aphrîm and "their companions the founders of divine assemblies in the country of Margâ and Dâsen." Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS in the British Museum*, p. 187, col. 2.

[3] Rabban Rôsṭâm or Rabban Sabhr-Îshô' was born in Ḥerêm, a village in Adiabene about the middle of the VIIth century; his history entitled "Abraham of the Monastery of Rabban Zĕkhâ-Îshô'" and other works are mentioned by Thomas of Margâ, Bk. ii, cap. 17, text p. 90. See also *B. O.*, iii. 1. 455.

[4] Also called the "Monastery of Sabhr-Îshô';" it was situated near the Great Zâb in Adiabene. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 1715, p. 215.

head of the monastery of Rabban Zĕkhâ Ìshô,[1] of the Monastery of Bêth 'Àbhê. Now these writers say that he went[2] to the desert of Èskîṭê[3] (Scete), where he received and took upon himself the order of the ascetic life. Afterwards, by the Divine command, he came

[1] Zĕkhâ-Ìshô', Ìshô'-Zĕkhâ, or Meshîḳâ-zĕkhâ, when expelled from Mount Ìzlâ by Bâbhai, the head of the monastery, went to Dâsen (see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 202--207) and founded a monastery which was henceforth known as Bêth Rabban Zĕkhâ 'shô' or Bêth Rabban. Bêth Rabban and Bêth 'Àbhê were under one head; the former monastery seems to have been built on a higher level in the mountains than the latter. Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 206; Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 838.

[2] Assemânî has ܐܙܠ ܠܗ ܠܐܣܩ *B. O.*, iii, 1. p. 93, col. 2, l. 46.

[3] ܐܣܩܝܛܐ, ܐܣܩܝܛ, ܐܣܩܝܛܝܣ, الاسقيط or بَرِّيَّة بُو مَقار the 'Desert of Abu Macarius' is the name given to the Nitrian valley (وادى النطرون, the Nitre valley, or بركة النطرون the Nitre-lake), which is situated in Lat. 30° 19′ N., Long 30° 16′ E. about thirty-five miles to the left of the most western branch of the Nile; the Greeks called it Σκήτη or Σκήτις, the Muḥammedans Wâdî Habîb, the Copts ϣⲓⲏ ϩⲏⲧ, or ϣⲓⲏⲧ, which is said to mean "measure of the heart" and has been rendered in Syriac by ܡܫܘܚܬ ܠܒܐ, ܡܫܘܚܬ ܕܠܒܘܬܐ or ميزان القُلوب. From the second century of this era Scete was the home of monasticism; at the close of the fourth century Palladius estimated that more than 5000 ascetics lived in this valley, and the number at the end of the VIIth century is given as 3000. See Wright, *Preface* to *Catalogue of Syriac MSS*, iii, p. ii; Quatremère, *Mémoires*, i. p. 451 ff.; Migne, *Vitae Patrum*, t. 73. coll. 231, 1098, 1101; and Jablonski, *Opuscula*, i. p. 312. For descriptions of the Monasteries in this valley see Curzon, *Monasteries in the Levant*, p. 90; Butler, *Ancient Coptic Churches*, vol. i. p. 334—337; and Tischendorff, *Reise in den Orient*, i, p. 110. In Maḥmûd Bey's map of Egypt the valley joins the spot where the caravan routes from Alexandria and Tripoli to Cairo meet.

and dwelt in a secret[1] cave in Mount Îzlâ, in the neighbourhood of the city of Nĕṣîbhîn (Nisibis).[2] And he speedily became known unto men, inasmuch as he was ordained to be the cause of spiritual benefits unto many, through the everlasting fore-knowledge of Him who set him apart aforetime, that at his hands, and by his means, the holy fathers who were to become the founders of famous monasteries of the lands of the Persians, and Assyrians, and Babylonians,[3] might become disciples. And the fame of his glorious deeds spread abroad into every quarter, like the smell of choice spices, and a multitude of ascetics were gathered together unto him. He invented this distinguishing mark of ours, and commanded that the disciples of this holy habit of life should have their heads shaved like a crown;[4] now before the days and time of his coming,

[1] ܡܛܫܝܬܐ for ܡܛܫܝܬܐ.

[2] ܢܨܝܒܝܢ, نَصِيبِين is a very ancient city of Mesopotamia situated in a rich and fruitful country about 120 miles N. E. of Môṣul (Nineveh), and 50 miles N. of the western end of the Sinjâr mountains; according to Ibn Baṭuṭah, (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti t. ii, p. 140) it is two days' journey from Gazîret ibn ʿOmar on the Tigris. It is surrounded by the river Hirmâs which flows in several channels through the city. According to Yâkût (iv, p. 787 ff.) it contained 40,000 gardens, and was nine *farsaḥ* from Sinjâr, and six days from Mosul.

[3] *I. e.*, Persia, and Northern and Southern Mesopotamia.

[4] Among the Nestorians two offices for the tonsure are in use; the author of the older and shorter office is unknown, but the author of the younger and fuller is Pethion a monk. According to the former, after fifty days' probation the candidate is brought into the 'place of prayer', and Rabban having spread a woollen tunic on the ground sets him upon it with his face to the East, saying at the same time, "This tunic is the type of the grave, and the world is already dead to thee." Rabban

the mark of the true Christians could not be distinguished from the tonsure of the Sèwaryânè[1] (*i. e.*, followers of Severus).[2] And[3] as formerly everyone who wished

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next cuts off the hair from the top of his head, leaving a space like a "wheel and a crown," which he sprinkles with water, saying, "Christ will wash away the impurity of thy sins." This form of tonsure has been associated with St. Peter, and is often called the Roman tonsure; the shaving of the whole head is called the Greek tonsure, and is associated with St. Paul. For the service of three years and three months in the monastery before receiving the tonsure see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 101, note 907. In the Jacobite office "the priest takes some of the hair from the front, and back, and each side of his head in the form of a cross" ܟܗܢܐ ܫܩܠ ܡܢ ܣܥܪܗ ܡܢ ܩܕܡܘܗܝ ܘܡܢ ܒܣܬܪܗ ܘܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܠܗܪܟܐ ܘܡܢ ܗܪܟܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 2, p. 905.

[1] Assemânî writes ܣܘܝܪܝܢܐ, ܣܘܝܪܝܢܐ.

[2] *I. e.*, Severus, Patriarch of Antioch A. D. 512—519. He was born at Sozopolis in Pisidia, and in his early life practised in the courts at Beyrût. He embraced the Monophysite doctrine and became a monk in a monastery near Gaza; later he joined a Eutychian brotherhood near Eleutheropolis under the direction of Mamas. He was called 'Acephalus' and became the head of the Acephalai Ἀκέφαλοι, or party of Monophysites who rejected the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and the Henoticon of Zeno promulgated in 482, and who separated themselves from Peter Mongus the Patriarch of Alexandria. Severus held that Christ was one, and that this personal unity embraced a divine and human element, each of which he regarded as an essence or substance rather than as a nature. (Smith and Wace, *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, iv. p. 315). Severus and Philoxenus of Mabbôg were the founders of the Jacobite form of monasticism which obtained in Egypt. Severus died in Egypt about 540. See Assemânî, *Dissert. de Monoph.*, *B. O.*, ii, p. 9; Evagrius, *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 33; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ed. Lamy and Abbeloos, 1. coll. 188, 190, 194, 212; Labbe, *Concilia*, iv. 1461; and Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 384.

[3] The next six clauses are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 94. col. 1.

to learn and to become master of the heathen philosophy of the Greeks went to Athens, the famous city of philosophers, so in this case, every one who desired to be instructed in spiritual philosophy went to the holy Monastery of Rabban Mâr Abraham, [p. 24] and inscribed[1] himself in sonship[2] to him. Thus after many years, when the pursuit of the monastic life and voluntary abstinence had greatly increased, and when, during the lifetime of that holy man,[3] fathers had gone forth from his congregation, and had, like him, built monasteries, he was gathered [to his fathers] in honour, and went to incorruptible life.

CHAPTER V.

OF MÂR DÂDH-ÎSHÔʿ[4]

Now[5] this blessed man Dâdh-Îshôʿ, who, according to what we have learned from history concerning him, became governor after Rabban Mâr Abraham, formerly

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[1] Read ܡܟܬܒ. [2] Read ܘܒܒܪܘܬܐ.

[3] Read ܘܥܡ ܚܝܘܗܝ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܩܕܝܫܘܬܗ.

[4] Dâdh-Îshôʿ succeeded Mâr Abraham as head of the Monastery of Mount Îzlâ, probably during the life-time of Abraham, at the end of the VIth or beginning of the VIIth century. He wrote a commentary on the *Paradise of the Western Monks,* probably meaning the *Paradise* of Palladius and Jerome, a discourse on the consecration of the cell, funeral sermons and epistles, some works on the ascetic life, and annotations to the works of Isaiah of Scete. The name means "gift of Jesus" ܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 173; Wright, *Syriac Lit.*, p. 838; and *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 98, 99.

[5] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 98. col. 1.

lived in Dairâ dhê Rîshâ[1] (*i. e.*, Monastery of the Head), in this country of Margâ,[2] with Rabban Esṭaphnôs (Stephen) the Great, who was famous and renowned in all the East. When he had continued with him for a period of seven years, he departed to Rabban Mâr Abraham, and was, it is said, the first to come to

[1] A famous monastery of Margâ, in which, according to Thomas of Margâ "seven bishops (BC read 'seventy') dwelt at the beginning." See Bk. vi. cap. 1. (text p. 328. ll. 10, 11, and note 6).

[2] The position of the town of Margâ cannot be fixed exactly, but it was not far from Môṣul in a N. E. direction; it is the *Marj el-Mauṣil* or Marj Abû ῾Obeida of the Arabic writers مَرْجُ المَوْصِل ويعرف بمرج ابى عُبَيْدة عن جانبها الشرقى موضع بين الجبال فى منخفض من الارض سبية باغور فيه مروج وقرى Yâḳût iv. p. 488. The province of Margâ is partially represented by that of Mâr Abraham of Gunduk (see Badger, *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. 1, p. 392), and had as its centre the province of Nâukur; it must also have comprised the arable plain, which forms an irregular parallelogram in shape, measuring twenty-five miles by fifteen, which slopes down slightly from Gebel Maḳlûb and the hill of ῾Ain eṣ-Ṣafra, and which is bounded on the N. E. and E. by the Gômel* and Ḥâzir rivers, and on the S. W. and S. E., by the Upper Zâb and Tigris. The boundaries of the diocese of Margâ were, on the N. the crest of the Ḥair mountains, on the W. the Mezûri mountains, on the E. Gebel Mâr Daniel, on the N. E. Gebel Maḳlûb, on the S. the Upper Zâb, on the S. E. a bend of the Ḥair mountains. (Mâr Daniel is about 28 miles E. of Nineveh, and ῾Ain eṣ-Ṣafra six or eight miles N. W. of Mâr Daniel; the Church of Mâr Daniel stands on the top of ῾Ain eṣ-Ṣafra). Margâ is called ܩܘܪܝܐ 'village', by Bar-Hebraeus (Chron. ed. Bruns p. 517. l. 7, ed. Bedjan p. 492. l. 15). Margâ must be distinguished from

* "The hill on which Mâr Daniel, another old Christian Church, is situated, and of which it occupies the highest and central point, is abrupt on its western and sloping on its eastern side." "The river Gomel, about as large as the Khozer, falls into the Ḥâzir (near Mâr Mattai), which in turn falls into the Upper Zâb." Rich, *Narrative*, vol. 2, p. [illegible].

him. And he ministered unto him a long time, and after Mâr Abraham had departed from this mortal life to that of peace, Mâr Dâdh-Îshô' became the head and governor of the monastery after him. And the historians magnify him and say that in respect of the humility which he possessed, and his despising of self, and his abstinence and asceticism, he surpassed all others of his time. And the name and glory of his godly habits of life was, like that of his master, carried into all places, and by his means that holy convent flourished, and increased in holy men who became his disciples.

CHAPTER VI.

[P. 25] OF OUR RABBAN MÂR JACOB OF BÊTH-'ÂBHÊ.

Now this holy man Rabban Jacob sprang from the town of Lâshôm[1] of Bêth-Garmai.[2] And having dwelt

Marâgah ܡܪܓܗ a city of Adhôrbâijân, with which it is sometimes confounded by Assemânî, (*B. O.*, iii. 2, p. 752). See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 222—227 and the authorities quoted by him; Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, vol. 2, pp. 72, 80; and Felix Jones, *Notes on the Topography of Nineveh*, p. 405 ff. (in *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, No. xlii. New Series. Bombay 1857).

[1] ܠܫܘܡ, Arab. لاشوم, is represented to-day by the village of Lasim, about three quarters of a mile to the south-west of Tâ'ûk, or Dâkôkâ داقوق, دَقوقاء, ܕܩܘܩ, apparently a town on the great road from Bagdad to Môṣul, about nine hours south of Kerkûk. See Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 155, col. 2; p. 443. col. 2; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 274 and note 643; and Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 483, note 3. The identification of Lashôm with Dâḳôḳâ proposed by 'Amr bar-Mattai refers only to the bishoprics.

[2] ܒܝܬ ܓܪܡܝ, Arab. باجرمى The archbishopric of Bêth Garmai was one of the largest and most important in the Nestorian Church, and its limits are roughly marked on the N. by the Awroman-Azmir-Kandilân mountains, by the Lower Zâb on

in divers places for many years, sometimes in teaching and exercising himself and others in the Scriptures, and sometimes in leading the life of a solitary in quiet places, he went up to the monastery [of Mount Izlâ], and became a disciple of Rabban Mâr Dâdh-Îshô; and he lived as an anchorite[1] in the cell of Mâr Jacob, Bishop of Nisibis.[2] And this blessed man, our Jacob, dwelt in that cell for a certain time, according to what Sâhdônâ[3] saith concerning him, for seven years. Now when the holy Mâr Dâdh-Îshô had also departed to the life of blessedness, the holy Mâr Bâbhai[4] the Great became the head of that holy monastery. But inasmuch as our holy father Mâr Jacob chose great humility, and to be thought of no account at all, according to what his disciples write concerning him, he made himself a stranger to all positions of worldly honour, and he made himself a servant of all that holy brotherhood. And although before God, the Lord of all, he was a great and honourable man, yet by reason of his nakedness and poverty he was despised and held to be of no account by those void of understanding. And he set

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the W., by the Ḥemrîn mountains on the S., and the Diyâla and Shirwân rivers on the E. The identification of the towns, rivers, etc., in this diocese has been excellently worked out by Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 253 ff., '*Umfang der Diöcese Bêth Garmai.*' For towns in Bêth Garmai, see pp. 267—277.

[1] ܒܝܚܝܕܝܘܬܐ. [2] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 301, 435, 554.

[3] *I. e.*, Sâhdônâ, a member of the Mission of Bishops which was sent to Heraclius; he became converted to the views held by the Jacobites by the head of a convent near Apamea. The history of his apostasy is given by Thomas of Margâ Bk. ii. chap. 6, and the account of his writings in Bk. 1. chap. 34.

[4] Not Bâbhai, the Patriarch, who succeeded Acacius A. D. 499, and who decreed that his successors should marry. Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. col. 80.

aside many conflicts and afflictions [caused] by the rebellious devils there, to whom he appeared as one not to be conquered by any means whatever; but they[1] made a goad[2] for him as we are shortly about to say.

[P. 26]

CHAPTER VII.[3]

OF THE BLESSED MÂR BÂBHAI.[4]

Now this blessed man Mâr Bâbhai came from Bêth 'Ainâthâ,[5] a city of Bêth Zabhdai,[6] and according to

[1] Read ܥܒܕܘ? [2] Read ܡܥܩܐ.

[3] This chapter has been printed with a Latin translation in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 88. col. 1.

[4] Bâbhai the Great, third governor of the Monastery of Îzlâ, flourished about A. D. 569—628 under the Nestorian Patriarchs Ezekiel, Ìshô'-yahbh of Arzòn, Sabhr-Ìshô' and Gregory. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 88. col. 1. He must be distinguished from Bâbhai bar-Nesibhnâyê, who flourished under the Catholicus Ṣelibhâ-zekhâ (A. D. 713—729), and who was famous for his beautiful voice. On the death of the Catholicus Gregory of Kashkar in 607, he together with Mâr Abbâ the archdeacon (see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 93. col. 1.), guided the Nestorian Church through a period of persecution and great difficulty. He was appointed inspector of monasteries by the Archbishops of Bêth Garmai, Adiabene and Nisibis, who entrusted to his care the task of rooting out from them such men as held the doctrine of the Meṣalleyânê. He performed his work with such zeal and success, and ruled the Nestorian Church so ably during this period that, after the murder of Chosroës II. in 628, he would certainly have been elected Catholicus had he not declined to accept the dignity. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 121; Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 842; Guidi, *Un nuovo testo siriaco sulla storia degli ultimi Sassanidi* (Actes du 8e Congrès des Orientalistes tenu en 1889 à Stockholm et à Christiania), p. 17, at the foot.

[5] ܒܝܬ ܥܝܢܬܐ, to be distinguished from the باعيناثا of Yâḳût (iv, p. 252) which lay upon the left bank of the Tigris in Bêth Ḳardô. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 173; Yâḳût i. 472.

[6] ܒܝܬ ܙܒܕܝ, Arab. بَازَبْدَى. For the name see Yâḳût i. 466.

what is written concerning him, he also was, like Jacob our father, a disciple of Mâr Abraham. [And although he was] a learned and a wise man, he was by nature somewhat hasty of speech and harsh in command. He wrote a lucid commentary on the works of the Fathers.[1] Now when Mâr Dâdh-Îshô' had departed this life, and Mâr Bâbhai had become the head of the community, being the third head in the order of succession, Satan began to sow the accursed tares of the doctrine of abominable things in that blessed field of choice wheat sown[2] by excellent husbandmen.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE CORRUPT MEN WHO ROSE UP IN HIS DAYS IN THE HOLY MONASTERY [OF MOUNT ÎZLÂ].

Now Satan, the enemy of the race of man, who from the beginning fought with our parents in Eden;[3] who wickedly

Bêth Zabhdai was a district on the western or right bank of the Tigris, adjacent to Gazîret ibn 'Omar.

[1] According to the statement in the Catalogue of 'Abhd-Îshô' he wrote eighty-three volumes (*B. O.*, iii. 1. 94), which included: the Cause of Hosannas; the Book of Union (a work on the two natures of our Lord); a commentary on the *Centuries* of Evagrius; the Book of Abbâ Mark; a history of the followers of Diodorus; a work on the Festival of the Cross; a book of hymns, etc., for the commemorations of the Virgin Mary and Saint John, and other commemorations throughout the year; rules for novices; canons for monks; a commentary on Holy Scripture; letters to Joseph Ḥazzaeus; and a discourse on Matthew the wanderer, Abraham of Nisibis and Gabriel of al-Kaṭar. To these Dr. Wright adds a Life of George, a convert, whose name was Mihrâmgushnasp, and a few hymns. See Assemânî, *B. O.*, *Catal. Vat.*, iii. pp. 367—372; *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 94ff.; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 91, 173; Bickell, *Conspectus*, pp. 37, 38.

[2] ܕܙܪܝܥܐ refers to ܚܩܠܐ.

[3] Genesis iii. 1.

sowed the name of polytheism in the world; who drew on Cain[1] to his own will; who made the sons of God[2] to sin, and brought them down from their membership in the divine household; who made the licentious Ham rejoice in the shame of his father[3]; who taught those senseless builders[4] to build a tower in Shinar to fight against God;[4] who alienated Esau from a right course of action;[5] who made the sons of the prophet Moses[6] [p. 27] to cast off the yoke that they might not walk in the glorious manner of life of their father; who made the sons of Eli[7] and the sons of Samuel[8] to take bribes and to sport with the women in the tabernacle; who made Gehazi a stranger to the calling and manner of life which the service of the blessed Elijah[9] required;—when that enemy saw that that holy assembly, by a course of life exalted above the body and out of the common order, was shining with the rays of the light of purity, he set apart for himself in that flock certain solitaries,[10] and filled them with the spirit of whoredom, and he confounded their imaginations with the lust of the flesh, the mother of lasciviousness. Now if these men had

[1] Genesis iv. 8.

[2] Genesis vi. 2. For the cause of the fall of the sons of Seth, who are identified with the sons of God, see Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 18 ff. and Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 27 ff. ܒܢ̈ܝ ܐܠܗܐ = אֱלֹהִים. For explanations of the term 'sons of God' see Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 199.

[3] Genesis ix. 22. [4] Genesis xi. 2. [5] Genesis xxv. 34.

The allusion may be to some legend of Moses of which many abound in Oriental literature, or to Judges xviii. 30.

[7] 1 Samuel ii. 22. [8] 1 Samuel viii. 3.

[9] 2 Kings v. 20. Thomas means Elisha.

[10] This and the following clause are quoted by Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 88. col. 2. For ܦܘܡܠܐ he reads ܡܠܐ.

at the first growth of their imaginations resisted the wiles of Satan, and [had not made themselves] a place of refuge[1] for the wicked thoughts which he was sowing in them even for a moment, they could at once have cast them out of their minds, and he would neither have been able to do harm to their upright understanding, nor to make them the ready vessels of his will. And it happened to them according to what Abbâ Pôman (Poemen)[2] spake, saying, "The Evil One has three powers which go before all sin. First of all he lays down error,[3] and after error, negligence, and after negligence, lust. Now when error hath obtained the mastery over a solitary brother, it taketh away the remembrance of divine things from his heart, and delivereth him over to negligence, that he may not be aroused and put away from him the slumber of his remissness; and after negligence cometh the madness of lascivious desire, by reason of which the whole man becometh a vessel perfected for destruction.[4] What

[1] ܘܡܛܫܝܬܐ for ܡܛܫܝܬܐ.

[2] Saint Pœmen retired to Scete about A. D. 390, and he died there seventy years after. For his life see Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Aug. 27; Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 497ff. Cotelerius, *Monumenta*, t. i. pp. 585—637. For ܦܘܡܢ we should perhaps read ܦܘܐܡܢ; Ποιμήν. A number of the sayings of Pœmen are given by Palladius, and see also Add. 14,606 (Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.*, p. 744, col. 2) fol. 96*b*, and Add. 12,175 (Wright *Cat. Syr. MSS.*, p. 635, col. 2) fol. 194*b*.

[3] Reading with Vat. ܕܒܬܪܗܘܢ ܛܥܝܘܬܐ.

[4] In the *Paradise* of Palladius, Sayings of the Fathers, No. ܪܦܘ, this passage reads: — ܐܡܪ ܐܒܐ ܦܘܡܢ: ܕܬܠܬ ܚܝܠܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܠܣܛܢܐ. ܕܩܕܡܝܢ ܠܟܠ ܚܛܝܬܐ. ܩܕܡܝܐ ܛܥܝܘܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪܗ ܡܡܓܢܘܬܐ. ܘܒܬܪܗ ܪܓܬܐ. ܟܕ ܐܬܬ ܛܥܝܘܬܐ ܝܗܒܐ ܠܡܡܓܢܘܬܐ: ܘܗܝ ܡܡܓܢܘܬܐ ܝܗܒܐ ܠܪܓܬܐ: ܘܗܝ ܪܓܬܐ ܡܦܠܐ ܠܒܪܢܫܐ. ܐܢܗܘ ܕܡܬܢܛܪ ܡܢ ܛܥܝܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܐ ܠܡܡܓܢܘܬܐ: ܘܐܢ ܠܐ ܡܡܓܢ. ܠܐ

then? Those wretched and contemptible men, by the evil counsel of the Calumniator, went down secretly, and took[1] unto themselves women, whom, according to what history handeth down, they brought to the outside cells in which they lived; [p. 28] and they continued in this corrupt and abominable course of life some short time. But our God, that good and gracious Being, Who is longsuffering towards sinners, and desireth the improvement and the saving of their lives, when He saw that penitence for the wickedness which they were committing had not entered into them, and that they being[2] themselves impure and defiled, were living in a holy place, and among holy men, and were not ashamed, He exposed them and put them to shame in this manner.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE HOLY MAN RABBAN MÂR ÊLÎYÂ.

Now[3] there lived in that holy monastery the truly blessed man Mâr Êliyâ,[4] who in earthly descent came

[illegible]

"Abbâ Pœmen says, 'Satan hath three powers which go before all sin: the first is error, the second is negligence, and the third is lust. When error entereth in it giveth birth to negligence, and from negligence ariseth lust, and through lust man falleth. Now if [a man] be watchful of error, negligence cannot come; and if he be not negligent lust cannot arise; and if he work not lust, by the help of Christ he will never fall'." (fol. 228*b*).

[1] This and the three following clauses are quoted by Assemânî, *B. O.,* iii. 1. 88. col. 2. [2] Read [illegible] or [illegible].

[3] This and the six following clauses are quoted in *B. O.,* iii. 1. p. 88. col. 2.

[4] Probably the famous ascetic who built a monastery on the Tigris by Ḥesnâ 'Ebhrâyâ. See Guidi, *Un nuovo testo Siriaco,* p. 18.

from Ḥirthâ,[1] the great city of the Ṭayyâyê[2] (Arabs). He was instructed in doctrine in the city of Nisibis, and he also became a disciple of the ascetic life in the holy monastery[3] [there]. He followed the path of monastic life blamelessly, and being remote and free from the gratification of the senses of the body, he excelled in self-denial, and in zeal against the devils and passions of the body like his namesake [Elijah the Tishbite], even as the holy man Abbâ Mâḳâris[4] (Macarius) saith

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[1] ܚܝܪܬܐ ܕܛܝܝܐ "Ḥirthâ of the Arabs" *i. e.*, الحيرة *al-Ḥirah*, called also ܚܝܪܬܐ ܕܢܥܡܢ, or ܚܝܪܬܐ ܕܢܘܥܡܢ Ḥîrthâ dhĕ Naʿmân, or Ḥîrthâ dhĕ Nûʿmân, "the capital of Naʿmân" was the chief town of the petty kingdom of the Lakhmite Arabs, traces of which still exist a little to the south-east of the modern town of Meshed ʿAli, a few miles from Kûfah. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 863, p. 97; Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 45; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur l'histoire des Arabes*, t. ii. p. 1 ff.; Noeldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, p. 25; Guidi, *Un nuovo testo Siriaco*, p. 9, l. 14.

[2] Ṭayyâyê طائي originally meant the Arabs of the tribe of طيء Ṭayyiʾ. Later, however, the word indicated Arabs generally, and even Arabs who had embraced Christianity.

[3] Probably in the Monastery of Rabban Stephen the Great.

[4] Two hermits named Macarius lived in Egypt in the fourth century A. D: the one was named 'Macarius the Egyptian' and the other 'Macarius the Alexandrian.' Macarius the Egyptian retired to the desert when he was thirty years old, he lived there sixty years and died there about A. D. 390, aged ninety. See Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 23; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 14; Rufinus, *Hist. Eccles.*, ii. 4; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vii. 57. In ʿAbhd-Îshôʿ's Catalogue (*B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 44, 45). Macarius is stated to have written "three volumes on the ascetic life," ܟܬܒ ܥܠ ܕܘܒܪܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܦܢܩܝܬܐ. For his writings see Cave, *Hist. Litt.*, for the year 373; Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.*, viii. 361; Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, p. 1304. Macarius was present at

to the wise Mâr Evagrius,[1] "So long as we make the devils rage we abide without injury." And although[2] this blessed man naturally kept the strength of his wrath [to fight] against obstacles to a life of excellence,

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the death of Antony the Great. Macarius the Younger, or Alexandrian, retired to the desert about A. D. 335. Before 349 he went to the Monastery of Saint Pachomius, where he died A. D. 394. Like his namesake Macarius the Egyptian he visited Antony, and also suffered banishment with his namesake. See Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 23; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 14; Rufinus, *Hist. Eccles.*, ii. 4; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, vii. pp. 57 and 102. At the end of the notice of the Macarii by Palladius the Syriac version has the following: — ܒܬܪ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܢܫ̈ܐ ܕܡܫܬܥܝܢ ܒܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܐ ܗܕܐ. ܘܐ ܐܚܝ ܕܢܣܒܘܢ ܚܝܠܗ. ܕܠܐ ܢܬܟܠܘܢ ܒܗܕܐ ܕܐܡܪܬ ܕܥܒܕܝܢ ܒܢܝ̈ܢܫܐ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܒܩܘܠܣ ܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ ܗܕܐ ܕܒܫܢܐ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ. ܕܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܠܐܒܘܣܝܩܐ ܡܚܝܠ̈ܐ ܐܢܫ̈ܝܢ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܠܐ ܢܦܠܘܢ ܒܡܬܢܝܚܘܬܐ. ܕܠܦܠܓܘܬ ܡܚܝ̈ܠܐ. ܐܢ ܓܝܪ ܐܝܬ ܕܐܬܟܬܒ ܒܡܦܩܬܐ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܡܟܬܒܢܘܬܐ ܗܕܐ. ܕܢܣܒܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܡܫܬܡܥܘ ܗܝܠ ܕܒܫܢܐ ܡܩܒܠܝܢ. ܘܗܘ ܒܡܐܢ ܒܓܘ ܐܢܐ ܕܟܬܒܬ ܠܗ ܠܦܠܓܝܘ. ܠܗܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܦܪܘܣܝܘܣ. ܕܗܘ ܡܗܝܡܢ ܥܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܘܫܢܐ ܡܫܬܠܡܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ. ܕܒܬܪܗ ܘܕܡ̈ܥܐ ܕܡܟܬܒ̈ܢ ܠܗ ܗܘ ܕܚܙܐ ܠܗ ܡܫܚܐ ܐܢܐ ܕܒܟܘܪܚܢܗ ܕܢܬܠܗ ܐܒܣܢܝܘܗܝ ܒܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ ✡ (fol. 68*b*).

[1] Evagrius of Pontus, born at Ibora in Pontus Galatius, was taken to Constantinople by Gregory Nyssen A. D. 381. Here he became enamoured of a married lady of high rank, but owing to a dream he fled from this city to Jerusalem where he fell ill. He was received by Melania, who exhorted him to receive the monastic habit, and about 382 he set out for Egypt, and eventually retired to "the cells" in the Nitrian desert. He died about 398, aged fifty-two years, having lived at Scete seventeen years. He was the teacher of Palladius, Rufinus and Heraclides of Cyprus, and was himself the pupil of the two Macarii. See Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 23; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.*, vi. 30; and Palladius, *Hist. Laus.*, cap. 86. According to ʿAbhd-Îshôʿ Evagrius wrote "three volumes;" see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 45; Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, p. 1274; and Cave, *Hist. Litt.*, i, p. 275 ff. [2] We should read ܗܘܝܬ ܐܦ striking out ܒܗ.

he abode without offence and without injury in [his] love for man, and in the love of the exact image of the excellence which [cometh from] the God of our frail nature. Now by the hand of this man, who was admirable in his manner of life, [p. 29] God, the Lord of all, exposed the secret crime which had taken place in that holy congregation in his days. And as God, the Lord of all, destroyed and slew the prophets of Baal by the hand of the blessed Mâr Elijah,[1] so it pleased the Lord of all to root out and destroy those evil thorns, which were fit and ready for the fiery furnace, that is, the unclean work[2] and manner of life of those men, by the hand of this namesake and fellow-soldier of Elijah the prophet. Now some say that he received a revelation from God, and that in an angelic vision he was commanded to go down from his own cell in the night season to the cells of those men; others say that it happened accidentally, and that he heard the noise of the rods which the women were using in weaving garments; and others that he found little boys and girls, the children of those men, playing round about the cells of their fathers, and that when he asked them who they were, and whence they came, they answered him saying, "We belong to this place, and our fathers are such an one, and such an one;"[3] but by whatever way it happened, we must know that Elijah did not leave his cell without the divine command,—especially at eventide when a solitary should be diligent in casting choice aromas into the censer of his heart, to make from them a sweet-smelling savour

[1] I Kings xviii. 40. [2] Read ܕܥܘܠܢܐ.

[3] This passage is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 80. col. 2.

for the whole night,—merely to go down [to walk] among the cells of the solitaries. Now when he saw and knew [what had happened], he marvelled with an exceeding great wonder. And since by nature heat of temper and exciteable and fiery zeal cleave to the race of Ishmaelites, he burned with fervour and became hot with wrath, and like Elijah the prophet he complained to God, saying, "The children of Israel have forsaken Thy covenant,[1] they have trodden Thy law under foot, they have forgotten Thy commandments, and instead of the fatherhood of Abraham their father, they have chosen for their father Satan the enemy of the race of man."

CHAPTER X.[2]

[P. 30] OF THOSE THINGS WHICH THE BLESSED MAN DID ON THE MORNING OF THAT DAY.

It was a custom in that holy monastery that the board[3] by which the congregation was summoned should not be struck, for any cause whatever, without the command of the head of the convent; and whenever this was done without the governor's command it was a sign and an indication that they were removing the head of the convent from his governorship.

Now when it was morning, the blessed Mâr Elijah went down to the monastery, and commanded the sacristan to go up and strike the board to summon the congregation. And when the sacristan heard [this],

[1] 1 Kings xix. 10.

[2] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 89. col. 1 ff.

[3] ܢܳܩܘܫܳܐ, Arab. نَاقُوس, plur. نواقس, the board which was struck with a hammer to summon the monks together.

on account of the greatness and honourable position of him that gave the command, he did not excuse[1] himself and say, "I cannot do this without the command of Rabban, the head of the convent," but at the command he did what the blessed man told him; and all [the monks] were gathered together and came to the church. Now the holy man Mâr Bâbhai, who was[2] head of the convent in those days, marvelled[3] that contrary to his command,[4] and for some cause unknown to him,[5] the board to summon the congregation had been struck. And he called the sacristan and asked him, "By whose command hast thou struck the board?" and the sacristan answered and said, "Mâr Elijah the Zealous comanded me;" and Mâr Bâbhai called Mâr Elijah and told him to reveal to him the cause of this unaccustomed gathering together. Then Mâr Elijah answered and said, "How is it, O our father and head, that the things[6] which are done afar off, and at a distance, are revealed to thee, while the manifest wickedness which is [wrought] near at hand in thy monastery is hidden from thee? How is it that those who are not under the subjection of thy headship tremble and hide themselves at the report of thy being near or afar off, while in this divine inheritance Sodom is being raised to life again, und Geba[7] rebuilt? How

[1] Read ܢܫܬܥܠ.

[2] Read ܗܘ ܕܒܐܝܠܗܘܢ.

[3] Read ܬܘܗ.

[4] *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 89. col. 1. l. 16 has ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܦܘܩܕܢܗ ܢܩܫܘ ܢܩܘܫܐ ܕܟܢܘܫܝܐ.

[5] Read ܡܢ ܠܘܬ ܥܠܬܐ ܕܠܗ ܡܬܝܕܥܐ.

[6] Read ܣܘܥܪ̈ܢܐ.

[7] 1 Kings xv. 22; 2 Chronicles xvi. 6; Isaiah x. 29. I am unable to explain the allusion here.

hath the gangrene and stinking sore[1] taken root and spread in the members of the holy body of the sons[2] of thy holiness?[3] [p. 31] What availeth[4] the blessing of our father Abraham, or the bringing up of Mâr Dâdh-Ìshô', or the teaching of the Giḥôn[5] river of thy doctrine if thy instruction hath [only] been fruitful in bringing forth a brood of cursed snakes, which are the children of the Serpent, the murderer, that is to say these men of our congregation who are sitting before thee, for behold their eyes see and their ears hear? They have conceived iniquity,[6] and brought forth falsehood,[7] they have drunk troubled waters,[8] they have eaten husks,[9] they have whored with the daughters of Moab[10] by the counsel of a spiritual[11] Balaam, and they have forgotten the God[12] of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. To thee it belongeth, O our father, like Phinehas[13] the zealous, to drive the spear of thy zeal into these unclean men, and to rip open those who have laid a blot on the congregation of the fathers of all the children of the East. To thee, I say, it belongeth to drive out and to destroy from Bethel,

[1] Read ܘܣܘܚܢܐ.

[2] Read ܕܒܢ̈ܝ.

[3] *B. O.*, ܕܩܕܝܫܘܬܟ.

[4] Lit. 'where.'

[5] ܓܝܚܘܢ, גִּיחוֹן, Ar. جيحان = the Nile. In a passage quoted by Payne Smith (*Thes.* col. 708) the teaching of the four Evangelists is compared to the four rivers of Paradise. The teaching of St. Matthew is compared to the bursting overflow of the Nile ܕܡܘܬ ܓܝܚܘܢ ܓܚ ܘܡܬܦܩܐ, and there is a play on the words ܓܚ, ܓܝܚܘܢ.

[6] Cf. Proverbs xxii. 8.

[7] Psalm vii. 14.

[8] Jeremiah 2. 13.

[9] St. Luke xv. 16.

[10] Numbers xxv. 1.

[11] 2 Peter ii. 15.

[12] Deut xxxii. 18.

[13] Numbers xxv. 7, 8.

the house of the Lord God of thy fathers, those men who appeared to me in a vision." Now when these and other such like words had been spoken by the holy mouth, and trembling and terror had fallen upon every man, the holy Mâr Bâbhai said to him, "Thou must indeed shew me the proof of these thy words, and that which is proper, and that which is incumbent upon me to do, I will do." And Elijah making a sign with his hand, pointed out and discovered those wretched men, and said, "These are they who have erred and gone forth from the fold of life to feed among the thorns; these are they who have forsaken Jerusalem, and wished to walk among the serpents of the waste places of Jericho;[1] these are they who have made a calf in Horeb,[2] and worshipped a molten image, and have changed their object of honour into filth and unclean stinkingness! Behold there are women in their cells, and children with them! These are they whose wickedness hath driven me to give a command and to do a deed[3] without the command of thy holiness."

[P. 32] CHAPTER XI.[4]

OF THOSE THINGS WHICH MÂR BÂBHAI AND ALL THE FATHERS DID.

Now when these things had been thus zealously said and made manifest by the hand of this second

[1] Joshua vi. 26. Conf. Suidas *s. v.* Πιαλέοις ὄφεσιν, a species of serpent found especially near Jericho.

[2] Exodus xxxii. 4.

[3] Lit. "I have commanded a command, and I have done a deed."

[4] The first five lines of this chapter are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 8[illegible]. col. 2.

Elijah, the hearts of those holy men were cast down; and they removed from [the offenders] the garb of the ascetic life, and cut off the tonsure of their heads, and drove them forth and expelled them from thence, together with their wives and their children, and they kindled a flame and burned their cells with fire. Thus they rooted out that evil from among them, even as the children of Israel, when they were zealous with the zeal of the will of the Lord, destroyed the children of Benjamin[1] with the mouth of the sword, because they had corrupted the ways and paths of purity, and had renewed among themselves the customs of the Sodomites; and as Ishmael and the children of Ḳenṭôrâ (Keturah), were driven forth from the house of Abraham,[2] and made aliens, that they might not inherit the paternal inheritance together with the son of the free woman; and as Manasseh also was rejected, who corrupted the holy generations of the Lord,[3] and established in the holy temple an idol with four faces,[4] [so also were they driven forth and rejected]. Now although these men went forth in the disgrace of which their actions were worthy, yet, they finally offered penitence, and remembered Christ their Lord, and they did not bring their lives to an end with acts of wickedness. Now, by the hand of God, we will speak concerning these men in the place which requireth it.

[1] Judges xx. 35.

[2] Genesis xxi. 14; Genesis xxv. 1—6.

[3] 2 Kings xxi. 7. 2 Chron. xxxiii. 7.

[4] I am unable to explain the allusion here.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE UNLAWFUL ACCUSATION WITH WHICH OUR HOLY MÂR JACOB OF BÊTH ʿÂBHÊ WAS ACCUSED, AND OF THE JUDGMENT, REMOTE FROM JUSTICE, WITH WHICH HE WAS JUDGED.

Now when those guilty men had been cast forth into exile, [p. 33] and had been justly driven away to a great distance, and Satan saw that his labour had been made of none effect, and that his disciples had been condemned, he wished also to cast out and to drive away[1] from that [monastery] those chosen and excellent men who would not enter into his snares, and who could not be caught in his nets. And he stirred up an accusation against[2] the holy Rabban Mâr Jacob, as being one whose cell was near to the habitations of those men, and as one who had known of their whole course of life, and who had, during the whole time past, sheltered instead of discovering them. And the holy Mâr Elijah according to his customary vehemence made an attack upon him[3] saying, "All this folly is thine, and thou art guilty of all this sin; for if thou hadst revealed the matter and shown it to me at the beginning, these men would either have been admonished or expelled."[4] And by this tumult which had risen up against him, this most meek and humble of all men, who knew not that any sin besides his own existed in creation, whose eye was pure, and who never perceived wickedness in

[1] Read, with C, ܘܢܦܩܘܢ.

[2] Hoffmann would read, with C, ܠܡܣܩܪ.

[3] Eshtaf'al of ܝܪܐ = יָרָה se conjecit in, conflixit cum; συνοδεύειν astronomice. Hoffmann.

[4] We should rather expect this to be the speech of Mâr Bâbhai.

his neighbour, who never injured a man all the days of his life, who never chid and who was never angry, without making any answer whatever to those who blamed him, with his looks bent to the ground, and with his eyes full of tears, and with sorrowful penitence in his heart, was he driven forth, and he went out from that monastery by the order and decree of the word of Mâr Bâbhai. And he departed with a venerable and holy disciple called Bar-Nôn who had been his companion for a long time past, and thus they two went forth to the mountains of Ḳardô[1] to lead the life of anchorites.

CHAPTER XIII.

[P. 34] OF THE THINGS WHICH HAPPENED IN THAT HOLY MONASTERY AFTER THE GOING FORTH OF MÂR JACOB.

It is evident that meekness and humility are the most excellent of all the virtues which are cultivated and perfected by the body and the soul, and we may learn this from many things; and that there is nothing worse than pride and arrogance we may also learn from hearing and reading and seeing. If then, according to the command of the Lord Jesus Christ, thou art meek and gracious, and art of no account in thine own eyes and thy heart is filled with penitence and self-condemnation, then thou shalt find that all men [are thy] friends, and thou shalt turn the harshness of foes to kindness, and our Lord God shall make thee beloved in the sight of all men. And thou

[1] *I. e.*, Gebel al-Gûdî of the Arabs, on the left bank of the Tigris, over against Gezîret ibn ʿOmar.

shalt also live uninjured with destructive beasts and harmful reptiles, like this holy father,[1] who when he was unjustly condemned, and unlawfully accused, neither judged, nor thought himself to be like unto one of those men who condemned him, but commended the whole matter to God, to Whom belongeth the earth, and Who judgeth the round world with righteousness.

Now therefore, when the blessed Jacob had thus gone forth therefrom and the honourable head[2] of the monastery had laid a ban of many lines, [full] of denunciations and accusations upon him, (let him that desireth to know what manner of ban it was read the epistle which the holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh,[3] Bishop of Bâlâdh,[4]

[1] Read ܕܠܕܝܢܝܗܘܢ. [2] Read ܪܝܫܐ.

[3] Îshô'-yahbh II. was the fourth head of the Monastery of Îzlâ. He was born at Gĕdhàlâ, or Gudâl جدال, near Môṣul. He studied at Nisibis, was made Bishop of Bàlâdh, and was, on the death of Gregory, elected Patriarch (628—644). He was sent in 630 by Bôràn, the daughter of Khosrau II., on an embassy to Heraclius, and Bar-Hebræus says that when questioned by the Greeks as to his faith he confessed himself to be of the same faith as they, whereby the faithful in his diocese were much scandalized; when he returned he made an apology in which he said that he had not agreed on this matter with the Greeks. The Emperor made him take a wife like the other Patriarchs. According to 'Abhd-Ìshô' his works consisted of a Commentary on the Psalms, sundry letters and stories, and a discourse on various matters ܡܡܠܠܐ ܕܥܠ ܥܠܬܐ ܘܫܘܐܠܐ ܘܦܘܫܩܐ ܕܟܠ ܟܬܒܐ ܟܬܒܐ. He died about A. D. 647. See Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. col. 114f.; *B. O.*, ii. 416—418; iii. 1, p. 105; Baethgen, *Fragmente*, pp. 13. 19. 108. iii; Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 842. col. 2. For the account of his embassy to Heraclius by Thomas of Margà see Book ii. cap. 4.

[4] Bâlâdh, or Eskî-Môṣul, is situated on the east bank of the Tigris about forty miles above Môṣul. See *B. O.*, ii, p. lxix;

who afterwards became Catholicus, wrote to Mâr Jacob, from which he will learn the exact contents. I do not set it down here out of respect for Mâr Bâbhai, nor is it right to make an accusation against holy men who in common with other people, [p. 35] suffer from shortcomings or defects, especially[1] when the divine Will, which maketh upright men to act according as it pleaseth is hidden from our understanding) the holy fathers who lived there at that time saw what had been done, and that that praiseworthy man had without fault been driven forth unjustly, and they all put on indignation, and rebuked and chid the head of the monastery and strove with him, saying, "Thou administerest the things of God unjustly and after the manner of men, and according to a natural disposition which cannot be praised. Thou hast condemned the blessed and meek Jacob without our knowledge, and thou hast driven him away without our [consent]. Send then after him, wherever he is, and know that if thou dost not do so we all shall leave the convent. It is our opinion[2] that he has performed the work of God in a twofold manner, and that he has acted rightly in sheltering the sinners, and leaving them to the Divine examination, even though, according to what thou hast decreed concerning him, he had seen the wickedness. He was not constituted a ruler and a corrector for thee, but for himself alone was he judge, and it was

Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 97, 211; and the authorities quoted by Payne Smith (*Thesaurus*, col. 530).

[1] All the MSS. have ܡܚܝܕܐܝܬ, but we ought perhaps to read ܒܚܝܕܐܝܬ.

[2] The MSS. have ܣܘܟܠܢ, but read ܣܘܟܠܢ.

sufficient for him, and he purified his heart from seeing the wickedness of others. In which of the Scriptures canst thou shew us that we are commanded to neglect the care of our own souls, to judge the sins of others, after the manner of outside judges[1] who pursue gnats with care, and swallow camels?[2] On the contrary we are commanded to pray for our enemies, and to love him that hateth us, and that to him who would strive with us and who would take away from us our tunic, we should also give our cloak.[3] Moreover also, it was thy bounden duty to correct those sinful men mercifully, and the women with whom they were united would have gone forth, and the men would have been sanctified by fasting and prayer, according to what we learn in the Holy Scriptures was done in various places to sinners and transgressors, even as the man in the [Epistle to the] Corinthians[4] who lived with his father's wife, [p. 36] was corrected and afterwards accepted; and as is written in the elders,[5] what Abbâ Pôman (Poemen) did to him to whom his wife gave birth, how he afflicted his heart and returned to his former manner of life; and as in the case of that elder by whose hands God turned back the young Alexandrian who went to him, saying, "He desireth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live."[6] Now when Mâr Bâbhai saw that the holy fathers

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[1] *I. e.*, judges of this world.   [2] St. Matthew xxiii. 24.

[3] St. Matthew v. 40.   [4] 1 Corinthians v. i.

[5] *I. e.*, in the Sayings of the Fathers.

[6] Ezekiel xviii. 27. "A certain old man was asked by a toiler in the ascetic life, 'Doth God accept the repentance of the sinner'? After the old man had taught him by many things he said to him, 'Tell me, my beloved, wouldst thou cast away thy garment

of his congregation strove with him, and that he was unable to make an apology for this act, especially as he knew not whither the blessed Mâr Jacob had gone, he fell into great doubt.

because it was torn?' The toiler replied, 'No, I would sew it up and use it again.' The old man said, 'If thou hast pity upon thy garment which is without feeling, shall not God have compassion upon the work which He hath fashioned'?"

"A certain brother asked Father Sisoes, saying, 'What shall I do, father, for I have fallen?' The old man said to him, 'Rise up again.' The brother saith, 'I did rise up, and again I fell.' The old man said to him, 'Rise up again'. The brother said to him, 'I did rise up again many times, and I fell'. The old man said to him, 'Rise up again.'' The brother said to him, 'Until when?' The old man said to him, 'Until thou advancest either to good deeds or to ruin, for in that thing in which a man advanceth he will go on, whether it be to death, or whether it be to life'."

"Abbâ Poemen said, 'I prefer the man who hath sinned and done wickedly and become good again to the man who hath never sinned and hath never shown repentance; for the former hath a humble opinion [of himself], but the latter considereth himself to be a righteous man."

ܐܫܬܐܠ ܣܒܐ ܡܢ ܦܠܚܐ ܚܕ. ܕܐܢ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܒܩ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܬܝܒܘܬܐ ܕܚܛܝ̈ܐ. ܘܗܘ ܣܒܐ ܡܢ
ܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܚܫܒܗ ܒܡ̈ܠܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܦܠܚܐ. ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܡܕܡ. ܐܢܗܘ ܕܐܬܒܙܥ ܢܚܬܟ
ܕܝܠܟ. ܫܕܐ ܐܢܬ ܠܗ ܠܒܪ. ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܠܐ. ܐܠܐ ܚܝܛ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ ܘܗܦܟ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܬܚܫܚܘ.
ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܒܐ. ܐܢܗܘ ܕܐܢܬ ܥܠ ܡܐܢܐ ܕܝܠܟ ܗܘ ܕܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܪܓܫܐ ܚܐܣ ܐܢܬ. ܠܐ ܚܐܣ ܐܠܗܐ.
ܐܠܗܐ ܥܠ ܓܒܝܠܬܗ ܠܐ ܚܐܣ ܕܐܝܕܘܗܝ ܥܒܕܗ܀ ܐܚܐ ܫܐܠ ܠܐܒܐ ܣܝܣܘܐܝܣ ܘܐܡܪ
ܠܗ. ܡܢܐ ܐܥܒܕ ܐܒܐ ܕܢܦܠܬ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܒܐ. ܩܘܡ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܐ ܗܘ. ܩܡܬ ܘܬܘܒ
ܢܦܠܬ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܒܐ. ܘܬܘܒ ܩܘܡ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܐ ܗܘ. ܘܬܘܒ ܩܡܬ ܙܒ̈ܢܐ ܣܓܝ̈ܐܐ
ܘܢܦܠܬ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܒܐ. ܬܘܒ ܩܘܡ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܐܚܐ ܗܘ. ܥܕܡܐ ܠܐܡܬܝ. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܣܒܐ.
ܥܕܡܐ ܕܡܬܕܒܪ ܐܢܬ ܐܘ ܒܛܒ̈ܬܐ ܐܘ ܒܡܦܘܠܬܐ. ܒܗܝ ܓܝܪ ܕܡܬܕܒܪ ܒܗ ܒܪܢܫܐ ܒܗ
ܐܙܠ. ܐܢ ܠܡܘܬܐ. ܘܐܢ ܠܚܝ̈ܐ܀ ܐܒܐ ܦܘܡܢ ܐܡܪ. ܕܨܒܐ ܐܢܐ ܒܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܚܛܐ ܘܐܒܐܫ ܘܛܒ.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE DISPERSION OF THE HOLY FATHERS INTO ALL COUNTRIES, WHICH ALTHOUGH IT WAS CONSIDERED TO HAVE BEEN WROUGHT BY EVIL TEMPER AND HUMAN PASSION, WAS NEVERTHELESS THE DIVINE WILL AND WORK.

Now therefore, as the loadstone[1] collecteth particles of iron, and attracteth them, and bindeth them to itself, and imparteth to them some of its own force, so also were those holy fathers, who were gathered together and formed a part of that holy congregation, [drawn] like particles of iron to the afore-mentioned stone, into that matter of contention, which beginning with small matters ended with great results, and they went forth from that monastery because the bond of agreement between them was broken. Now Mâr Bar-ʿIdtâ, an ascetic, who possessed the powers of a seer,[2] with the eye of the spirit foresaw this dispersion, and one day he cried out to the old men of his congregation, [p. 37] and said to them, "My brethren, many matters come to pass and are wrought in this world, which from the trials [to which they give rise][3], or from their outward appearance, are thought by men either to arise from the opposition of devils, or to have been performed

ܡܢ ܕܒܠܒܒܗ̈ ܕܟܠ ܚܟܝܡ ܘܠܐ ܚܘܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܗܘ ܕܠܒܐ ܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܚܘܒܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ. ܘܠܗܘ ܚܣܝܪܐ ܠܗ ܢܦܫܗ ܒܡܘܬܒܘܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ ✡ On the "acceptance of Repentance" from the Questions in the *Paradise* of Palladius, Nos. ܐܡܟܒ ܐܡܦܘ, and ܐܡܟܘ.

[1] ܡܓܢܝܛܝܣ, *i. e.*, λίθος Μαγνῆτις, ܟܐܦܐ ܕܢܓܕܐ ܠܦܪܙܠܐ ܠܘܬܗ.

[2] ܓܢܘܣܛܝܩܘܣ, *i. e.*, γνωστικός.

[3] ܒܒܚܝܢܬܗܘܢ This word is probably corrupt. Hoffmann suggests ܒܚܘܪܗܘܢ or ܒܚܙܘܗܘܢ as the correct reading.

by the natural imagination of man; but our Lord[1] God bringeth forth the dispensation of His Will from them, according as He knoweth what is best, and at the end the wise and prudent know that they were not performed without His command, and that it was in no common manner that they came to the end which stirred up the praise of the wise, as for example, the flight of Jacob from Esau,[2] the selling[3] of Joseph,[4] the murder of the Egyptian by Moses,[5] the persecution of David by the hands of Saul,[6] and many other such like matters." Thus also must it have been in this case, in respect of the assembly of our holy father Mâr Abraham,—now the meek and lowly Mâr Dâdh-Îshô' had departed this temporary life—in the matter of the contention which was about to arise, by which many of the holy fathers of that monastery were scattered abroad in every place. "And after a few years,"[7] as the historian saith, "that is to say, when this trouble came upon them, the holy Rabban Mâr Elijah, and Mâr Ḥenân-Îshô', his sister's son, came to Nineveh, to the blessed Abbâ John the Elder, who had been sent thither by Rabban Mâr Abraham, and the three of them built that holy monastery. And thus Abbâ Benjamin, and Peter, and Paul, and John, and Adâdâ, and Îshai (Jesse), came to the Monastery of Bêth 'Âbhê. And another Abbâ Jacob went to Abbâ Ḥebhîshâ; Abbâ John to Neḥêl; and Ûkhâmâ (*i. e.*, the

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[1] Read ܡܪܢ.

[2] Genesis xxvii, xxviii.

[3] ܡܙܒܢܢܘܬܐ, a rare word of which one example only is given by Payne Smith.

[4] Genesis xxxvii. 28.

[5] Exodus ii. 12.

[6] I Samuel xix.

[7] For quotations from this chapter see *B. O.*, iii. I, pp. 255. col. I, and p. 469 col. 2.

'Black'), and Sabûkht[1] to Bêth-Zabhdai;[2] and Abbâ Sahrowai to Arzòn,[3] where he built a monastery; Rabban Sabhr-Îshô' to the Monastery of 'Abbâ Shappîrâ;[4] Abba John of Adharmâh[5] to Dâsen;[6] and Abbâ Zekhâ-Îshô'[7] and Rabban Abraham to Dâsen, [p. 38]. And they,

[1] Read ܣܒܘܟܬ *i. e.*, سيبخت. The name Se-bôcht means "three have saved". See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 396, note 1.

[2] A district on the western or right bank of the Tigris, adjacent to Gezîret ibn 'Omar. It is the Bezabde of Ammianus (lib. xx. 7).

[3] *I. e.*, 'Αραζιανηνή, a town and province of Armenia on the borders of Mesopotamia, north of Ḥiṣn Kêfâ. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 174, note 1359. The province extended from Gezîret ibn 'Omar on the east to Diarbekir on the west. The town is represented by the modern أَرْزَن or Erzerûm.

[4] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 255. 469.

[5] ܐܕܪܡܗ = آذَرْمَةُ. The name of a bishopric and a place situated between Nisibis and Môṣul. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 203; and Yâḳût, 1. p. 177.

[6] Dâsen was the mountainous tract of country called by the Arabs Gebel Dâsin, (identified with the Gâra mountains), which rising near Dâ'ûdîya in the west extends along to the Upper Zâb and away to the east into Gebel Pîr Ḥasan Beg. Dâsen must have been bounded on the north by 'Amêdîya and the valley of the Ṣapna, and its most southern district was Batnura, or Bê-tannûrê, which lay along the Bedu rivulet, (a small tributary which flows into the Upper Zâb), about six or seven hours from 'Amêdîya. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 202—207, and the authorities quoted by him. For Bê-tannûrê and the Bedu rivulet see Badger, *The Nestorians*, vol. 1, pp. 210 and 380. For Δασεν of the LXX see Lagarde, *Materialen*, 1867, ii. 90. The modern diocese of Mâr Aurâham of Gunduk which comprises a number of villages south of the Gâra mountains and those round about Aḳra, represents the diocese of Dâsen and a part of the diocese of Margâ.

[7] Or ܙܟܐ ܝܫܘܥ.

and many others, built holy monasteries in various places, and thus by the Divine Power which aided them, the departure and the dispersion[1] which outwardly carried suffering and strife into their hearts, at the last became[2] a peace-making and friendly gathering together. And they filled the country of the East with monasteries, and convents, and habitations of monks, and Satan who had rejoiced at their discomfiture was put to shame; and they raised up to God everywhere holy worshippers of His commandments. May we be sustained by our Lord through their prayers, and according to His Will may we live before him in grace, Amen.

CHAPTER XV.

OF RABBAN BAR-ḤADH-BHĔ-SHABBÂ, [AND OF THE MONASTERY WHICH HE BUILT].

Now this old man[3] Rabban Bar-Ḥadh-bhé-Shabbâ came from the village of Ḥadhôdh,[4] and according to what is written in the history of him, he also was a disciple in the Great Monastery; and he also came down therefrom in this dispersion and was one of that holy body of monks who came to Bêth ʿÂbhê. And he dwelt in the valley which was above his village Ḥadhôdh, and built there a large monastery and lived in it. And there were gathered unto him a few brethren, and he remained with them and excelled in the deeds of a life of virtue all his days; and he gave large gifts to his

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[1] Reading, with Hoffmann, ܫܘܢܝܐ ܘܡܒܕܪܘܬܐ.

[2] Read ܗܘܬ. [3] ܣܒܐ, a title of honour.

[4] ܚܕܘܕ or ܚܕܘܕ, see text p. 214. 6; 238. 11.

monastery and bequeathed to it all his inheritance of the house of his fathers. And when Rabban Jacob came to him on his way to Bêth ʿÂbhê, he also came with him to this holy monastery, and tarried[1] with him until Mâr Jacob was established in the governorship thereof; then he returned to his own monastery and dwelt in it all the days of his life. His convent continued for a great many years, and flourished and increased through the healings and mighty deeds which were wrought at the place where his bones were laid [p. 39]. Before our time, however, it was entirely ruined and deserted, and his holy body was removed and laid in the martyrium of this monastery[2] together with those of the holy fathers; may our assembly be preserved from harm by their prayers, Amen.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THOSE MEN WHO WERE DRIVEN FORTH FROM THE GREAT MONASTERY, AND OF WHITHER THEY WENT AND DWELT, AND OF HOW THEY PLEASED GOD.

Neither iniquity, nor sin, nor any kind of folly or shortcoming, hath power or place before the great might of repentance. It was this power which turned back the prodigal son to his father's house and enriched him with the paternal inheritance;[3] it sanctified Mary the sinner;[4] it absolved the thief upon the Cross;[5] it exalted the publican[6] in the temple above him that

[1] Read ܘܟܒܪ.

[2] *I. e.*, in Bêth ʿÂbhê.

[3] St. Luke xv. 20.

[4] St. Luke vii. 48.

[5] St. Luke xxiii. 42.

[6] ܠܡܟܣܐ for ܠܡܟܣܐ.

fasted;[1] it delivered the inhabitants of Nineveh from destruction;[2] and it also had mercy[3] upon those sinful monks, and raised up their feebleness to the sonship of a good name.

Now when they had gone forth from that monastery, they sent away the women to whom the devils had united them, and they went to . . . .,[4] to a quiet place where they dwelt for a long time. And with tears, and penitence, and spiritual suffering, and the burning pains of conscience, and the contrition of the understanding of their hearts, they purified themselves from the filthy pollution with which they had been defiled. And from being lost, they were found; from being cast down, they stood upright; and from being lame, they walked firmly; from being aliens, they became members of the household [of God]; and from being outcasts and abominations, they became saints and crowned ones; for they had put away from them all the riotous living with which they were contaminated [p. 40]. And their minds shone; and the broken faculties of their understandings were brought to life again; and they remained like a new man in all the united power which is established by the body and the soul, that is to say by practice and spiritual contemplation,[5] the two powers by which, when united we please God, the Lord of all, and honour our neighbour.

[1] St. Luke xviii. 14. [2] Jonah iii. 5—10.

[3] ܚܢܬ for ܚܝܢܬ.

[4] The MSS. have ܠܦܘܓܝܬܗ, but Assemânî has (*B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 90,470) ܦܘܓܝܬܐ Phugitha, and says that it is 'locus apud Izlense coenobium'.

[5] ܚܝܢܐ ܘܟܠ ܚܝܢܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܡܬܚܝܢܐ ܘܡܥܡܪܢ ܗ̇ܘܝܢܢ .ܗ̇ ܕܪܘܚܢܐ Orient. 2441. fol. 384, col. 2.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE COMING TO THESE MEN OF THE HOLY ABBÂ JONAH THE ASCETIC FROM THE GREAT MONASTERY.

Now just as when God, the Lord of all, wished to forgive the sins of king David, He sent Nathan the prophet to him,[1] and by means of the allegory which he composed, made him perceive his sin, and David confessed that he was guilty of death, and said, 'I have sinned', and the answer was returned to him, 'Also the Lord hath put away thy folly, thou shalt not die'; and as when He sent Jonah[2] the prophet, the herald of life, to Nineveh, and he preached to them, and by his hands the inhabitants thereof were turned back to what was seemly; so also did He send to those brethren who had sinned, and they were made a mockery, even as they deserved, and they were made outcasts from the household and inheritance of their fathers. But when they repented and turned to God with all their hearts, —just as did the children[3] of Israel when they sent away the remnant of the children of Benjamin[4] which had escaped from the sword of their brethren to the rock of Rimmon, and gave them the right hand, and took oaths to them in the name of the Lord that they might return to their villages, and to their inheritance, and that they might take unto themselves wives from Israel, and might live and not die—inasmuch as [p. 41] His whole graciousness and mercy overfloweth the measure of our sins, and the sea of His loving-kindness bursts forth to help and redeem us on the smallest

[1] 2 Samuel xii.
[2] Jonah i. 2.
[3] Read ܕܒܢ̈ܝܐ.
[4] Judges xxi. 13.

pretence of repentance which we show forth,—so by the Divine revelation of His all-powerful Will, He made the blessed man, the holy Rabban Jonah, come to them from that monastery, and he forgave them their sin and sanctified them, and he armed them with the spiritual armour of the keeping of the commandments, and so by a course of life which was pleasing to the Will of God, they were all made perfect, and they departed from this world with a fair name which bore praise to the justifier of their lives, and the expiator of their offences, Christ our Lord, to Whom be glory for ever and ever!

CHAPTER XVIII.[1]

OF SOLOMON BAR-GÂRÂPH[2] THE SOLITARY, FROM THE MONASTERY OF BAR ṬÛRÂ,[3] AND OF THE HISTORIES WHICH HE WROTE.

There was a solitary brother whose name was Solomon bar-Gârâph, from the Monastery of Bar-Ṭûrâ, and the period in which he lived is found to have been in the days of the holy Mâr Ḥênân-Ìshô‛ the Catholicus.[4]

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 459, col. 1 f.

[2] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 186. His history of Jacob of Bêth ‛Âbhê is praised by Thomas of Margâ. See chap. 24.

[3] The Monastery of Bar Ṭûrâ must have been near Bêth ‛Âbhê. Both these monasteries were freed from the jurisdiction of the bishop by Ìshô‛-yahbh of Gedhàlâ. See Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova. Coll.*, t. x, p. 296.

[4] Ḥenàn-Ìshô‛ I, called the Elder or the Lame, was appointed catholicus A. D. 686, and practically ruled the Nestorian Church until 701; he was buried in the convent of Jonah near Môṣul See *B. O.*, ii, p. 42; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii, col. 135; Baethgen, *Fragmente*, pp. 32,117; and Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 843.

Now this man, from careful investigations and from the reports of trustworthy men who lived in his days, and from the traditions[1] of those who lived before his time, compiled histories,[2] graceful of speech and elegant[3] of diction, concerning the anchorites and recluses who lived before his time in various places, and in these he also speaks concerning our Mâr Jacob of Bêth 'Âbhê. And it is from this history, [in] which he speaketh concerning him, that we know from those who knew [him], that after he went forth from the Great Monastery, he departed to the Mountains of Ḳardô; and we are certain concerning [the time of] his expulsion and his return thither afterwards. [p. 42] But before I set down in writing that history of our Rabban [Jacob], I will write in this book another history which Solomon bar-Gârâph composed concerning the blessed Mâr-yahbh and a virgin, from which is made known how he returned to his cell in the Great Monastery.

CHAPTER XIX.[4]

OF THE BLESSED MÂR-YAHBH[5] AND OF THE VIRGIN NUN AND RECLUSE.

One of the holy men narrated what he had heard from the blessed Mâr-yahbh, that glorious and wonderful man

[1] Read ܡܘܕܥܐ. [2] ܬܫ̈ܥܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܒܚ̈ܢ.

[3] Read ܦܫܝܩܘܬܐ.

[4] The greater part of this chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 106, col. 1 f.

[5] Mâr-yahbh was a contemporary of Jacob of Bêth 'Âbhê, and besides the history of Jacob, to which Thomas refers in this chapter, wrote an Epistle. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 186, 187.

among righteous men, the memorial of whom Rabban Mâr Aphnî-Mâran[1] composed in elegant language, and he said that the blessed Mâr-yahbh repeated [the following]:—"When I went up into the mountain that I might find God, Who is everywhere, and is not limited to [any one] place, I found there a holy woman, whose garment, such as it was, was made of dried grass, and her food consisted of the roots and wild fruits of the wilderness. And it happened that I found a female child with her to whom she gave suck. Now [the cause of] the fall of our vile race was also with her who, after having led the life of [holy and pious] men, I should more truthfully say of holy angels, for forty years, fell through the working of Satan. Why should I keep silence [concerning this]? Now the girl whom the Guardian of all mankind raised up from her was, like Mary, in the stead of Eve, heaven instead of earth, and a life-bearer instead of a death-bearer. And it came to pass not long after this that the holy woman, her mother, died having led a life of good deeds which were pleasing to God, [p. 43] and she left the divine woman, her daughter, in her place." Now this holy man Mâr-yahbh was, at rare times, accustomed to visit this blessed woman, as he did her mother, and when he felt the help which came from her, he used to say that, "Although she was in the world, she was not of the world. And I know not at all if she ever lifted her eyes and

[1] Aphni-Mâran, افنيماران the monk, was a disciple of Kâm-Îshô' the fourth Abbot of Bêth 'Âbhê. He flourished about A. D. 630 while Îshô'-yahbh of Gĕdhâlâ was patriarch. According to 'Abhd-Îshô' he wrote a commentary on the Epistle which Mâr-yahbh composed ܡܐܡܪܗ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܕ ܠܐܓܪܬܐ ܘܠܦܘܫܩܐ ܦܘܫܩܗ. See *B. O.*, ii, p. 422. col.; iii. 1, p. 187.

looked in my face, for her mind was led captive by the vision of God. Now when I asked her, 'Art thou content that I should visit thee as I used to visit thy mother?' she answered me softly in this one word, 'As it pleaseth thee'." Now this history teaches us that we should not rely upon ourselves, even though we be occupied with labours, but that we should take heed to men, and be silent, according to the word of the Fathers.

CHAPTER XX.

[OF MÂR JACOB OF BÊTH 'ÂBHÊ].

Now they say concerning Rabban Jacob, him of Bêth 'Âbhê, that when he went forth to that mountain [Ḳardô], it was the season of autumn. And a certain holy man dwelt near the hut of this blessed man without knowing who he was, for he lived in the rock above him, and he watched the manner of his life. And it came to pass one day that when the blessed Jacob went forth from his hut, the holy man went down and placed some of the herbs upon which he lived in the hut. And when [the blessed Jacob] went in and found them, he thought that they had been placed there for him by an angel of God, and he began to bow his head and his body down to the ground, [p. 44] and to return praise to God. Now when he took the Book of the Gospels [in his hands] and began to read, Satan, in the form of a serpent, straightway flew out between him and the Book, and because of his fear the Book of the Gospels fell out of his hands. And immediately he heard a voice which

said, «Oh!». Now the voice was that of the holy man who lived in the rock above him, for he was looking[1] on when the blessed Jacob was overcome by the Enemy. And he straightway rose up and went down to him, and said to him, "Art thou thus so speedily thrown down in the fight?" And he continued, saying, "Go thou from mountain to mountain, until a woman meeteth thee; whatsoever she shall say to thee, that do, doubting nothing." Now when he found her, the girl[2] was in a pear tree,[3] and immediately she saw him, she came down and fled away. And the elder woman cried out to him at the top of her voice, saying, "If now because of this snake which thou hast seen thou art altogether terrified, how canst thou bear the severe onsets of devils? Rise up, and go back to thy cell, for by thy hands God is about to make a monastery,[4] which shall be great and famous throughout all[5] the East; and take thou this my Book of the Gospels, which is somewhat defaced, and give me thine." Now inasmuch as that excellent man had no doubt whatever, the word of the woman was fulfilled [to him] in unutterable wonder; may we obtain mercy in the Day of Judgment by the prayers of him, and of her, and of all God-fearing people! Amen.

[1] Read ܚܙܐ.

[2] *I. e.*, the woman and her daughter referred to in the preceding chapter.

[3] Here the text is probably corrupt. Hoffmann suggests that we should read ܒܫܘܥܐ 'on a rock'.

[4] Compare Guidi, *Un nuovo testo Siriaco,* p. 17, at the foot.

[5] Read ܒܟܠܗ.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE RETURN[1] OF MÂR JACOB TO THE MONASTERY OF MOUNT ÎZLÂ.

Now when the blessed Mâr Jacob had heard these things from the Lord by the hand of that holy woman, [p. 45] although he would rather that his life had been passed like that of a hermit, far away from human habitation, and that his dwelling and place of sojourning had been with the animals, that his mind by the rest and quietness of the desert might have been united to God, and that he might have been remote from all human feelings and affairs, yet when he learnt from that holy woman that it was the Will of God that he should return to dwell with men, and that he should become a father and a bringer up of ascetics and holy men, and should cause to increase hosts of holy men, who were to become the children and inheritors of light, he conformed to the Will of God which governeth[2] all things, and together with his meek and lowly disciple, he returned to that holy monastery [of Mount Ìzlà]. And [when] he had lived in his cell a little while, the heavenly power urged him, and he was by it selected[3] to depart without delay; and it moved Mâr Bâbhai, and by means of it Mâr Jacob went forth therefrom and came to Bêth 'Àbhê; but as to how[4] [he left] we are silent,[5] because we do not wish to appear to bring [the charge of] strife against holy men by the hands of fools.

Now when he went forth nine brethren departed

[1] Lit. "Of his coming." [2] Read ܕܡܕܰܒܪܳܐ.

[3] Read ܘܐܶܬܓܰܒܺܝ ܕܢܫܢܐ.

[4] Literally "But how, we give to silence."

[5] After ܕܫܡ ܕܝܢ Hoffmann would add two points:

from that monastery with him, and they clave to him and wished to dwell with him. And when he came to Rabban Bâr-Ḥadh-bhĕ-shabbâ,[1] according to what is written in his history, he received him lovingly, and rejoiced in him greatly, and went with him to Bêth 'Âbhê. And he prophesied to him concerning the growth of his monastery, and of the greatness of the honour which Christ our Lord would allot to his congregation, and he tarried with him a short time; and the blessed Bar-Ḥadh-be-shabbâ returned to his cell and his monastery.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF THE JOY AND HAPPINESS, AND THE FESTIVAL FULL OF GLADNESS WHICH THE MONKS MADE BEFORE HIM WHEN THEY CAME TO THIS PLACE.

Now as there is joy and gladness to the children, [p. 46] whose father having departed from them and gone to trade in a far country, and having tarried there a long while, afterwards returneth to his house in great prosperity because his business hath doubled many times, and appeareth among his children in perfect health and safety, with his face full of joy at the sight of them, as he findeth them occupying themselves in those matters which will give him pleasure, so also Abbâ Benjamin and his companions had joy and gladness in the coming of the holy Rabban Jacob to them. And they kissed his holy person, and he kissed them, even like Jacob

[1] *I. c.*, Bar-hadh-bhe-Shabbâ who lived in Mount Sha'rân جبل شعران, and whom Sabhr-Îshô' nominated as his successor. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 450, col. 2, at the foot, and p. 470, col. 1.

when Joseph his son appeared,[1] and they wept on each other's necks, with a weeping which was begotten of gladness of spirit. And he dwelt with them all his days, in all the humility which our Lord taught the children of His house, saying, "Learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in My heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls."[2]

CHAPTER XXIII.[3]

OF THE TIME WHEN RABBAN JACOB CAME TO THIS COUNTRY,[4] AND OF KING KHUSRAU[5] (CHOSROES) [THE SON OF HÔRMÎZD].

Now King Khusrau[6] (Chosroes) the son of Hôrmîzd[7] reigned in the nine hundred and first year, according to the reckoning of the Greeks, and he lived in his kingdom thirty-eight years. In the fifth year,[8] then, of Khusrau according to what is written by the holy Rabban Îshô'-zĕkhâ, who lived in the days of the last Mâr Îshô'-yahbh,[9] who built the new

[1] Genesis xlvi. 29. [2] St. Matthew xi. 29.

[3] This chapter is quoted by Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 458, 471.

[4] *I. e.*, to Margâ.

[5] ܟܣܪܘ or ܟܘܣܪܘ, Pers. خُسْرَوْ, Arab. كِسْرَى Χοσρόης.

[6] Khusrau II. Parwêz reigned from the summer of A. D. 590 to February 25, (29) 628. See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Pers. r.* table facing p. 434; Guidi, *Un nuovo testo Siriaco*, p. 24, l. 10.

[7] Pers. هورمزد, Chald. הורמיז. Hôrmîzd IV reigned from February 579—590. See Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 434; Guidi, *Un nuovo testo Siriaco*, p. 7, l. 5. [8] *I. e.*, about A. D. 595.

[9] *I. e.*, Îshô'-yahbh, the son of Basṭôhmagh, of Kuphlânâ in Adiabene. He was one of those who accompanied Îshô'-yahbh of Gĕdhâlâ on his embassy to Heraclius. On the death of Mâr-emmĕh 644—647, he was elected Catholicus, and sat until 657—658. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 114, 115, 472; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 226; Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 842.

temple,[1] the coming of Rabban Jacob to this Monastery took place. And I, myself, having carefully investigated the matter of the date, [p. 47] have found from the history of Rabban Bar ʿIdtâ[2] that the time of his coming was exactly according to the word of the holy Rabban Îshôʿ-zĕkhâ.[3]

Now when King Khusrau wished to build a convent[4] to Shîrîn[5] his wife, in the country of Bêlêsh-

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[1] Though famous among the Nestorians for having built a magnificent temple at Bêth ʿÂbhê, he is equally famous among the Jacobites for having by bribery and other means prevented their building a church at Môṣul. ܗܢܐ ܕܒܥܒܕ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܘܨܠ. ܕܙܒܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܥܕܬܐ ܠܡܒܢܐ ܒܡܘܨܠ. ܘܟܬܒ ܡܠܟܐ ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܒܫܘܚܕܐ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܡܪ̈ܙܒܢܐ ܘܠܦܘܠܚܢܐ. See Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii, col. 127, and *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 144ff.

[2] See p. 38, and Thomas of Margâ, Bk. 1, chap. 28, Bk 2, chap. 6.

[3] A monk of Mount Îzlâ, and the founder of Bêth Rabban. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 255,471,472.

[4] Bar ʿIdtâ probably refers to the Church of Mâr Sergius. The ܕܝܪܗ ܕܫܝܪܝܢ is mentioned in Guidi, *Nuovo testo*, p. 16, l. 2.

[5] Shîrîn, a native of Ḥûzistân, was of Greek parentage and was a Christian. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 109, but especially Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 283, note 2; p. 287, note 2; and p. 357, note 4. In Guidi, *Un nuovo testo Siriaco*, p. 10, Khusrau's two "Christian wives", ܬܪܬܝܢ ܢܫ̈ܘܗܝ ܡܫܝܚܝܬܐ are distinctly mentioned; the one ܫܝܪܝܢ is called ܐܪܡܝܬܐ, and ܡܪܝܡ the other ܪܗܘܡܝܬܐ. Her favourite physician was Gabriel of Ṣinjâr "who let blood from her arm, and who became as a son to her" (Guidi, *op. cit.*, p. 14.). Bar-Hebraeus states in his *Chronicle of Dynasties*, (Bruns ed. p. 97, ll. 10,11, Bedjan ed. p. 92, ll. 23,24) that Khusrau built three great temples to the Mother of God, the Apostles, and Mâr Sergius the Martyr, and that the Patriarch of Antioch consecrated them, ܘܒܢܐ ܟܣܪܐ ܬܠܬܐ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܪܘܪܒܐ ܠܝܠܕܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܫܠܝܚܐ ܘܠܡܪܝ ܣܪܓܝܣ ܣܗܕܐ. ܘܩܕܫ ܐܢܘܢ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܕܐܢܛܝܘܟܝ. and he adds that "Christianity was spread abroad in all Persia" ܘܐܬܦܫܛܬ ܟܪܣܛܝܢܘܬܐ ܒܟܠܗ ܦܪܣ; but

phâr,[1] he sent to the city of Edessa,[2] to the good man of worthy memory, Shamṭâ,[3] the son of the blessed Mâr Yazdîn,[4] telling him to bring from there copies of the

that he was a heathen at heart is evident from his unseemly conduct in the Church at Dârâ. See Theophylactus 5. caps. 13.14, Evagrius vi. 21. (For an account of Sergius, who is said to have suffered persecution in the reign of Maximian, see Tillemont, *Mémoires,* tom. v. pp. 73,282, and Butler, *Lives of the Saints,* October 7.) Khusrau ascribed the pregnancy of his best-loved wife Shîrîn to the power of Saint Sergius, but his professions of Christianity appear rather to have been due to the influence of the woman whose wit and beauty and gift of singing are famous in the romances of the East, than to conviction.

[1] The Βολογεσίφορα of Stephanus Byzantinus, i. e., the town called by the Syrians and Arabs ܚܠܚ, حُلْوَان, Ḥalaḥ, Ḥulwân, which was situated beyond the Tigris in Adiabene. It was of some importance, and was one of the towns which had the privilege of electing the patriarch. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* p. 67, note 592, and p. 120; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser,* p. 134, note 3.

[2] ܐܘܪܗܝ, الرُّهَا, now called Urfah. For the history of Edessa during the VIIth century see Duval, *Histoire d'Édesse,* p. 222 ff.

[3] For the account of Shamṭâ's position under Khusrau and Shêrowai, see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser,* p. 383, note 3, and for the narrative of his murder of Khusrau, see Thomas of Margâ, Bk. 1, chap. 33; and the authorities quoted by Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 382, note 1.

[4] See Assemânî, *B. O.,* iii. 1, p. 392. Yazdîn, or "Yezdîn the tax-gatherer" was a prominent member of a powerful and wealthy Christian family in the neighbourhood of Dastagerd, and as far back as the end of the fifth century, a Nestorian Synod was held in his ancestor's house at Karkhâ dhê Bêth Slôkh (Kerkuk). See Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 383, note 3; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii, col. 71. "Now at that time there was well known in the gate of the king Yazdîn of Karkhâ dhê Bêth Garmai, and he was an advocate for the Church like Constantine and Theodosius; and he built churches and mon-

Holy Scriptures,[1] and Prayer Books, and Lectionaries, which were to belong to that convent. And after he had gone there, and finished his business, he brought with him for Rabban a large Service book, and he asked for Rabban's prayers and set out for his own country. And all the books which Rabban wrote with his own hands, were [copied] from the service book which the honourable Shamṭâ brought to him, and in the greater number of them may be found written thus, "Mâr Shamṭâ, the son of Yazdîn, the prince of believers, gave this service book."

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THE HONOURABLE BASṬÔHMAGH,[2] THE FATHER OF MÂR ÎSHÔʿ-YAHBH,[3] THE CATHOLICUS.[4]

Now Sâhdônâ,[5] the writer of the "History of Rabban Jacob," has omitted from his work many important matters which he has made extraneous,[6] as for example,

asteries everywhere. . . . And he was beloved by Khusrau even as was Joseph in the sight of Pharaoh, and it is said that on the morning of each day he used to send one thousand ܕܝܢܪ̈ܝܢ to the King." Yazdîn also sent money to rebuild the churches at Jerusalem. See Guidi, *Un nuovo testo Siriaco*, pp. 17,22.

[1] For the manner in which he acquired books at the capture of Dârâ see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 451, col. 1, at the top, وكان اخذ من دارا كتبًا كثيرةً, etc.

[2] This name means "the man with a large family." Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 1800.

[3] *I. e.*, Îshôʿ-yahbh III. of Kuphlânâ in Adiabene.

[4] Lines 14—21, p. 47, and ll. 1—3, p. 48 are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 462, col. 2.

[5] See *supra*, p. 45, note 3.

[6] *I. e.*, which he has considered foreign to the purpose of his work and has therefore omitted. We might read ܘܥܒܪ ܐܢܘܢ ܢܘܟܪܝܐܝܬ "and he has passed over them as foreign." See Payne

the coming of Rabban Mâr Ishô'-zĕkhâ to this holy man; the account concerning the fire which broke out in the monastery[1] and to which he set limits, and it was extinguished; and the account of the flood which took place in the two valleys, against which he went forth, and set bounds to it, and little by little he made it go down until it subsided, that it might not tear up the monastery and the temple in the first place in which it was built. And concerning these things Mâr Gabriel[2] wrote [also] in the metrical discourse which he composed on Rabban Jacob, saying, "He straightway extinguished the fire which broke out in the house of the monastery, and he made to subside the flood which rushed down to tear up its dwelling." [p. 48] And now, according to [the omissions made] in those things which Rabban Aphni-Mâran wrote concerning him in his small history[3] of his triumphs, and according to what we have set down in a preceding chapter[4] [from the history] which Shĕlêmôn bar-Gârâph wrote,—from which the greatness of this man Mâr Jacob is well made known—so also will I omit[5] what [I wish to omit] and will make ready to write down the following story concerning the man, worthy of remembrance and of fair renown among the righteous, Basṭôhmagh the nobleman, from the country of Ḥĕ-

Smith, *Thesaurus*, coll. 577,2783, and Nöldeke in Z. D. M. G. xxv, p. 672. Hoffmann thinks that perhaps ܒܬܪ ܒܪܝܐ in Philoxenus = Gr. παρῆλθη τὴν ἔξω.

[1] ܕܝܪܐ = the assembly or community of the monks.

[2] Gabriel, surnamed the 'Dancer', was born at Nisibis. He was ordained by Ṣĕlîbhâ-zĕkhâ at Kerkuk about A. D. 720. See Thomas of Margâ Bk. 2, chap. 33 and *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 460–462.

[3] Read ܫܘܒܚܝܗ.

[4] Read ܕܩܕܡ. Compare chap. 18, p. 41 (text).

[5] Read ܐܫܒܘܩ ܐܢܐ.

dhaiyabh.[1] Now he possessed in this country some small estates, among which was one called Bêth Zîwâ,[2] and whether it was to visit his estates, or to be blessed by Rabban, he was continually coming to him. And he always passed[3] over the King's Bridge, which was below his village, the ruins of which are known to this day, and came by Esṭwân, a village on the Zâbhâ (Zâb). And it came to pass that once when he was passing over the bridge, he saw some sorceresses washing clothes by the Zâb, and they were singing to each other the songs of devils, and everything which was round about them danced as they sang. Now as he drew near to them on his way a small fragment of one of the refrains which they were singing became fixed in his mind, and when he had gone a short distance from them, he began to meditate upon what he had heard. And straightway devils joined themselves to him openly, and required of him, saying, "Command us to do something which thou wishest us to do." Now when Basṭôhmagh saw this, he feared greatly, and he acted craftily with them and said to them, "Gather together these stones, and pile them in a heap,"—now these stones are known to this day—"and follow me whither I am going." [p. 49] And he drove the mule upon which he was riding quickly along until he came to the cell of the holy old man, and he said

[1] ܚܕܝܒ, or ܚܕܝܒ, Adiabene. The Syrians generally considered this district to include all the land between the Upper and the Lower Zàb. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 1911.

[2] Bêth Zîwâ lay on the left bank of the Upper or Great Zàb, and as Basṭôhmagh used to cross the river by the King's Bridge to visit Rabban Jacob, Bêth ʿÀbhê must have been situated on the right bank, and at no great distance from the river.

[3] Read ܥܒܪ ܗܘܐ ܒܓܫܪܐ.

to the devils, "Take this mule, and watch him until I come out;" and he went in trembling, and revealed to Mâr Jacob what had happened to him. And Rabban answered and said to him, "Repeat before me what thou hast heard," and while Basṭôhmagh was repeating, Rabban wrote down upon the ground with his finger what he heard. And when he had finished it all Rabban made the sign of the cross over the writing, and said to Basṭôhmagh, "Repeat once more what thou hast already repeated;" and he said to him, "I know nothing of it whatever;" and Rabban answered, and said as he laughed, "Rise up, and look after thy mule, for the devils have loosed him and gone away."

CHAPTER XXV.

OF GREGORY OF TELL-BESME[1] [AND OF THE OFFICE OF CATHOLICUS WHICH HE RECEIVED].

In my[2] first apology I made known to thy wisdom beforehand,[3] O our brother, [ʿAbhd-Îshôʿ], that when I had written down the memorials[4] of the saints which thou hadst entreated me to write, I should be obliged to

[1] Syr. ܬܠ ܒܣܡܐ rendered "aromatarius" by Assemânî (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 472) and Payne Smith (*Thes.*, col. 550). We should probably point ܬܠ ܒܣܡܐ and translate, "the man from Tell-Besme" (See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 115). Tell-Besme تل بسمة, the ܬܠ ܒܣܡܐ of the Chronicle of Dionysius (*B. O.*, I, p. 273), was situated to the west of Mârdîn, near Deyrik, and the ancient ruins of this place are indicated on J. G. Taylor's map in *Journal Geogr. Soc. London, vol.* 38, 1868, p. 355.

[2] Read, with C, ܒܡܦܩ ܒܥܘܬܝ. [3] See *supra*, p. 19.

[4] Add some word like ܕܘܒܪ̈ܐ after ܠܬܫܥܝܬܗܘܢ.

insert[1] also the memorials of others[2] who were governors of the Church in their times, where it was necessary, in order that their period might be known, and that [this] history might possess a consecutive, historical narrative.

Now therefore[3] at this period the blessed Mâr Sabhr-Ìshô'[4] was known to be the head[5] of the Catholic Church, and he served the office of head of the Patriarchate for eight years, more or less, and he departed from this world in the fourteenth year of king Khusrau[6] in the city of Nisibis. Mâr Ìshô'-zĕkhâ, the head of the monastery, having departed this temporary life in the thirteenth year [of this king].

[p. 50] Now when the valiant Khusrau had captured the city of Dârâ[7] on the borders [of the Greek and

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[1] We might perhaps read ܢܦܩܬ ܠܡܘܕܥܘܬܗܘܢ omitting ܗܝ ܕ.

[2] Read ܐܦ ܕܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ or ܐܦ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ.

[3] Read ܘܗܟܝܠ. This and the seven following clauses are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 441, col. 1.

[4] Sabhr-Ìshô' was a native of Pêrôzàbhàd ܦܝܪܘܙܒܕ in Bêth Garmai; he became Bishop of Lâshôm, and afterwards patriarch in 596. He died in the year 604 at Nisibis. See *B. O.*, ii, p. 415; iii. 1, pp. 441—449; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii, 107; Baethgen, *Fragmente*, pp. 36, 119; Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 838; Guidi, *Un nuovo testo Siriaco*, pp. 10,15.

[5] Read ܕܒܪ̈ܐ.

[6] A. D. 604. He was buried in the monastery which he built at جذان *B. O.*, ii, p. 415, col. 2.

[7] *I. e.*, ܕܪܐ or ܕܐܪܐ, Arab. دارا, Δάρας "between the borders" (ܒܝܬ ܬܚܘܡ̈ܐ), or Dàrâ of the marches, is situated about eight hours' ride to the S. E. of Mârdîn. It was built on the eastern frontier of the Roman empire towards Assyria with the view of checking the invasions of the Persians. For an account of its fortifications see Procopius, *Bello Persico*, ii. 13. "Dara continued more than sixty years to fulfil the wishes of its

Persian territory], in the fifteenth year of his reign,[1] the Christians demanded from him a Catholicus; and the king commanded that the blessed Gregory, Metropolitan of the city of Nisibis, whom Mâr Sabhr-Ishô' improperly had cast forth into exile,—which act is spoken of in terms of condemnation in the Church until this day—should be appointed Catholicus. But certain of the teachers and believing men by whom this matter was to have been carried out, acted with deceit against the blessed Gregory, because they were afraid of the immeasurable zeal which that blessed man possessed. Now there was in Mâḥôzê[2] a certain expositor called

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founders, and to provoke the jealousy of the Persians, who incessantly complained, that this impregnable fortress had been constructed in manifest violation of the treaty of peace between the two empires." Gibbon, *Decline*, chap. 40. Concerning the first fortification of Dârâ by the Greeks see Wright, *Joshua the Stylite*, p. 70. Ibn Baṭûṭah describes it as "very old, white in appearance, with a lofty fortress which is now ruined" (ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti, ii, p. 142). The ruins have been well described by Sachau in his *Reise in Mesopotamien*, pp. 394, 395.

[1] Bar-Hebraeus states that Dârâ was captured by Khusrau A. Gr. 915 = A. D. 604, after a siege of nine months, and that Sabhr-Ishô', who was with him, died there during the siege *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. 107. According to Guidi (*Nuovo testo Siriaco*, p. 14, l. 18) Khusrau captured Dârâ in the fourteenth year of his reign.

[2] ܡܚܘܙܐ = المدابن "the double city" *i. e.*, Seleucia and Ctesiphon which were situated on both banks of the Tigris about twenty miles below Bagdad. Seleucia was on the right, and Ctesiphon on the left bank of the river. Within the last six years the building on one side of the famous Arch of Khusrau has fallen, and the destruction of the whole ruin may be expected to follow in a short time, for the fine large bricks are carried away continually in boat loads to build new houses and walls.

Gregory,[1] and in respect of him they acted subtilly, and made him Catholicus without the Will of the Holy Spirit, Who [alone] perfecteth the holy things connected with the Holy Church according to His Will. And certain other men, [who] had not acted justly in the matter of Gregory [of Nisibis], but who felt it right to acquiesce in what had been done until the Lord had worked out His Will, or until Gregory had ended his life, and had passed out of the world, wrote letters of accusation, and painted pictures [in which they represented] Gregory[2] feeling a hen[3] [to see] if it was fat [enough] for his food. And the other bishops [acted] in various ways, which it is not seemly to describe, and they brought these painted drawings and the letters of accusation before King Khusrau.

[1] Bar-Hebraeus (*Chron. Eccles.*, ii 107) describes him as a native of Kashkar, and a doctor in the Church of Seleucia. He was an avaricious man, and his disciples bore a bad name for which he was much reproached, not only by his own people but by the Persian nobles. He died four years after he was ordained Catholicus, and was buried in Seleucia. The Persians then subjected his disciples to torture until they revealed the hiding-place of all the money which their master had collected. Gregory is No. 28 in the list of the Eastern Catholics given by Solomon of Basra in the *Book of the Bee*, (ed. Budge, p. 117). Gregory of Seleucia was appointed by the influence of Shîrîn and her physician Gabriel of Sinjâr; compare ܗܝܕܝܢ ܐܬܬܣܝܡ ܡܫܘܠܡܐ ܠܓܪܝܓܘܪ ܦܪܬܝܐ ܒܡܥܒܕܢܘܬܗ ܕܫܝܪܝܢ ܘܕܓܒܪܝܐܝܠ ܗܘܐ ܒܪ ܫܝܓܪ ܕܒ ܓܝܪ ܕܟܠ ܐܝܟܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܡܠܟܐ. ܠܓܪܝܓܘܪ ܒܥܒܕܐ ܕܐܬܦܩܕ ܡܢ ܫܝܪܝܢ ܕܟܠ ܗܘܘ. ܘܒܬܪ ܫܘܠܡܗ ܕܓܪܝܓܘܪ ܕܟܠ ܐܦܝܣܩܦܐ* Guidi, *Nuovo testo,* p. 15.

[2] Note 6 refers to ܘܪ ܡܫܠܡ ܚܘܪܗܘܢ (p. 50, l. 13) and not to ܘܨܘܪܗܘܢ.

[3] Perhaps alluded to in Guidi, *Nuovo testo,* p. 11.

CHAPTER XXVI.[1]

OF THE STAGNATION OF THE CHURCH AFTER THE DEATH OF MÂR SABHR-ÎSHÔ' THE CATHOLICUS.

Now when the king heard and saw these things, [p. 51] and had learned that the Christians had not enthroned as Catholicus the Gregory whom he had commanded, but had craftily set up another, he forgot all his love and friendship for the Christians, especially that which he had for Sabhr-Îshô', and he cursed them angrily, [saying,] 'Gregory[2] shall not minister as head'; and he swore by the Sun, his god, saying, "As long as I live I will never have another patriarch[3] in the country of the East," which [threat] he actually carried out, for the disciple of Satan contrived carefully that the holy priesthood should be removed from the Christians of the country of his rule. And since there was no father to beget, the children who had been born came to an end little by little and ceased; and so, until Khusrau died by the sword of the Christian children of the Church, the holy Church remained without a Patriarchate. And no Bishops and no Metropolitans

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 90,91.

[2] Gregory died in the nineteenth year of the reign of Khusrau = A. D. 608—609.

[3] About this time the famous physician Gabriel of Sinjàr flourished. As he was a Jacobite and had great influence with Khusrau, and was a bitter foe (ܡܪܝܪܐ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ) of the Nestorians, it is probable that the king's unreasoning oath was due, in a great measure, to this man's power over him. It is certain that for eighteen years the Nestorians had no patriarch. See Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. 109 and note 1. The whole question of the appointment of Gregory of Kashkar as Catholicus being a concession to Shîrîn the Queen and Gabriel of Sinjàr is fully discussed by Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 118—121.

were consecrated, and the holy Church endured grief through the absence of the head and governor, and father of fathers, the Patriarch.

CHAPTER XXVII.[1]

OF MÂR BÂBHAI,[2] AND OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL VISITATION WHICH HE UNDERTOOK.[3]

At this time,[4] among the company of the monks,

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[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 91, col. 1 f.

[2] *I. e.,* Bâbhai of Bêth ʿAinâthâ in Bêth Zabhdai, to be distinguished from Bâbhai bar-Nĕsîbhnâyê. See *supra*, p. 46, note 4.

[3] The duty which Mâr Bâbhai undertook was the inspectorship of monasteries. It will be remembered that about the middle of the sixth century Ḥannânâ of Adiabene, the successor of Joseph Ḥûzâyâ in the school of Nisibis, had attacked the doctrines of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and had declared his intention of following the views of Chrysostom. As he was a teacher of importance and had a following of eight hundred pupils, the Nestorian Church ran a great risk of an internal schism The views which he brought forward were condemned at a synod held under Îshôʿ-yahbh of Arzôn, (581—595), and at another presided over by his successor Sabhr-Ishôʿ (596—604). Joseph of Ḥazzâ or Arbêl adopted the opinions of Ḥannânâ, and his example was quietly followed by a large number of monks and others, and after the death of Gregory of Kashkar the Metropolitans of Nisibis, Adiabene, and Kerkûk persuaded Mâr Bâbhai that it was his bounden duty to visit all the Nestorian convents, and to expel all such as inclined to, or professed, the views of Ḥannânâ and Joseph of Ḥazzâ, together with any of the Mĕṣallĕyânê or "praying" monks who might be found therein. Mâr Bâbhai was qualified for his task in every way, and the manner in which he carried it out is warmly praised by Thomas of Margâ who, no doubt, expressed the general opinion of the Nestorian Church at this period on this subject. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 116—121; Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 842, col. 1 and the authorities quoted by him.

[4] See Guidi, *Nuovo testo,* p. 17, l. 18.

there flourished in doctrine and in a life of excellence, the blessed Mâr Bâbhai the Great. Now these Metropolitans who were allied to one another, Mâr Cyriacus[1] of Nisibis, Mar Yônâdhâbh of Adiabene, and Mâr Gabriel[2] of Karkhâ dhĕ Bêth Slôkh wrote—now by that time holy monasteries had been built, and they feared the wicked doctrine of the Mĕṣallĕyânê,[3] and the blackness of the religion of the heretics [p. 52], lest these regions round about should be sown by the husbandmen of the Evil One, and it was not easy for them to visit the churches through fear of the government, lest Khusrau by whom the Patriarch had been estab-

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[1] See *B. O.*, ii, p. 416, col. 1. For the letter which Îshô'-yahbh III. wrote to him see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 141, col. 2, p. 142, col. 1 (Nos. 41 and 46). According to 'Abhd-Îshô' he wrote ܦܘܫܩܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܕܐܪ̈ܙܐ ܘܥܠܬܐ ܕܝܠܕܐ ܘܕܕܢܚܐ ܘܡܦܫܩܢܘܬܐ ܕܦܘܠܘܣ ܀ "an exposition on Faith and the Mysteries (Sacraments), the cause of the Nativity and Epiphany, and a commentary on Saint Paul". See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 215. He was a member of the Mission to Heraclius. See Thomas of Margâ Bk. ii, chap. 4.

[2] For the letters of Îshô'-yahbh III. to Gabriel see *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 114, 141, 142.

[3] The ܡܨܠܝ̈ܢܐ, called by the Greeks εὐχόμενοι or εὐχῖται, Euchites, *i. e.*, "those who pray", were a sect of heretics who sprang up in Mesopotamia in the third quarter of the fourth century and spread themselves over Syria and other places; their doctrines were current as late as the twelfth century. They believed that each man received from his ancestors at birth a demon which always led him on to evil. Baptism, they thought, was able to lop off the external branches of sin, but it could never eradicate the demon from the soul in which it was the cause of sin. Prayer was the only means by which the demon could be exorcised, and to do this effectually a man must pray without ceasing, for in that alone could per-

lished should act deceitfully with them, and they be delivered over to dangers—to persuade the holy man and teacher of the Church, Mâr Bâbhai, that as it was evident to every one that he was a solitary and not a bishop, as long as our Lord was ordering a change in His grace towards the Church, he should visit[1] the monasteries, and convents, and monks, and repair[2] the breaches and drive out and expel from the Church him that was sick and broken in wickedness. And these three Metropolitans did this, and they all wrote letters and entreaties to him, and he, like a prosperous labourer and a vigorous soldier of the faith, ministered unto the Church, and guarded it, and glorified it until the murder of the wicked King Khusrau. And after a Catholicus was ordained he dwelt in quietness in his cell.

fection be found. Of them Epiphanius (*Haer.* 80) says "toti in orationes intenti cetera negligebant, et, abjectis propter falsam Evangelii interpretationem, bonis fortunae, otiosi errabant per vicos ac plateas, viris promiscue cum mulieribus dormientibus." They refused to work, and wandered from city to city begging their daily bread; their profession and occupation in life was "prayer." Bar-Hebraeus (*Chron. Eccles.*, i. 573) calls them ܡܨܠܝ̈ܢܐ ܟܡܪ̈ܐ. See *B. O.*, i, p. 128, col. 2, (where they are mentioned by Ephraem Syrus together with a number of other heretical sects); Assemânî, *Dissertatio de Syris Nestorianis* (*B. O.*, iii. 2, p. CLXXIIff.; iii. 1, p. 101, col. 2, at the top); and Cotelerius, *Eccles. Graec. Monumenta*, t. 1, p. 302ff. A good account of the Meṣalleyânê is given by Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclésiastiques*, t. viii, pp. 222—226; and see especially Guidi, *Ostsyrische Bischöfe*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, Bd. xliii, p. 391.

[1] Read ܢܣܥܘܪ.

[2] Read ܢܣܘܟ.

CHAPTER XXVIII.[1]

THE APOLOGY OF THE AUTHOR TO HIM WHO WOULD ASK A QUESTION.

If now any contentious man, or anyone peaceably disposed should ask, "Had not these great Metropolitans power to put an end to the wickedness which was springing up in their dominions without [the help of] Mâr Bâbhai?" [I answer] Yes, but every Metropolitan is not necessarily a doctor,[2] neither can every doctor know [how to decide] all questions in dispute, nor can every doctor sucessfully contend against all the various false religions; one doctor hath one quality, and another doctor has another. In the holy Mâr Bâbhai, [p. 53] however, all these various qualities were found: [the power of] arguing against heresies; [the power of] interpreting the Scriptures; [the power of] commenting upon the writings of the Fathers, and of investigating the matters in them which required searching out. And thou mayest learn concerning all his varied learning if thou wilt read the books which he composed; now eighty and four[3] of his works on various subjects are preserved, and are held in honour by the holy Church. And also, the foul heresy of the Mĕṣallĕyânê began with monks, and it was even right that by monks it should be detected, as being those to whom the visitations of grace are [especially] manifest and

[1] The first 12 lines of the text of this chapter are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 91, col. 1.

[2] Read ܡܠܦܢܐ ܗܘܐ.

[3] For the list of them by 'Abhd-Îshô' see *B. O.*, iii. 1. 94.

the crafty workings of the devils which come upon monks who keep in the quietness of the cell. And also when the heresy of the Melchisedekians[1] broke out at Scete in the land of Egypt through the contemptible monks who said that Melchisedek was the son of God,[2]

[1] ܡܠܟܝܣܕܩܝܢܐ for ܡܠܟܝܙܕܩܝܢܐ; see *B. O.*, i. 386, l. 20.

[2] The Melchisedekians were a sect founded by one Theodotus an usurer who lived about A. D. 174. They first believed that Christ was a mighty, divine power, μεγάλην τινα καὶ θείαν δυνάμιν, and later this power was identified with the Holy Ghost. To these views they added the opinion that Melchisedek had neither father nor mother, and that his beginning and end were incomprehensible (See Theodoret, *Haer. fab.* ii. 6; and Epiphanius *Haer.* lv.). St. Jerome proved that Melchisedek was a man, and the governor of a district in Palestine (Tillemont, *Mémoires*, iii. p. 32). In the *Book of the Bee* (ed. Budge p. 35) it is said that Melchisedek was the son of Mâlàḥ (in Bezold, *Schatzhöhle*, p. 36 Mâlàkh) the grandson of Shem the son of Noah, and that his mother's name was Yôzàdàḳ. On a marginal note of the MS of the Book of the Bee which I called A (fol 39*a*) the name of Melchisedek's father is given as Harḳlêîm, and that of his mother Shêlàthêîl, ܫܠܬܐܝܠ, ܗܪܩܠܐܝܡ. The passages from the lexx. quoted by Payne Smith (*Thes.* col. 2146) add that "he sprang from foreign peoples, and on this account [the names of] his parents were not written in the [Book of] Generations, according to the words of Paul (Hebrews vii. 3). And the names of his parents were made known by revelation to the old man in the desert of Scete who, in his simplicity, meditated upon these things, by the counsel of Theophilus, Archbishop of Alexandria." For the account of the solitary who was brought by Cyril to Alexandria to consult God concerning Melchisedek's origin, see Cotelerius, *Eccles. Graec. Mon.*, tom. i, pp. 423,424; and Tillemont, *Mémoires*, iii. p. 32.

although there were doctors[1] and famous bishops in their days, yet Theophilus,[2] Bishop of Alexandria, allowed the blessed Abbâ Macarius, a monk, to make a refutation of this error; and that holy man actually did so, and made manifest the foolishness of their opinion. So also in the following affair which happened[3] in the holy Monastery of Rabban Ṣelîbhâ, which is situated by the side of Hêghlâ[4] Omêd, a village on the river Tigris, to the brethren Abhâ and Thomas and Bar-'Idtâ, the solitary brethren[5] and ascetics, who lived in that monastery. They were by craft falsely accused of being Mĕṣallĕyânê, although they were in no wise allied to them, and they were ascribed to their sect by certain men who, being envious of their strict and ascetic manner of life, wrote letters concerning them to the holy Mâr Ḥĕnân-Ìshô',[6] the Catholicus, when he

[1] Better ܐܦ ܗܘܐ ܡܠܦ̈ܢܐ.

[2] He became Bishop of Alexandria A. D. 385. See Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.*, vii. 14; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, v. 12.

[3] The remainder of this chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 218, col. 1.

[4] *I. e.*, ܗܓܠܐ, see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 238, note 1897. Hêglâ Omêd is a Persian name compounded of Hêglâ, and Omêd = اميد „hope". Compare אומית על יזרתי "Hoffnung auf Gott" in Horn and Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, (*in Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen*, Berlin, 1891.) p. 28, at the top.

[5] Read ܠܐܚ̈ܐ, or ܘܐܚ̈ܐ.

[6] Ḥĕnân-Îshô' I. surnamed the 'Lame' ܚܓܝܪܐ was ordained A. D. 685, and having sat for fourteen years died in the Monastery of Jonah at Nineveh A. D. 699. For a list of his works see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 154, and for an account of his dispute with John, Metropolitan of Nisibis, surnamed the 'Leper', see *B. O.*, ii, pp. 421—424.

was in the Monastery of Mâr Jonah the Prophet at Nineveh. Now he knowing that he was[1] by all manner of means bound to enquire into this matter, wrote for them, and they came to him. [p. 54] And he answered and said to them, "My brethren, I have never mixed myself up in those matters which concern the manner of life of monks, and inasmuch as I have no knowledge whatever of these things of which ye are held to be guilty, let these matters of which ye are accused be searched into by the hands of men like unto yourselves." And he wrote letters and sent them by their hands to this our convent of Bêth 'Âbhê, when the holy Mâr George[2] bar-Ṣayyâdê was the head, and the old men of the congregation were Abbâ Nathaniel,[3] Abbâ Sĕlîbhâ, and Âbhrôi, and Gabriel[4] who was surnamed Ṣephrônâ[5]

[1] Read, with Vat., ܘܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܢܫ ܡܚܝܒ ܐܢܫ.

[2] "George, the son of fishermen" came from the village of Neshra ܢܫܪܐ in Adiabene, and was Abbot of Bêth 'Âbhê about A. D. 590. He was buried in the martyrium of this convent with Nathaniel, Ṣelîbhâ, and Gabriel surnamed Ṣephrônâ; see Thomas of Margâ, Bk. ii, chap. 20. His life was written by David the Bishop at the request of a Persian nobleman in the 'Book of the Little Paradise'; see Thomas of Margâ, Bk. ii, chap. 24. According to 'Abhd-Îshô' he wrote the "Book of Obedience," ܟܬܒܐ ܕܡܫܬܡܥܢܘܬܐ; *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 217.

[3] He wrote a commentary on the Psalms of David, and treatises against the followers of Severus of Antioch, the Manicheans and other heretics. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 224.

[4] According to Thomas of Margâ, Bk. ii, chap. 20, he became Abbot of Bêth 'Âbhê.

[5] *I. e.*, "Little Sparrow". ܨܦܪܘܢܐ is explained in Or. 2441 fol. 319*b*. col. 1 by ܠܓܢܣܐ ܕܦܪܚܬܐ ܕܡܙܡܪܐ ܩܕܡ ܡܛܪܐ "A kind of bird which sings before rain."

and many others. And when they had been lovingly examined by their brethren, and had manifested before them visitations of grace remote from all error, [the brethren of Bêth ʿÂbhê] wrote letters by their hands to Mâr Catholicus [informing him of this]; and thus in justification remote from all falsehood of mind, those blessed men returned to their cells by the command of Mâr Catholicus. This then is the reason why the fathers who lived in the time of Mâr Bâbhai required of him to rule the Church, especially the congregations of solitaries.

CHAPTER XXIX.[1]

OF THE COMING OF MÂR BÂBHAI TO THIS MONASTERY [OF BÊTH ʿÂBHÊ], AND OF THE MIRACLE WHICH WAS WROUGHT BEFORE HIM IN THE TEMPLE.

Now when the blessed Mâr Bâbhai was going round from village to village, and from monastery to monastery, visiting, and asking questions, and making enquiries concerning the orthodoxy of belief, and the soundness of the opinions in the minds of all the monks and heads of monasteries to whom he came, [p. 55] he was pleased[2] also to enter into this our monastery. Now he did not ask questions here on matters of belief, nor did he require from Rabban Jacob the results of his deliberations, for he was thoroughly well convinced concerning his doctrine and of the correctness of the

[1] The first sixteen lines of this chapter are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 473.

[2] Read ܐܬܪܓܝ.

actions of his holiness; for he looked with his discerning eye, and he saw the manner of the life which he led, and he smelled from him the savour of grace which entereth into the chambers of the soul, and maketh glad all its powers. And he required from Rabban "that he would abolish the glorious order of the service of readings which were read on the holy first days of the week in honour of the atoning Mysteries, inasmuch as it was not a thing appropriate for monks, but only for the clergy and the laity. For the solitaries are teachers, and are all occupied continually with the Scriptures, and courses of readings are therefore superfluous for them. They have no need of commandments, nor of the dispensation of God which is especially intended for the laity,[1] which they were originally. And moreover in this work there are questions and answers and speaking, and not every monk is able to guard his mind and his tongue equally well outside his cell as before he came out; but I would wish and desire that the monks should go forth to the congregation from their cells keeping silence, and that they should return to their cells in silence, as a guard for the tongue which is the storehouse of words." The holy Mâr Jacob said to him, "To-day let us perform the Holy Mysteries in the customary manner, and let us rejoice in the participation in the body of Christ our Lord, [before] thou departest from us, and let us read the readings and not change the order of our service; and whatsoever pleaseth the Lord let us do whilst thou art here." And this speech was pleasing in the sight of Mâr Bâbhai. Now there was in the martyrium a

[1] Read ܥܠܡܝ̈ܐ.

certain man smitten with the palsy who had never walked, [p. 56] but he used to crawl along supporting himself upon his hands, and [when] he raised up his body, he supported all his weight upon his hands. And when the service of the Mysteries had begun, Rabban sent the man sick of the palsy to crawl into the temple, and he also selected for reading the passage from that part of the Gospels where our Lord commanded the paralytic to walk;[1] and he gave it to one of his disciples and commanded him to read it. And the paralytic crawled along and went into the temple, and the holy Mâr Bâbhai saw him. And it came to pass that as the reader was reading, when he came to that passage in which Jesus Christ says to the man sick of the palsy, "I say unto thee, O paralytic, arise, and take up thy bed, and go to thy house," the man sick of the palsy leaped up in the midst of the temple, and stood upon his feet; and wonder and astonishment seized all the brethren, and they all turned to the glorifying of God the Lord of all. And Mâr Bâbhai especially fell into wonder and amazement, and he knew and understood that this miracle had, for a long time past, been reserved for the holy Mâr Jacob to work on the day when necessity required it, that it might be a bridle and a thing wherewith to silence those who wished to abolish the order of service which his holiness had established in the congregation under his rule. And Mâr Bâbhai, and those who were with him, rejoiced and were glad and confirmed his order of service, and praised the ordinances of Rabban; and

[1] In the text p. 56, note 2, read St. Matthew ix. 6.

the blessed Mâr Bâbhai went forth from this monastery, full of joy and praise, to visit the other monasteries which yet remained to be visited.

[P. 57] CHAPTER XXX.

OF THOSE TRIED AND APPROVED MEN WHO BECAME DISCIPLES OF RABBAN MÂR JACOB IN THIS MONASTERY [OF BÊTH ʿÂBHÊ].

Now wishing to write concerning the upright children of an upright father, and the noble heirs to the inheritance of a noble man,[1] and the glorious disciples of a glorious father, it falleth to me first of all to give utterance to the sayings of the wise man,[2] "The righteous man who walketh in integrity, blessed are his children after him;"[3] "for the joy of the righteous man worketh judgment,"[4] "and his noble deeds are spoken of by his seed". And again, "The father of the righteous man shall rejoice, and if a father begets a wise man he will rejoice in him."[5] And seeing that his own goodness was handed down as a goodly heritage to his children, the righteous man Mâr Jacob died; but perhaps he did not die, for he left many behind him like unto himself, concerning whom, by the hand of the Lord I make ready to write. And the departure of their father was not grievous unto them, because during his lifetime, they rejoiced him by the beauty of their manner of life, and they promised him that they would keep his command-

[1] Literally, "one who maketh to inherit."

[2] Read ܕܚܟܝܡܐ.

[3] Proverbs xx. 7.

[4] Proverbs xxi. 15.

[5] Proverbs xxiii. 24.

ments for ever. And on his departure he also blessed them, and laid his holy hands upon their heads, and they bowed down[1] at the top of his staff at the time of his going away out of their midst. Now, according to what is written in the history of him, a large congregation became disciples[2] of Rabban, eighty men in number, whose names are written in the Book of Life.

[P. 58]

CHAPTER XXXI.[3]

OF ABBÀ JOHN THE ELDER.

Now firstly it is known to us that the holy Abbâ John was an Elder and ascetic from the country of Bêth Garmai. He was a fellow-labourer and companion of Abbâ Jacob his father, and in carrying out completely all the glorious actions of an ascetic life, he was a pure mirror[4] of all beautiful things, for all his contemporaries. Now concerning this man the holy Mâr Jacob commanded that he should become head of the monastery after him; and when he resisted, and would not consent to this, he was compelled by absolute necessity to become the head of this congregation. Concerning him the holy Mâr Îshô'yahbh, when he was Bishop of Nineveh, wrote[5] to this monastery, because

[1] Reading with A. ܘܣܓܕܘ.

[2] Assemânî has (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 203, cols. 1 and 2) ܐܬܬܠܡܕܘ.

[3] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 203, and 474.

[4] Delete : before ܡܚܙܝܬܐ.

[5] The text of this letter, edited from two modern copies of Îshô'-yahbh's *Letters* which I had made at Al-Ḳôsh, is given at the end of this chapter. In it Îshô'-yahbh

on account of Abbâ John's obstinate refusal the monks [of Bêth 'Âbhê] wished to appoint another head of the monastery in his stead. And concerning Abbâ John[1] Sâhdônâ[2] made a second funeral oration upon him which begins "A little time before, when we were following our father to the grave."[3]

Now when the blessed man had been head of the monastery for half a year, according to what I have learned from the aged Elders of whom I was a contemporary here, he forsook the monastery and departed secretly to the country of Bêth Garmai, to a mountain to the south east of the village of Dâḳôḳ,[4] to a place convenient for a life of contemplation, where, finally, the Monastery called 'Bêth Ḥazḳîêl' was built. Now this Ḥazḳîêl[5] (Ezekiel) was the disciple of Khodhâhwai[6] of Bêth Ḥâlê[7]

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gently chides the monks of Bêth 'Âbhê because they had not consulted him in the matter of the election of a successor to Mâr Jacob, and he advises them to appoint Abbâ John whom Mâr Jacob had nominated as his successor before he died. Îshô'-yahbh recommends the monks to appoint Abbâ John on account of his having been a monk for seventy years.

[1] Assemânî has ܕܝܠܡܝܐ.

[2] For the list of his works see chap. xxxiv (*infra*, pp. 110—112).

[3] His first funeral oration was written upon Mâr Jacob of Bêth 'Âbhê.

[4] Dâḳôḳ = Ṭâ'ûḳ. See *supra* p. 44, note 1. See also Mai, *Script. Vet. Nova Coll.*, t. x, p. 296.

[5] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 274; *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 203, 204 and note 1.

[6] Assemânî writes ܚܘܕܐܗܘܢ and ܚܘܕܐܗܘܢ (*B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 151,203). ܚܘܕܐ = Pers. خُدَا "god".

[7] ܒܝܬ ܚܠܐ, Arab. باحالا (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 155, col. 2, l. 9) = دير الطين (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 205, col. 2, note 2). This monastery was situated in al-Ḥadîtha near Môṣul.

and a contemporary of Abbâ John,[1] and he was greatly strengthened and enlightened in his knowledge and manner of life by the conversation and sight of that holy man; thus by the work of Rabban Ezekiel and the prayers of Abbâ John that holy monastery was built, [p. 50] and in it Abbâ John ended his days and was buried in peace. And Rabban Ezekiel wrote to this monastery to encourage and cherish our love and good will towards them,[2] saying, "May mutual love and fellowship between these two monasteries be preserved to the end of days." And I affirm and bear witness, as before God, that I learned this from Narsai the Elder, who was surnamed Dâdh Îshô', from the village of 'Ain Barkê,[3] and also from an Elder who belonged to the monastery of Bêth Ḥazkiêl, when in the days of my youth I was copying letters before the Patriarchal throne of the holy Mâr Abraham,[4] the Catholicus and Patriarch. And this love was preserved so entirely, that of everything in that monastery, of fruits and any good things which were not to be found here, the brethren of that monastery used to send some here, and the brethren of this monastery used to send

[1] Abbâ John wrote a history of Khodhâhwai. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 204.

[2] *I. e.*, the monks of Rabban Ezekiel.

[3] A village in the diocese of Margâ. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 204, 492.

[4] Mâr Abraham sat from A. D. 837—850. He was originally a monk in Bêth 'Abhê, and afterwards became Abbot of that monastery; he next became Bishop of Ḥadîtha, and was finally elected Patriarch. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 508, note 1.

there, for the sake of Abbâ John,[1] and for the sake of the holy Mâr Jacob,[2] for they both came from there.

MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH TO THE MONKS OF BÊTH 'ÂBHÊ ON THE ELECTION OF A HEAD.

Letter from Mâr Îshô'-yahbh to Simon, John, Ḳâm-Îshô', Bar-Denḥâ, Daniel and the other brethren of the Monastery of Bêth 'Âbhê concerning the appointment of John the Elder as head of the monastery.

[3] [illegible]

[1] He wrote certain chapters on heads of knowledge, institutions for beginners, a short Chronicle, a history of Mâr Khodhâhwai, a discourse upon him, and some hymns. [illegible] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 203—205; and Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, 843.

[2] Read [illegible].

[3] This letter is number 17 of those written while Îshô'-yahbh of Adiabene was Bishop of Nineveh.

[illegible]

[illegible]

ܡܢܗ ܕܝܘܡܐ ܗܘ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܬܠܬܐ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ. ܘܐܢܫ
ܠܐ ܠܒܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܬܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܝܬ ܠܡܫܒܚܘ ܟܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ.
ܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܗܟܢܐ ܕܡ ܐܝܟ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܬܬܙܝܥܘ ܐܚܝ̈ܐ ܠܬܪܝܢ ܐܚܘܬܐ ܕܒܢܝ̈ ܕܒܝܬ
ܕܒܠܡܘ ܘܗܘܝܘ ܡܬܬܒܪܟܝܢ ܒܬܕܡܘܪܬܐ ܕܡܪܢ. ܕܗܘܐ ܒܬܕܒܝܪܗ ܒܪܘܚܢܝܘܬܐ ܒܟܠ
ܐܝܟ ܚܕ. ܕܐܬܒܪܟܘ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܒܠܡܘ ܐܝܬ: ܘܦܠܛܘ ܡܢ ܠܐ ܐܠܗܐ. ܕܒܪܟܬܐ ܕܝܘܡܐ
ܟܢܫܐ ܕܒܪ̈ܟܬܐ ܠܦܘܬ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܀

CHAPTER XXXII.[1]

OF RABBAN JOSEPH [OF BÊTH ḲÔḲÂ][2] AND OF RABBAN ABRAHAM[3] HIS BROTHER.

How can any man praise these two blessed brethren worthy of all blessedness? How can any man crown these pillars of light, whose rays are more glorious than those of the sun? How can we [sufficiently] admire and praise [these] sons of one father and one mother, [who are to be compared with] the [seven] sons of the blessed woman Shamônî?[4] They were brought up under the same care, and they enjoyed the same spiritual instruction. These blessed men came from the village of Gâphithâ, which is situated to the north of this monastery, [p. 60] a journey[5] of about

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[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 227.

[2] Near the Upper or Great Zâb in Adiabene.

[3] According to ʿAbhd-Îshôʿ he wrote a book of 'various questions'. ܘܐܒܪܗܡ ܐܚܘܗܝ ܥܒܕ ܟܬܒܐ ܕܫܘܐܠܐ ܡܫܚܠܦܬܐ. *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 227.

[4] The text of this passage is corrupt, and it is perhaps better to follow the reading of the Vatican MS. Hoffmann offers as an alternative ܠܒܢ̈ܝ ܡܢ ܐܒ ܚܕ ܘܡܢ ܐܡܐ: ܐܝܟ: ܕܠܫܒܥܐ ܒܢ̈ܝܗ ܕܛܘܒܢܝܬܐ ܫܡܘܢܝ ܕܡܬܢܨܚܝܢ: ܫܦܝܪ See 2 Maccabees vii. 1; and Wright, *Catalogue Syr. MSS.*, pp. 185, col. 2.

[5] All the MSS. have ܡܪܕܝܬܐ, but read ܡܪܕܝܐ.

four miles. From their youth up they were disciples in this monastery of the divine man Mâr Jacob, and everything which philosophy required and demanded, they received from the teaching of that blessed[1] man. Now the holy Abbâ Joseph, on his departure from the [service of] the monastery,[2] came forth to this laura,[3] and lived the life of a solitary in it, and never came to the temple even on the day of the assembly. But at eventide, when it was quite dark, and no one could see him, he used to come and go into the refectory, and through a large opening that was built there,—which I also remember in that old refectory,—the blessed man used to take,—and very old men have also related this to me,—as much as he needed of the hard, burnt crusts, and of the pieces of bread which had dropped from the oven, and had been cast out, and depart to his cave. And when the blessed Mâr Jacob departed this temporary life, Abbâ Joseph took his brother with him, and the two of them departed to Mount Zînai,[4] where they led an ascetic life, and performed unnatural austerities. And inasmuch as Rabban Aphnî-Mâran[5] and Rabban Sabhr-Îshô', who was surnamed Rôsṭâm,[6] have written histories con-

[1] Read ܛܘܒܢܐ.

[2] *I. e.*, the general work in the monastery which every novice was bound to take part in for a certain time.

[3] Read ܠܡܥܪܬܐ.

[4] This mountain must have been situated near Ḥadhattâ below the Upper Zâb in Adiabene.

[5] A disciple of Ḳâm-Ìshò' who flourished about the year 630. For his works see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 187.

[6] Sabhr-Îshô' Rôsṭâm was a native of the village of Ḥĕrêm in Adiabene, and entered the great convent on Mount Izlâ under the Abbot Narsai, the successor of Bâbhai. In addition

cerning these holy men, it seemeth to me superfluous that I also should speak about them; and in asking a prayer of those who read the accounts of their noble deeds and contest, I pass on from them.

CHAPTER XXXIII.[1]

OF RABBAN SARGÎS (SERGIUS) WHO WAS SURNAMED "DESTROYER OF THE MIGHTY".

Now this Sergius, worthy of all blessedness, came from the country of Bêth Garmai; he was instructed in doctrine in various schools, [p. 61] but more especially in that of Bêth Râsthâḳ,[2] a village in the country of Margâ, at the time when Rabban Ḳâm-Ìshô', a native of Bêth Garmai,[3] from the village of Ḥâshâ,[4] was an expositor there. Now when the blessed Mâr Ḳâm-Ìshô'[5] went down to Mâḥôzê,[6] he died there. And this Sergius was a disciple of the holy Mâr Jacob, and he departed while[7] Rabban was alive, [and went] and dwelt in Nêrbhâ dhĕ Bêth Gazzâ,[8] in the cells which

to the lives of Joseph and Abraham he wrote those of Abbâ Abraham of Bêth 'Âbhê, Abbâ Ḳâm-Ìshô' of Bêth 'Abhê, Abraham of Nethpar, and some others. See Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 843; *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 455.

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 440, 472. Sergius flourished at the beginning of the seventh century.

[2] A place situated in the diocese of Margâ. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 178, 440; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 97.

[3] ܓܪܡܩܝܐ, جرمقانى, a man of ܒܝܬ ܓܪܡܝ.

[4] It was situated on the Lower Zâb.

[5] See pp. 119, 147.

[6] Seleucia and Ctesiphon.

[7] Read ܘܥܕܗ ܗܘ ܚܝ.

[8] A mountainous district in Bêth Zabhdai.

were called Bêth ʿAinâthâ. And at the entreaty of Rabban Jacob, the blessed Sergius composed a history of the noble deeds and praiseworthy acts of the holy men who had lived in the country of Bêth Garmai, and this book which he composed is to be found everywhere, and the histories contained in it make the reader marvel, and excite praises of God in him. And he called his book the "Destroyer of the Mighty"—now he called it thus because he did not write about the great men who were in the Church, but rather concerning those who triumphed in the houses of their fathers, and in the church[1] of their native villages, in simplicity of mien and despising of self, and from the name of his book he himself was called, "Destroyer of the Mighty". The holy Mâr Îshô-yahbh, and Rabban Ḳâm-Îshôʿ were also disciples of his, but I shall not speak here concerning them because they have histories which are set down in their proper places, together with those of their brethren, further on, and because the record of them, together with the necessary particulars [of their lives], would require that I should be able to speak without stint.

CHAPTER XXXIV.[2]

OF SÂHDÔNÂ,[3] AND OF THE WORKS WHICH HE COMPOSED.

Now this Sâhdônâ, [p. 62] according to what we learn from the history of him by Rabban Bar-ʿIdtâ,

[1] Read ܘܡܥܒܕܢܘܬܐ ?

[2] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 453, col. 2.

[3] Sâhdônâ, *i. e.*, the "little martyr", was ordained Bishop of Mâḥôzê dhe Arîwân in Bêth Garmai by Îshô-yahbh of Gêdhâlâ.

came from Halmôn[1] a village of Bêth Nûhâdhrâ. And after having been fully trained at Nisibis in the teaching of Divine Books, and being wise and learned in them, he took upon himself the garb of the ascetic life at the hands of Rabban Jacob in this monastery. And he zealously attached himself to the things which conduce to a divine manner of life, that is to say, to abstinence, and fasting, and watching, and prayer, under the guidance of Rabban [Jacob]. And it is well known also that he felt the sweetness of the holy life, which is grafted on to spiritual conviction, from the reflections which he made in his works upon the venerable ascetic life. Now he wrote two volumes on the various exercises of the monastic life, and a book of "Consolations" is also attributed to him, and other works on various

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He was one of the members of the Mission sent to Heraclius A. D. 628, and on his way back became a convert to Jacobite views, a fact which caused great scandal in the Nestorian Church. The text of the letters which Ishô'-yahbh wrote concerning this matter are given at the end of Bk. ii, chap. 6, in which Thomas of Margâ relates the story. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 81, 107, 115, 142, 453, 457, 462; Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 842.

[1] Halmôn, or Halamûn, (the Halamoon of Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. 1, p. 394) was situated in the north of Bêth Nûhâdhrâ, or Bêth Nûhâdhrê, on the left bank of the Upper Ḥâbûr.

[2] ܒܝܬ ܢܘܗܕܪ̈ܐ, بانهودرا, بانهدرا, بانهذرا, باهذرا "The Region of Nohodaré" was a district or Nestorian Church province, the southerly limit of which was Awànà near Bàlàdh on the Tigris opposite Eski-Mòṣul; the boundary on the north-west was the Monastery of Rabban Aphni-Màran dhĕ Khurkmà, or Dèr az-Za'farân, not far from al-Gezîra by Gebel Gûdî; and the most northerly point was Halmòn. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 208—216, and the authorities quoted by him.

matters. He also composed a history of Rabban [Jacob], and of the triumphs of the ascetics who lived in the country of the East. He wrote the funeral oration for the burial of Rabban Jacob which begins, "My brethren, a mighty chief has fallen amongst us this day by the hand of death", from which, every one who readeth it will perceive the high character of his intellect, and the power of his language, and he will find that he was a mighty man among those who compose books. He did not continue to write to the end, for he went out of his mind; but how his understanding was destroyed I will relate afterwards in the place where his history requireth it to be written.

CHAPTER XXXV.[1]

OF THE MURDER OF KING KHUSRAU.

Now when Khusrau, the son of Hormizd, having exceeded all bounds in his mad greediness for acquiring money,[2] [p. 63] had grown grey in all wickedness and

[1] The greater part of this chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii, 1, p. 91, coll. 1. 2.

[2] This statement of Thomas of Margâ is supported by historical evidence. In the eighteenth year of his reign Khusrau "liess die Einkünfte aus den Steuern seiner Länder sowie allen sonstigen Einnahmequellen zählen, und da berichtete man ihm, dass seine Einkünfte aus der Grundsteuer und den andern Quellen sich in diesem Jahr in gemünztem Gelde auf 420 Millionen Mithqâl an Gewicht beliefen, was, 10 Dirham auf 7 Mithqâl gerechnet, 600 Millionen Dirham macht" (about 294,000,000 marks or 360,000,000 francs). All this money was brought into the treasury at Ctesiphon, where

became old, the blessed Mâr Yazdîn,[1] the head of the believers, died, who had crowned himself with earthly greatness and heavenly glory, and it was for him to inherit and enjoy the paradise of heavenly joy. And Khusrau forgot all the good deeds of Mâr Yazdîn, and seized all his wealth and possessions, and he dismissed Shamṭâ and Kûrṭâ, his truly believing sons, worthy of blessing, and from being rich, they became poor, and from being men of rank, they became of no account. Now when the blessed Shamṭâ[2] saw that the wickedness of Khusrau the foolish king increased and was added unto as he became older, he rose up secretly, and went down to Māḥôzê, the royal cities,[3] and he slew with the sword the twenty-four[4] sons of Khusrau

there were already stored up 48,000,000 Mithqâl of money coined by Pêrôz, son of Yazdegerd, and by Kawâdh, son of Pêrôz. "Dazu kam noch eine Menge von Juwelen, Kleidern, u. s. w., deren Betrag nur Gott zählen kann." Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, pp. 353ff.

[1] Yazdîn was the director of the land-tax of the whole kingdom and had amassed an enormous fortune, which the king confiscated. See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 583, note 1; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 115—121; Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 837.

[2] Shamṭâ here appears as the leader of the rebellion. See Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 354, note 4; Guidi, *Nuovo testo*, p. 23.

[3] *I. e.*, Ctesiphon and Seleucia.

[4] The number of Khusrau's sons is given as seventeen by Ṭabarî. When the nobles heard that Khusrau had given orders to slay all the prisoners in the gaols, certain of them came to 'Akr Bâbil (which Nöldeke identifies with al-Kaṣr, where Khusrau's sons were being educated, a body of soldiers being stationed near to prevent their leaving the place), and taking Shêrôê they brought him by night to Beh-Ardashîr where he was proclaimed "King of Kings." Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, pp. 357 & 382.

who were being educated there. And he took Shêrôë, that is Ḳêwâdh,[1] Khusrau's son from among them, and he came to their palace, and opened the prison,[2] and brought out all that were therein, and he mounted them upon horses, and he armed them with implements of war, and he made Shêrôë king without the wish and command of his father. Now because[3] of his avarice and greediness,[4] Khusrau had disbanded his troops[5] and sent them away, and the blessed Shamṭâ went in[6] to the palace of Khusrau with his servants, and slew him with the sword;[7] and there was rest for the churches in all quarters, and by the command of

[1] Khusrau had intended that Merdânshâh, the son of Shirîn should succeed him. See Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. Niebuhr vol. 1, pp. 499—501. Merdânshâh was slain with the other sons of Khusrau.

[2] "Chosrau verachtete die Menschen und schätzte gering, was kein verständiger und umsichtiger Konig geringschätzt. Sein frevler Muth und seine Rucksichtslosigkeit gegen Gott ging so weit, dass er dem Befehlshaber der inneren Leibwache Namens Zâdhân-Ferruch gebot, alle Gefangene in seinen Kerkern umzubringen; ihre Zahl belief sich auf 36,000 Mann". Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 356. The first act of Shêrôë when brought to Beh-Ardashîr was to release all these prisoners, who at once joined with the nobles in proclaiming him king.

[3] Read ܘܡܛܠ.

[4] Read ܠܓܠܓܘܢܘܬܐ. ܘܠܓܠܓܘܢܘܬܗ is a rare word.

[5] According to Ṭabarî Khusrau had determined to slay all the troops which had fled from before the victorious arms of Heraclius. Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 356. [6] Read ܥܠ.

[7] According to Ṭabarî Khusrau fled to one of his gardens called Bâgh-i-Hinduwàn whither he was pursued and captured; he was afterwards cast into prison, where seventeen or eighteen of his sons were slain before his face, and where he died or was murdered. According to Guidi, (*Nuovo testo*, p. 24) ܐܚܢܩܘܗ

Shamṭâ[1] the troops of Shêrôë[2] proclaimed a good hope for men.

And Shêrôë commanded the Christians to appoint a Catholicus, and Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, Bishop of Bâlâdh, who was called the man of Gĕdhâlâ, from Gedhâlâ[3] a village of Bêth 'Arbhâyê,[4] was appointed. Now

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ܫܡܛܐ ܘܡܣܬܪܘܣܛ ܗܘ. ܫܐܠܘ ܡܠܟܐ ܒܪ ܟܣܪܐ ܕܢܫܬܠܡܘܢ ܠܟܡܣܪܐ. ܘܟܕ ܢܦܩ ܠܗܘܢ ܟܠܗ ܚܝܠܗ ܐܡܪ ܕܚܝܐ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܫܡܛܐ ܩܛܠ ܕܢܣܝܘܗܝ ܘܟܕ ܒܩܘܪܐ ܠܡܘܩܠܗ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܗ. ܡܢ ܫܠܛ ܠܟ ܕܬܩܛܠܢܝ. ܘܠܐ ܡܣܝܗ ܫܡܛܐ. ܘܡܣܝܗ ܠܡܘܪܡܣܕ ܒܪܬܗ ܥܠ ܟܠܒܗ. ܘܐܡܪ ܥܠ ܐܢܫܐ. ܘܐܡܪ ܟܠܗܘܢ. ܫܪܘܗܝ ܒܪܗ. ܘܡܟܪܘܗܝ ܒܡܪܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ. For the history of the overthrow of this king see Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 357, note 4, p. 383, note 3; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. 46; *Chron. Paschal*, tom. 1, p. 728, ed. Dindorf; Theophanes, *Chronographia*, p. 501; and Eutychius, *Annales*, ii, p. 251 ff.

[1] Shamṭâ suffered imprisonment and the loss of his right hand by the order of Shêrôë, and he was shortly after crucified before the door of the Church of Bêth Narḳôs. See Guidi, *Nuovo testo*, pp. 24,25.

[2] Shêrôë's reign lasted eight *months*.

[3] *I. e.*, Gudâl, الجُدال, near Môṣul.

[4] Bêth 'Arbhâyê is described by Bar-Sarôshwai as the district which extends from Bâlâdh, opposite Eski-Môṣul on the Tigris to Nisibis. In a passage quoted by Wright (*Catalogue Syr. MSS.*, p. 1136, col. 2) it is said that marauding bands of the Persians were perpetually coming over their borders and capturing cities from Ras-'Ain to Nisibis, and from the countries of Maiperḳâṭ and Arzan to the mountains of Ḳardô; they captured also Ṭûr 'Abdîn which is in these countries. To prevent these raids two fortresses were built; one on the borders of Bêth 'Arbhâyê, by the mountains, and the other on the Tigris. ܒܝܬ ܥܪܒܝܐ probably = Βεαρβαες of Theophylact, and بَعَرْبايا of Yâḳût, which is described as being near Môṣul. See also the passages quoted by Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 170, p. 23; and *B. O.*, iii. 2, p. 507. [5] See Guidi, *Nuovo testo*, p. 24, l. 17.

when a synod had been assembled, all the fathers entreated the holy Mâr Bâbhai to be Catholicus; but he would not accept the office at all, for he preferred to end his days in his cell in the monastery to becoming head of the monastery by strife. [p. 64] And the Catholicus and some of the Bishops accompanied him in honour to his monastery, and when they had parted in peace, and had gone away to a distance, suddenly the holy angel of God appeared to Mâr Bâbhai in the form of a horseman holding a fiery sword, mounted on a white horse. And he stood in the space before his cell and spake with him, and said, "Since now thou hast excused thyself from the office of Patriarch, and another standeth therein, grant me permission to follow him." Mâr Bâbhai said to him. "Who art thou, master?" The angel said to him, "I am an angel commanded by God, the Lord of all, to minister unto the patriarchal throne of the East. As long as thou wast the vicar of the Catholicus, from the first day even until now, I never departed from thy side; but now it is necessary for me to cleave to him that hath received this office." Rabban said to him, "If I had known that thou wast with me, I would, with all care, have accepted this great work; but now depart in peace, and pray for me;" and the holy angel was hidden from Rabban's sight. May the prayers of Mâr Bâbhai, and of all his companions be a high wall to the holy Church, and to her children, Amen! And here I bring this book to a close in order that its end may be sanctified by the memory of the holy Mâr Bâbhai.

Here endeth the First Book.

[P. 65]

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

[THE BEGINNING OF THE BOOK].

Now as the beginning of everything which existeth is poor and weak in comparison with the end thereof, which is built up little by little,– even as a child is first of all trained in simple things, and little by little he acquireth growth and increase of power and stature, and as when the command was given to Adam, that he should not eat of the fruit,[1] the world continued for a long time in a state of childhood without progress[2] to manhood, for the gift of the Law by the hands of the blessed Moses[3] was more excellent than that which was given to Adam, for the latter was written upon the tables of the heart with the knowledge of nature, but the former was added with ink, after the manner of books,[4] and also the perfection which is according to the wisdom which is in Christ, the Lord of our life, and which surpasseth all ancient laws and commandments, was given in after times according to the measure of the perfect Man—so also was it in respect of the

[1] Genesis iii. 3. [2] [illegible], from √ [illegible], a rare word.

[3] Exodus xx.

[4] ܒܟܬܒܝܬ, literally "by writing." There seems to be no example of this word in Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*.

[ascetic life of the] divine man Mâr Jacob; in the beginning it acquired through him beauty, through the perfect sons and glorious heirs of his manner of life, but at the end it was crowned with glorious increase and growth.[1] So also in the matter of the kingdom of the wise man Solomon, although it gained more might and glory than the kingdom of the blessed David, yet the kingdom of David received no disparagement, inasmuch as that of Solomon was established by the prayers of David, and by the promises made to him; so also although the congregation increased, and the Monastery of Rabban Jacob became more glorious under the dispensation of his children than it was during his own life time, this fact did not induce any diminution of his holiness which had existed before, but made it [p. 66] rather the more glorious, for the growth and prosperity of disciples give joy to diligent teachers. So also the double portion of the spirit which the blessed Elisha received more than his master, did not bring upon the marvellous Elijah[2] any loss of greatness, but rather made manifest his glory, when he said, "Thou hast asked a great deal, nevertheless what thou hast asked shall be to thee."[3] Thus the glory which came upon this holy monastery under the holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, and the blessed Rabban Kâm-Îshô'[4] increased the glory of their spiritual father. Now in their days the number of the monks in this holy assembly amounted to three hundred men. When the blessed John the Elder—now Rabban Jacob had commanded that he should be the head of the monastery after

[1] ܬܘܣܦܬܐ, a rare word.

[2] Read ܬܡܝܗܐ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܗ.

[3] 2 Kings ii. 9,10.

[4] Read ܩܡܝܫܘܥ.

him[1]—went forth and fled, Abbâ Paul[2] received the office of head; and after him Rabban Ḳâm-Îshô' was the head for many years.

CHAPTER II.

OF RABBAN JACOB OF BÊTH NÛHÂDHRÂ.[3]

Rabban Jacob who became head of the Monastery of Bêth Rabban Îshô'-yahbh, was a disciple of Rabban Ḳâm-Îshô', and he came from Rêshâ,[4] a province in the country of Bêth Garmai. He laboured in the schools of Ḥarbath Gelâl,[5] where he was thoroughly trained, and from his youth up he was a disciple in this Monastery [of Bêth 'Âbhê], while Rabban Ḳâm-Îshô' was head. He was a spiritual man and a teacher, and he excelled in the ascetic life more than all his contemporaries. [p. 67] He was a seer of things which were remote, and of things which were about to happen, and he was called by his contemporaries, "Jacob the Seer."

Now when the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh[6] had built the temple in this Monastery of [Bêth 'Âbhê], he gathered together Metropolitans and Bishops to the consecration thereof by the office of the Holy Mysteries, wishing

[1] Read ܘܒܬܪܗ ܗܘܐ. [2] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 118,141,255.

[3] Read ܒܝܬ ܠܟܘܡܝ?

[4] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 277.

[5] Ḥarbath Gelâl or Gellâl, خَرْبَة جَلِيل was probably situated on the Lower Zâb. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 261; *B. O.*, iii. ii, p. 756.

[6] *I. e.*, Îshô'-yahbh III. of Adiabene.

with pride to show forth the greatness of his monastery in the sight of all those who were assembled. And it came to pass that at that moment the blessed Jacob was in the refectory, and [Mâr Îshô‘-yahbh] sent and called him, and commanded him to go up to the pulpit and read the psalms. Now there was present with Mâr Catholicus a great doctor who had gone out to the porch of the temple to meditate upon the heads of the subject which he wished to treat in a learned manner[1] in [his] exposition of the Gospel. And when the divine man Jacob had begun to sing the psalm, the sweetness of his voice so greatly attracted the attention and mind of every one, that the eyes of all were fixed upon him and were looking at him. And when he had finished his psalm and had come down [from the pulpit], the doctor cried out with a loud voice, saying. "Fie upon thee, young man, for the sweetness of thy voice and the beautiful manner of thy singing have driven out of my mind all the thoughts which I wished to gather together"; and as the time had come Rabban Jacob went out to his cell.

Now God, who foreseeth what is for the benefit of the community, in that the blessed Rabban Mâr Îshô‘-yahbh,[2] the monk, and head of the monastery was dead, and the brethren of his monastery being troubled by reason of the absence of a man at their head,— now Rabban Îshô-yahbh at the hour of his death had

[1] ܡܠܦܢܝܬܐ. For ܒܡܪܐ read ܒܡܪܝ.

[2] Rabban Îshô‘-yahbh, the founder of the Monastery which bore this name at Môṣul, flourished about A. D. 570, while Ezekiel was Patriarch of the Nestorians. He was surnamed ܒܪ ܩܘܣܝ, or ܒܪ ܩܘܣܪܐ, = بر قوسرا. For a list of his writings see *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 230, 231.

himself said to them, "Be not afflicted, my sons and brethren, at my separation from you, for behold our Lord will move the blessed Jacob, a monk of Bêth 'Âbhê, and he will come to you, and will be a head to you"—stirred up against him foolish jealousy by the hand of certain men, such as was stirred up against the blessed Jacob his [spiritual] father in the Great Monastery [of Îzlâ], and he went forth secretly and departed to that holy monastery. And the sons of this monastery were greatly vexed and afflicted on his account, and wished to make him come back here. [p. 68] And they went down to Mâr Ḥenân-Îshô'[1] several times, and they brought against him letters [threatening] excommunication, but he would not at all be persuaded to return. Let every one who wishes to learn of his greatness and of the great freedom of speech which he possessed with God, take his history and read it; and from its perusal he will be moved to the praise of God, Who so greatly exalteth and magnifieth His saints, and to Whom be glory for ever and ever!

CHAPTER III.[2]

OF RABBAN APHNÎ-MÂRAN.[3]

This Aphnî-Mâran was a disciple of Rabban Ḳâm-Îshô', and also of Rabban Aphnî-Mâran of holy memory.

[1] See *supra*, p. 72, note 4.

[2] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 187, coll. 1, 2.

[3] He flourished about A. D. 660 under George the Patriarch, and is said to have been the founder of the Dêr al-Za'farân near Môṣul. See *B. O.*, ii, p. 422; iii. 1, p. 187. He is one

and he came from Karkhâ dhĕ Bêth Sĕlôkh[1] which is in the country of Bêth Garmai. From his youth up he was a son and heir of the holy fathers in this monastery, serving perfectly the life of excellence, and being guided to the kingdom of heaven and its happiness by the hands and mediation of Rabban Ḳâm-Îshôʿ, whose own peculiar disciple he was. And God gave him wisdom and understanding in the Scriptures, and like a spiritual philosopher, he composed many works and "Responses", and treatises on doctrine in a perfect manner, and rivers of living water flowed from his belly[2] according to the word of our Lord. And against this man, because he was also like unto the pillar of light which led the Hebrews,[3] and because God wished him to be the founder of a monastery with a large brotherhood, like his [spiritual] father, envious people were stirred up, and they placed him on a bier for the dead, [p. 69] and [ascribing to him] the name of Meṣällĕyânâ,[1] with psalms and prayers for the dead they brought him out to the place where they make asses run.[5] Nevertheless by his hands also the Lord

of the monks mentioned by name in the letter which Îshôʿ-yahbh sent to Bêth ʿÂbhê concerning the election of a head. See p. 104, l. 11.

[1] *I. e.*, Kerkûk, ܟܪܟܘܟ, كركوك. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 267.

[2] St. John vii. 38.

[3] Exodus xiii. 21.

[1] ܘܒܫܡܐ ܕܡܨܠܝܢܘܬܐ literally, "and in the name of Meṣallianism." For the doctrines of the ܡܨܠܝܢܐ see *supra*, p. 91, note 3.

[5] The monks who treated Aphnî Mâran in this manner wished to indicate that he was an ass, and was only fit to be buried like an ass.

built and finished the holy monastery which is to this day called by his name and memorial;[1] may his prayers be with us for good, Amen!

CHAPTER IV.[2]

OF THE DEPARTURE OF MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH, [THE CATHOLICUS] AND OF THE BISHOPS WHO WERE WITH HIM TO BÊTH RHÔMÂYÊ[3] (ASIA MINOR).

Now when Îshô'-yahbh[4] of Gĕdhâlâ had become Catholicus, after the death of their Bishop, the believing men who were in Nineveh chose as governor and head of the pasture of their city and of all their

[1] The Monastery of Rabban Aphnî-Mâran marked the limit on the north-west of the church province of Bêth Nûhâdhrâ (see *supra*, p. 111, note 2). It is placed by Yâķût not far from al-Gezîra by or upon Gebel Gûdî. According to Ibn al-Athîr Dêr al-Za'farân or Ķal'at al-Za'farân stood upon a high mountain, near فرشابور, or Pêrôzshâbhôr, which lay on the banks of the Tigris. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 213. Sachau mentions (*Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, p. 376) "Ķal'at Za'farân, eine Ruine, 2 ½ Stunden entfernt, auf dem Westufer des Tigris auf einem Hügel gelegen."

[2] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 105, col. 2, and 475, col. 2.

[3] Literally the "country of the Romans;" but Constantinople was *nova Roma*, Ῥώμη νέα, and hence the Syrians and Arabs use the word ܪܗܘܡܝܐ and الرّوم, *ar-Rûm*, to designate the Byzantine Greeks. Wright, *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*, p. 1.

[4] *I. e.*, Îshô'-yahbh II. He sat from A. D. 628—644, and was Bishop of Bâlâdh at the time of his elevation to the patriarchate. See *B. O.*, ii, pp. 416—418; iii. 1, pp. 105,475; Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. 113, note 1; and Baethgen, *Fragmente*, pp. 13,19,108,111. Îshô'-yahbh II died A. Gr. 955 = A. D. 643 and was buried at Kerkûk; see Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. Eccles.*, II 127, note 3; and Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 842. The

country, the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh,[1] the disciple of Rabban, and the son of the good and honourable man of worthy memory, Basṭôhmagh, the nobleman from Kûphlânâ,[2] a city of Adiabene. And the people of Mâḥôzê dhĕ Arîwân (*or* Ariavân),[3] a city of Bêth Garmai, chose Sâhdônâ, the disciple of Rabban [Jacob], concerning whom we have written a short time ago. And when Shêrôë rose in the kingdom, he desired and wished to live in his kingdom in peace, and to be remote from the disturbances, and strifes, and raids, and evil things which Khusrau his father had committed; and by the command and permission of his pacific majesty there was rest to all the churches that were under the dominion of the Persians.[4] And [when] Mâr Îshô'-yahbh from Bêth 'Arbhâyê[5] was appointed Patriarch, King Shêrôë persuaded the Catholicus to select from

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principal writings of Îshô'-yahbh were a commentary on the Psalms, and sundry epistles, histories, and homilies. According to Guidi, (*Nuovo testo*, p. 24) he was a married man.

[1] He was educated in the schools of Nisibis, and became Bishop of Môṣul, and afterwards Metropolitan of Arbêl and Môṣul. He sat as Catholicus from A. D. 647—658. The chief events in his life are recorded by Thomas of Margâ in the following chapters.

[2] All the MSS. here read ܟܘܦܠܢܐ, which is certainly a mistake for ܟܘܦܠܢܐ. See Syriac text p. 78, l. 5.

[3] Read ܡܚܘܙܐ ܕܐܪܝܘܢ. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 116,475; iii. ii, pp. 723,761; Bar-Hebræus, *Chron. Eccles.*, 18, note 1; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 52, note 443, p. 277, note 2180. This town was probably situated on the Lesser Zâb.

[4] See Guidi, *Nuovo testo*, p. 24.

[5] ܥܪܒܝܐ, or ܥܪܒܝܐ, عربيّ, a man from the people who dwelt in ܒܝܬ ܥܪܒܝܐ, اهل باعربايا, *i. e.*, the district between Eski Môṣul on the Tigris and Nisibis.

the dominion of the East certain Metropolitans and Bishops, that they might go up to the territory of the Byzantine Greeks, at the cost and expense of the [Persian] king, bearing his letters and greetings, saying, [p. 70] "Let them make to pass away and to be blotted out all the discord[1] and enmity which have existed between the Persians and the Greeks, and by their wisdom let them sow peace in the two countries." Then Mâr Îshô'-yahbh being obedient to the command of the good King Shêrôê,[2] gathered together Mâr

[1] ܕܠܘܚܝܐ ܕܫܝܢܐ, literally, "the troubling of peace."

The Persian Mission of peace was despatched by Bôrân, daughter of Khusrau Parwêz, although overtures of peace had been made to Heraclius by Shêrôê. Bôrân reigned only one year and four months, but during this short period she endeavoured to do away with some of the ill effects of the recent wars. "Wie man erzählt, sprach sie am Tage ihrer Thronbesteigung: 'frommer Handlungsweise will ich mich befleissen und Gerechtigkeit anbefehlen.' . . . . Sie behandelte ihre Unterthanen gut, verbreitete Gerechtigkeit über sie, liess Münzen prägen und steinerne und hölzerne Brücken ausbessern. Die Steuerrückstände erliess sie den Leuten und schrieb an sie insgemein offne Briefe, worin sie ihnen darlegte, wie sie ihnen wohlthun wolle, und die verstorbenen Glieder der Dynastie schilderte. . . . . Sie gab dem römischen Kaiser durch Vermittlung des Catholicus Îshô'-yahbh das hölzerne Kreuz zurück." Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser,* pp. 390—392. ܘܐܡܠܟܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܘܪܢ ܠܟܣܪܘܢ ܒܪܬܗ ܕܟܣܪܐ. ܗܕܐ ܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܐܡܠܟܬ: ܫܕܪܬ ܐܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ ܠܘܬ ܗܪܩܠܝܣ: ܠܡܥܒܕ ܫܝܢܐ ܥܡܗ ܡܠܘܟܐ: ܐܝܟ ܕܢܥܒܕ ܠܗ ܫܝܢܐ ܥܡܗ. ܟܕ ܐܬܐ ܠܗ ܡܘܪܘܬܐ ܕܦܪܣܝܐ. ܘܠܚܕܪܐ ܕܒܪܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܡܘܫܚܬܐ ܕܐܫܬܘܬܦܘ ܡܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܕܪܗܘܡܝܐ ܘܩܒܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܚܘܒܐ. ܘܟܕ ܕܪܝ ܐܢܫܐ ܥܠ ܕܗܒܐ ܕܪܡܠܟܐ ܟܠ ܦܪܣܝܐ: ܠܡܠܟܬܐ ܒܘܪܢ ܕܦܩܕܬ ܕܢܫܪܐ Guidi, *Nuovo testo,* p. 26. Îshô'-yahbh met Heraclius at Aleppo, but he can hardly have given back to him the Holy Cross, which the Persians had carried off when they conquered Jerusalem A. D. 614 (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall,*

Cyriacus, the Metropolitan Bishop of Nisibis,[1] and Mâr Paul,[2] Metropolitan of Adiabene, and Mâr Gabriel[3] of Karkhâ dhĕ Bêth Sĕlôkh (Kerkûk) and certain other Bishops, who were wise, instructed and understanding

chap. xlvi), for that had been restored by Ardashîr III in 628—629, and the festival to celebrate its restoration took place at Jerusalem in 629. (One writer says that ܦܪ̈ܘܗ, the general of Ardashîr, sent the Cross back to Heraclius; see Guidi, *Nuovo testo*, p. 25.) See the discussion on this point in Nöldeke, *op. cit.*, p. 392, note 1. In the account of this mission given by Bar-Hebræus (*Chron. Eccles.*, ii. 113) Ìshô'-yahbh is said to have given the Greeks to understand that his religion was the same as theirs. ܘܟܕ ܐܫܬܐܠ ܡܛܠ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܐܘܕܝ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܢܘܢ ܗܘܐ ܡܘܕܐ. Ìshô'-yahbh was far-sighted enough to make an alliance with Muḥammad the Prophet (or, as Wright thought, with Abû Bakr) through the intervention of a Christian governor at Najrân called Sayyed, and Ìshô', the Bishop of the believers at that place. Certain of the conditions of the agreement, which was ratified by 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, are given by Bar-Hebræus *Chron. Eccles.*, ii, col. 117; see also *B. O.*, ii, p. 418; iii. 1, p. 108. col. 1. Îshô'-yahbh stipulated that the Christians should be protected from the attacks of their foes; that the Arabs should not compel them to go out to war with them; that they should not compel them to change their manners and laws; that they should help them to repair their old churches; that the tax on the poor should not exceed four *zûzê*, and that the tax on merchants and the wealthy should be ten *zûzê* per man; that a Christian woman in Arab service should neither be compelled to give up her faith, nor to neglect fasting and prayer; etc.

[1] See *supra*, Bk. i, chap. 27, p. 91. For the letters of Îshô'-yahbh to this bishop, see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 141, col. 2, p. 142, col. 1. After his death his cell was spoiled by orders of the governor of Nisibis; see Guidi, *Nuovo testo*, p. 26, at the foot.

[2] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 116.

[3] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 141, 142; where letters from Îshô'-yahbh to this bishop concerning the people of Tagrîth (Tekrît) are described.

men, and with them were also our holy Ishô'-yahbh of Nineveh, and Sâhdônâ. And thus through Christ our Lord, the Lord of the worlds and the Governor and Guardian of the two countries and of the whole world gave these shepherds mercy in the sight of the Greeks, and they received their assembly and their petition as if they had been the angels of God. Thus those holy men were rewarded for all the care and heavy toil of that long journey, and they returned in peace to this country, each man to his episcopal throne.

CHAPTER V.[1]

OF THE CASKET OF THE BONES OF THE APOSTLES WHICH MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH BROUGHT WITH HIM [FROM ANTIOCH], AND PLACED IN THIS MONASTERY.

Now while these holy men who have been mentioned above were passing through the city of Antioch, and while they were resting in one of the churches of this city in which they tarried many days, [p. 71] Mâr Ishô'-yahbh of Bêth 'Âbhê saw a white marble casket upon which was the sign of the adorable Cross, and to this, united to the chariot of its honour, were two figures of cherubs. And he saw the mighty deeds which were wrought there by means of it, and he learned that there were inside it some of the bones and portions of the bodies of the blessed Apostles,[2] and being hot with all the desire of his love for that casket in which these were laid, he offered up prayers to God, the Lord of all, and frequent entreaties, that

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 106, col. 2.

[2] St. Matthew died and was buried in Antioch. See *Acta Sanctorum*, xlviii, Sept. 21; Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichte*, vol. 2, p. 127; Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 106.

by means of himself it might be brought[1] to this country. And having vexed and tortured himself [by scheming] all manner of devices, and not knowing what to do, he gave this matter to God, [asking] that while he, that is Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, used all human efforts, Christ would protect and defend him in a Divine manner.[2] And this actually happened, for he stole it and brought it with him here with all the honour due to the holy pearls which were therein. And we are certain in our opinion and judgment that this matter was wrought[3] thus, for it is spoken of to this day in the city of Antioch, even as also it came down by tradition, and was handed on to us by those men who were before us in this monastery.

CHAPTER VI.[4]

OF HOW SÂHDÔNÂ [FOOLISHLY] TURNED ASIDE FROM THE TRUE AND ORTHODOX BELIEF.

Now when those holy men who went to the territory of the Greeks (Asia Minor) were in the land of Apamea,[5] they tarried there a few days to rest them-

[1] *B. O.* has ܒܬܠܬܐ.

[2] Literally, While he, Mâr Ìshô'-yahbh worked like a man (ܐܢܫܝܐܝܬ), Christ would protect and defend him like a God (ܐܠܗܝܐܝܬ).

[3] Read ܐܣܬܥܪܬ.

[4] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 107, coll. 1, 2.

[5] The modern Ḳal'at el-Medîḳ on the Orontes. Apamea lies on the western edge of the plain which extends from the southern slope of the el-Bâra mountains, and the mountains near Ḳal'at Sêdjar and Ḥâmâ. See Sachau, *Reise in Mesopotamien*, p. 71 f. Dr. Strassmaier has noted a passage on British Museum tablet SP. 1. 176, in which it is said that the city of *A-pa-am-a* is situated upon the river *Ṣi-il-ḫu*.

selves; [p. 72] and there was there a certain monastery of heretics[1] who had made themselves strangers to the religion[2] of truth. And the holy and blessed Mâr John, Bishop of the Scattered of the country[3] of Damascus, a great and godlike man who worked signs and wonders like the Apostles in those countries, and whose acts of abstinence and ascetic manner of life and exalted holiness are reported unto this day, and Mâr Ìshô'-yahbh of our convent, and Sâhdônâ with him, wished to go to these men to hold a discussion with them. And when the sons of that monastery went forth to them, they marvelled and were astonished at the arguments which these three brilliant stars brought against them, and they perceived that the stubble of their doctrine was not able [to resist] in the very smallest degree, the fire of the true wisdom and the powerful demonstrations[4] of the men from the East. Now the men of that monastery had a head, a grey-headed old man, and his disciples went into his presence and said to him, "Three Eastern Bishops from among the ambassadors of the King of the Persians, who have come to us, have destroyed and made of none effect all the labour and care[5] [which we have spent] in weaving compositions of words on the dogma which we hold." Now that wicked old man who, according to what I have learned from others by the tradition which hath come down, was a sorcerer, commanded[6] his disciples to entreat them to come in to see him, for [he wished] more particularly to hear from them

[1] Not necessarily Jacobites. [2] Literally, "confession."

[3] Read ܕܕܘܪ̈ܐ. [4] Strike out the point after ܘܬܚܘܝܬܗܘܢ.

[5] Read ܡܠܛܐ = μελέτη. [6] Read ܦܩܕ.

concerning the petition which they had moved. And when the blessed men Mâr Îshô'-yahbh and Mâr John excused themselves, for they accounted the sight of that wicked old man as the sight of the Devil himself, Sâhdònâ, as it were relying upon his own enlightened understanding was so bold as to go in; and when his companions[1] entreated him not to cross [the threshold] he would not be persuaded by them. And they say that when he had gone in to the monastery to the old man, and had seen his grey hairs and age, [p. 73] he bowed his head under his right hand; and thus, they say, the understanding of Sâhdònâ became corrupted from the true faith which he held. And little by little, with the progress of time and changes, Sâhdônâ wrote books for those who denied[2] the correctness of the opinion that there are two natures and two persons in one created form. And when the holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh of Adiabene arose as Catholicus, he expelled Sâhdônâ from the Church,[3] according to the prophecy which had been [made] concerning him by the holy Rabban Bar-Idtâ the ascetic in very truth.

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[1] Read ܚܒܪ̈ܘܗܝ.   [2] Read ܗܦܟ̈ܐ ܕܡܬܒܟ̈ܢ.

[3] Among the letters of Mâr Îshô'-yahbh are five which relate to Sâhdônâ and to his conversion to the views held by the Jacobites, and they form Nos 6,7,28,29 and 30 of those which were written while he was Metropolitan of Ḥazzâ (Arbêl) near Môṣul. Portions of them have been published by Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 116, 118 and 119, but as the defection of Sâhdônâ caused such a disturbance in the Nestorian Church, and was held to be of a very serious character by Mâr Ìshô'-yahbh himself, and as the letters are of such importance for the right understanding of certain parts of the history of Thomas

CHAPTER VII.[1]

OF MÂR ÎSHÔʿ-YAHBH [iii], THE CATHOLICUS, AND OF HOW HE WISHED TO ESTABLISH A SCHOOL IN THIS MONASTERY.

Now as soon as Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh had become Catholicus and Patriarch, and had received all the fulness of the holy things, and the sacerdotal garments which are given for the glory and advancement and perfection of the holy Church, by the election of the Holy Spirit, the cause, and giver, and perfector of all her sublimity, he showed forth diligent zeal and care with all the solicitude which it is right should be manifested by sons for the paternal inheritance of the house in which they were reared. And he built in this monastery a splendid temple, at great expense, and with the participation of the holy and blessed in all things, the blessed Mâr Sabhr-Îshôʿ, Metropolitan Bishop of Bêth Garmai, and of Mâr George, his disciple, the Metropolitan of Adiabene,[2] [p. 74] concerning whom we will afterwards speak, and of all the Bishops of this diocese of Âthôr[3] and Adiabene, the temple[4] was consecrated and beautified with all holy things.

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of Margâ, it has been thought proper to give the full texts of these at the end of this chapter. They are edited from two copies which I caused to be made from an old MS. at Môṣul while on a mission to Mesopotamia for the Trustees of the British Museum. They afford an interesting insight into the history of Sâhdônâ, and into the character of Îshôʿ-yahbh, and give an idea of the internal troubles which beset the Nestorian Church at that period.

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 124, col. 1.

[2] See Bk. ii. chaps. xii—xv.

[3] *I. e.*, the diocese of Môṣul. See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 421. For monasteries situated in this district see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 175—179. [4] Read ܘܐܬܩܕܫ.

And a short time after these things Mâr Îshô'-yahbh wished to build a school near his cell, and to provide it with all that was necessary, and to bring to it teachers and masters and expositors, and to gather together many scholars and to provide for them in all things. And he had made ready in his mind, and had resolved and decided to carry out this work in such a way that for every child who was trained and instructed therein the monastery might be near at hand for the purpose of [his] becoming a disciple, so that the school and the monastery might become one; the school to give birth to and rear scholars, and the monastery to teach and sanctify them for the labours of the ascetic life. And he brought workmen and builders to build what he wished.

LETTERS OF MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH CONCERNING SÂHDÔNÂ THE APOSTATE.

I. To the clergy of Mâḥôzê dhĕ Arîwân.[1] ܠܩܫܝܫܐ ܕܡܚܘܙܐ ܕܐܪܝܘܢ

[illegible]

[1] Extracts from this letter have been published by Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii, pars 1, pp. 116, 117 and 137. The passages omitted by him are enclosed in brackets [ ].

[1] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 116, col. 2, l. 23.

[illegible]

[illegible]

II. To Mâr Sahdâ the Bishop. [illegible]

[illegible]

[1] The next four lines are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 137, col. 2.

[2] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 117, col. 1, l. 32.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] See Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. i. 118, col. 1.

[2] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 82, col. 1, l. 11

[3] The next five lines are quoted in *B. O.*, iii, 1, p. 138, col. 1.

[illegible]

[illegible]

III. To Hormîzd, Bishop of Lâphaṭ, concerning Sâhdônâ.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[1] See Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. i. 118, col. 2.

[2] Assemânî [illegible].

ܒܡܦܪܬܗ ܕܝܢ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܗܕܐ. ܘܡܩܒܠ ܐܢܐ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ. ܘܡܩܒܠ ܐܢܐ ܐܦ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ
ܕܝܠܗܘܢ: ܐܢ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܠܡܫܪܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܟܬܝܒܢ. ܘܡܬܡܪܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܩܒܠ
ܐܢܐ ܛܝܒܘܬܐ ܕܝܠܟܘܢ. ܐܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܠܡܬܒܥ ܡܕܡ ܕܠܟܘܢ ܒܐܬܪܘܬܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܢܝܚ.
ܘܢܦܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܛܝܒܘܬܗ. ܢܦܫ ܠܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܟܠܢ. ܠܡܬܢܛܪܘ ܒܚܘܒܐ ܕܫܠܡ ܒܡܫܪܬܗ:
ܘܒܟܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܛܒܐ ܕܩܕܡܝ ܠܝܚܝܕܐ. ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܚܘܫܒܐ ܕܚܝܝܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ* ܫܠܡ ܫܠܡܢ ܐܢܬ
ܡܝܬܪܐ ܕܠܟܝ. ܘܡܬܚܙܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܦܪܨܘܦܐ ܠܚܘܒܐ ܕܐܒܗܘܬܐ ܒܢܝܐ ܘܟܘܢܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ:
ܗܢܘܢ ܕܦܪܝܫܐ ܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ ܕܝܢ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ: ܐܬܟܬܒ ܫܠܡܐ ܠܟܠ ܕܚܣܝܚܝܢ ܐܚܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ
ܘܫܠܡ ܫܠܡܐ]*

IV. To Hormîzd, Bishop of Lâphaṭ. ܕܠܘܬ ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܠܦܛ|

ܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܕܒܗܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܒܗܘܬܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ* ܟܕ ܡܢ ܚܕܐ ܠܥܡܘܪܐ ܕܚܕܐ ܕܒܬܪܐ ܕܒܢܝܐ. ܝܘܡ
ܡܘܟܟܐ ܕܡܬܪܥܝܢ ܚܕܝ ܢܦܫܝ ܒܠܘܬܟ: ܐܬܚܙܝ ܕܟܕ ܚܕܝܐ ܒܡܘܕܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ
ܡܬܒܥܝܢ. ܕܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܝܘܬ ܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܠܝ ܛܒܘܬܐ. ܐܝ ܐܢ ܘܐܬܚܙܝ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܒܥܝܘܬ ܒܗܝ
ܕܠܟܠ ܡܠܐ ܐܟܒܪ ܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪܬ. ܒܟܪ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܦܢܐ: ܕܫܡܫܘܬܐ
ܒܗܘܢ ܐܟܐ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܡܦܠܓܐ. ܐܦ ܐܢܐ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܫܒ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܐܟܝܢ ܠܡܦܠܓܘ ܝܬܝܪ ܐܢܐ. ܐܠܐ
ܕܫܘܝܐ ܒܗ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܗܟܢܐ ܕܠܘܬܐ. ܫܘܦܪܐ ܕܡܦܠܓܐ ܡܢ ܚܒܪܐ ܕܗܟܢܐ. ܘܐܬܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܬܐܡܪ
ܒܘܒܗܘ ܕܠܐ ܗܘܦܟܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ ܐܟܝܢܐ: ܡܬܚܙܝܢܐ ܕܒܟܠ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܢ ܐܢܬ. ܝܬܝܪ ܐܢܐ
ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܦܪܘܫ: ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܟܢ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܒܬܪ ܘܡܘܬܪ. ܘܐܬܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܬܐܡܪ
ܒܗܝ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ: ܐܟܙܢܐ ܠܒܢܝܢܘܬܐ ܐܦܢ ܕܡܕܡ ܡܢܟ ܒܘܢܝܐ ܕܒܠܠܗܘܢ. ܒܟܪ ܐܢܐ ܡܢ
ܡܕܡ ܐܠܐ ܚܘܫܒ ܠܡܬܚܫܒܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܠܘܬܐ. ܒܐܝܕܐ ܗܘܝܐ ܘܡܬܕܒܪܐ ܠܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܟܕ
ܐܚܝܢ ܕܝܠܝ: ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܕܐܠܗܝܐ ܦܪܝܫ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܬܒܥ. ܡܛܠ ܕܐܬܒܩܝ ܐܢܐ ܕܡܬܡܨܝܢ ܠܗܘܐ
ܟܕ ܡܬܪܐ ܢܦܫܐ. ܠܡܫܒܩܘ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܫܡܫܘܬܐ]: ܐܠܐ[1] ܡܛܠ ܕܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܬܟܚ
ܕܝܢ ܠܟܠܗܝܢ: ܕܐܢܫ ܡܢܗ ܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܒܟܢܫܐ ܕܡܢܗ ܐܚܝܢ ܐܬܚܙܝ. ܘܒܗܕܐ ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ
ܐܟܘܬܐ ܠܘܬܗ ܐܬܚܙܝ: ܘܕܐܢܫ ܐܟܙܢܐ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܒܠܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܦܟܐ
ܕܝܠܟܘܢ ܠܘܬܗ ܐܬܚܙܝܘܢ ܠܡܢܛܪ. ܗܕܐ ܒܫܠܝܘܬ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܠܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ: ܠܘ ܒܥܠܡܐ
ܐܝܟ ܐܚܪܝܢ[2]. ܐܠܐ ܡܬܗܦܟܢܘܬܐ. ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܕܠܐ ܐܬܒܥܝܘ ܒܐܟܪܗ ܕܡܗܦܟܢܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܫܡ ܠܐ
ܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܒܗ: ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܒܠܘܬܗ ܕܝܢܐ ܡܬܚܙܝܢ: ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܒܥܐ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ
ܒܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܟܢ. ܘܠܐ ܐܝ ܐܢܘܢ ܡܢܗ ܫܠܡܘܬܐ ܐܬܚܙܝܢ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܒܠܐ ܚܝ
ܐܬܒܥܝܢ ܡܕܡ ܒܐܟܪܗ ܕܡܗܦܟܢܐ. [ܘܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܗܟܢܐ ܒܫܠܝܘܬ ܐܬܚܙܝ ܠܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ.
ܐܦ ܐܟܠܐ ܐܢܐ ܓܒܪ ܕܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܚܕ ܐܢܐ ܠܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܡܬܒܥܝܢ. ܗܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܟ
ܫܡܠܝܘܬܐ ܒܠܡܕܡ. ܘܡܢܟ ܢܗܘܐ ܠܝ ܡܬܕܒܪܢ ܘܫܠܡ ܫܠܡܐ]*

[1] See Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. i. p. 118, col. 2.

[2] *B. O.* has ܐܝܟ ܚܪܝܢ.

V. To the Bishops of Bêth Garmai concerning Sâhdônâ [1]

[illegible]

[1] See Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. i, p. 119, col. 1—121, col. 2.

[2] Assemânî has [illegible].

[illegible]

[1] Assemânî has [illegible].

[illegible] [1] [illegible] [2] [illegible] [3] [illegible] [4] [illegible]

[1] Assemânî has [illegible].

[2] Assemânî spells the name [illegible].

[3] Read, with Assêmânî [illegible] (of Longobardia).

[4] Assemânî has [illegible].

[illegible]

CHAPTER VIII.[3]

OF RABBAN ḲÂM-ÎSHÔ', THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY, AND OF HOW HE ELECTED TO OPPOSE MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH.

Now when the holy Rabban Ḳâm-Îshô', the head of the monastery, and a large gathering of brethren

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[1] Assemânî spells the name [illegible].

[2] Assemânî has [illegible].

[3] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 124, col. 2.

of his own opinion and manner of life saw what the Catholicus was doing, that[1] he was preparing to bring[2] uproar and noise upon them, and that henceforth they must abandon the happiness and enjoyment of retirement, and all the course of the ascetic life, the glory and beauty of which seclusion, whether it be on the tongue, or sight, or hearing, bringeth to a man, they were all gathered together in the presence of Mâr Catholicus, and with gentle entreaties, and humble supplication, they begged Mâr Catholicus exceedingly to desist from this work which would injure them in several particulars, saying, [p. 75] "It is not good for [us] monks, while dwelling in our cells, to be disturbed by the sound of the chanting[3] of the psalms and the singing of the hymns and the offices, and by the noise of the voices of the school boys and of those who keep watch [by night].[4] We have neither found it in writing, nor have we received it by report that such a thing as this ever took place in any of the monasteries of the fathers. We are destined for weeping and mourning while we dwell in our cells, according to the doctrine which we have learned from [our] books, and we have also received [this] from our father Mâr Jacob, for during his lifetime and on his departure from us he did not command us that one should teach the other

[1] Read ܕܡܬܛܝܒ.

[2] Read ܡܝܬܐ.

[3] "Neque enim, aiebant, est hoc Monachorum opus, ut in cellis nostris sedentes, audiamus cantiones, et sonos, et tripudia puerorum, et nocturnos vigilantium adolescentium ludos". *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 126, col. 1.

[4] ܣܗܪܐ ". . . . . Presbyter . . . . . qui nocturno praesertim officio decantando praeest." See *B. O.*, iii. 2, p. 820ff.

to sing,[1] and to read the offices from books. Cease then from the effort of making us to become school boys again, and instead let each man dwell in his cell, and let each man read by himself. If,[2] however, thou wishest to build a school, behold all the towns, and villages and the lands round about them; the whole[3] land of Persia is thy dominion, build then wheresoever thou wishest; but in this monastery a school shall not be built, for if thou dost build a school here, we shall all depart." And Mâr Catholicus said to them, "It is not necessary for you to be angry at a matter which would bring you honour, and which would expand and increase the glory of this monastery. For since two excellent things, as it were two effectual powers, viz., the one being practice, which is the learning of the Divine Scriptures, and the other being spiritual contemplation, which is established by the working of the mind and understanding, would be perfected in this place, this monastery, the house of our fathers, would become a mirror of deeds to be emulated by the wise and diligent, and the congregation of monks would increase by reason of those who would be instructed in doctrine in the school. And, moreover, I have the power [to build] for two reasons which must overcome all obstacles; first, because I have adorned and endowed this monastery with property and earthly possessions,

[1] "ut alter alterum doceremus, aut alium quempiam literis imbueremus; multoque minus, ut Scholares iterum evaderemus." *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 126, col. 1. ܡܙܡܘܪܬܐ *i. e.*, ܡܙܡܘܪܬ ܩܠܐ = choral singing.

[2] Read ܐܢ ܗܘ ܕ.

[3] Hoffmann would read ܒܟܠܗ, in which case we must translate "thy power is in the whole land of Persia."

and secondly, [p. 76] because, spiritually,[1] I am master of all monasteries and convents; and it is meet for me to honour and adorn my own monastery especially rather than to glorify the monasteries [of others]. Therefore, by the word of our Lord, cease ye to be obstacles to the work, for the good pleasure of God, the Lord of all, is therein."

CHAPTER IX.[2]

OF THE DEPARTURE OF RABBAN ḲÂM-ÎSHÔʿ AND THE BRETHREN [WHO WERE WITH HIM] FROM [THIS] MONASTERY TO ḤERPÂ,[3] A VILLAGE OF SAPHSÂPHÂ.

Now when Rabban Ḳâm-Îshôʿ, and Bĕrâz Sûrîn[4] the head of the congregation, who after Rabban Ḳâm-

[1] Hoffmann would read ܘܒܨܘܒܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܝ "And in that by the ornament of my spirit I have power over all monasteries and convents," *etc.*

[2] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 125, col. 1.

[3] Ḥerpâ is mentioned together with Bêth Bôzî, Bîrtâ, Ḥleptâ, Hatrâ, Bâshôsh, Rêshʿên in Bk. IV, chap. 21, as being situated in the province of Saphsâphâ, which according to Hoffmann, (*Auszüge*, p. 223), embraced the region extending from the southern slopes of the Ḥair mountains on the north and east of the plain of Naukur along the Gômel river, and thence along the Upper Ḥâzir river by Shermen and Shôsh to ʿAḳrâ.

[4] A name compounded of Pers. *barz* "high", and *Sûrên* the name of a noble Persian family. For examples of distinguished men who bore the name Sûrên, Σουρήνας, Σουρήνης, and a discussion upon it see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 438, note 4. Bĕrâz Sûrîn is mentioned by name in the letter which Îshôʿ-yahbh wrote to Ḳâm-Îshôʿ and the other monks of Bêth ʿÂbhê concerning the election of an abbot. See *supra* p. 104 and *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 141, col. 1. The famous convent of Bêth ʿÂbhê lay to the south of Ḥerpâ. See the following chapter (p. 152, l. 19), and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 226.

Ìshô῾ obtained the headship of the monastery, saw that they were irresistibly compelled to depart from the monastery, because they were not able to withstand Mâr Ìshô῾-yahbh, they together with seventy solitaries belonging to this congregation, made ready with one accord and at night, unperceived by Mâr Catholicus, they went into the martyrium, and took away the coffin of the holy Mâr Jacob their spiritual father. And thus weeping, and crying, and murmuring, that they should never again see this monastery, and that their departure was for ever, they all went forth up above Ḥerpâ, a village of Saphsâphâ, prepared to build a monastery in which they might lay Rabban Jacob, and where they might continue the course of their ascetic life and end their days. And they had made ready to bring stones and had prepared materials for the construction of a temple and cells, and those blessed men did not perceive that God would shortly bring them back to the inheritance of their father Jacob.

[P. 77]

CHAPTER X.

OF THE VISION WHICH MÂR ÎSHÔ῾-YAHBH SAW ON THE NIGHT IN WHICH THE BRETHREN TOOK RABBAN JACOB AND DEPARTED.

Now although the over-zealousness of the will of Mâr Ìshô῾-yahbh was not praiseworthy in the sight of these holy men, and appeared to them to be a hindrance,—as indeed it was,—to their ascetic manner of life, nevertheless it appeared that the zealousness[1] of

[1] Hoffmann would read, but doubtfully ܚܦܝܛܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܗ.

will of the holy man might at the end result in a beautiful ending, and he, therefore, determined to make it a good thing, however much it might be displeasing to the monks. And the Lord Christ Himself[1], who saw the thoughts of both parties, on the one side Mâr Îshô‘-yahbh wishing to build a school for the increase of divine doctrine[2] and spiritual growth, and on the other, the monks fleeing away from this for the sake of love for Him, that in quietness, and without any disturbance, they might take pains to please His Lordship, even as the Ashimonian[3] desert in which they lived taught them to do, showed Mâr Catholicus on the night in which the holy men went forth, when he was lying on the bed of his holiness, half asleep[4] and half awake, a vision in which a large eagle, strong of body and long of pinions, and having many eaglets upon his back, went forth from the martyrium where Rabban Jacob was buried, and flew away from the monastery towards the north; and he heard the noise of the twittering and the chattering of the eaglets which were upon his back as if their food had been taken away from them. And he woke up with a start and the dream and the vision which he had seen made him marvel and wonder. And he called for the sacristan by the hand of his disciple, and he came to him, and before he could question him the sacristan said to him,

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[1] Read ܗܘ. [2] Read ܕܝܘܠܦܢܐ.

[3] ܐܫܝܡܘܢܝܐ. In Payne Smith, *Thes.* col. 406, ܐܫܝܡܘܢ is explained by ܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܝܐ "a place without water," and in Duval's *Bar Bahlûl*, (Paris 1888, pt. 1, col. 307) it is said to be the name of a place اسم موضع. ܐܫܝܡܘܢ = probably יְשִׁמוֹת, or יְשִׁימוֹן.

[4] The remaining part of this chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 125, col. 2.

"A short time ago the head of the monastery and Bĕrâz Sûrên came with seventy men, and they took the body of Rabban Jacob and departed; [p. 78] and behold the whole congregation is making ready to depart from this monastery after them." And when the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh heard these things, he knew that what he wished to do was not the Will of God, and he rose up on that day and wrote to the holy men to come back to their monastery. And he departed to Kuphlânâ his village, and he built there the school which he had prepared to build in this monastery; and those blessed men turned and came back to their cells.[1]

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[1] Soon after the expulsion of Sâhdônâ from the Nestorian Church, and the quarrel with the monks of Bêth 'Âbhê, Îshô'-yahbh found himself involved in a serious dispute with Simon the Metropolitan of Rew-Ardashîr (See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 19) in Persia and of the Ḳaṭrâyê, who refused obedience to him as his diocesan, and who held views which were not pleasing to him. Our knowledge of the reasons of the dispute is limited, and can only be obtained from a series of seven letters which Mâr Îshô'-yahbh wrote to Simon and the Bishops of Persia, and to the monks and Church of Ḳaṭar, a district on the Persian Gulf near Baḥrên. In them he argues the disputed points with considerable skill, and more than once refers to his own work *Huppâkh Ḥushshâbhê*, ܗܘܦܟ ܚܘܫܒܐ (in Arabic عكس الارا *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 137), or "Refutation of (Heretical) Opinions," and they, like the letters which he wrote concerning Sâhdônâ, are excellent examples of his epistolary compositions. The full text of these letters is given at the end of this chapter; and for a complete list of his letters see *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 140—143. In addition to these works he wrote "Exhortations for beginners [in the ascetic life]," thought by Assemânî

LETTERS OF MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH CONCERNING THE DISPUTE IN PERSIA AND ḲAṬAR.

I. To Simon, Bishop of Rew-Ardashîr. ܠܘܬ ܫܡܥܘܢ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܪܝܘܐܪܕܫܝܪ

[illegible]

to have been composed while he was a monk at Bêth 'Âbhê, and he arranged the "Ḥudhrâ", or service-book for the Sundays of the whole year, and drew up the offices of baptism, absolution, and consecration. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 139—141; Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 843; and Badger, *The Nestorians*, vol. ii. pp. 22—23.

[1] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 127, col. 2ff.

[2] *I. e.*, ܡܪܘܙܝ̈ܐ, the inhabitants of the capital of خُرَاسَان.

[illegible]

ܐܦܣܩ ܠܗ ܡܫܘܚܬܗ. ܕܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܠܐ ܫܒܩܗ ܒܐܬܪܗܘܢ ܐܘܚܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܒܝܕ
ܕܘܒܪܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ: ܘܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܢܝܐ: ܐܝܟ ܕܫܒܩܗ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܕܐܬܡܛܝ
ܒܗ ܐܚܕܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܡܬܘܒ ܡܫܝܚܐ. ܡܢ ܗܘܦܟܗ ܕܡܫܒܚܬܐ ܘܡܕܡܪܐ ܠܦܓܪܗ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ. [ܐܦܠܐ
ܓܒܪ ܒܐܬܘܪܝܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܘܝܘܢܝܐ ܕܝܠܗ: ܒܝܕ ܗ̄ܘ ܫܪܝܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ
ܕܒܫܡܐ ܕܝܘܩܢܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܐܦ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܕܝܠܗ ܡܬܬܕܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܟܠܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܐ
ܗܦܟܗ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܟܕ ܡܥܒܕܝܢ ܕܒܘܟܪܐ ܐܠܝܫܥ ܢܒܝܐ ܐܬܬܙܝܥ ܒܗܘܦܟܐ ܕܘܒܪܐ: ܘܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ
ܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܫܢܝܐ: ܡܬܕܒܪܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܐܘܚܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܒܐܝܕܝܐ ܕܦܩܪܝ ܠܗ. ܘܡܛܠ
ܢܥܕܪ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܣܘܓܐܐ ܕܟܢܫܐ ܕܘܒܪܐ ܡܬܬܒܥ: ܐܦ ܗܟܢܐ ܒܐܝܕܝܗܘܢ ܡܢ
ܣܓܝܐܐ ܡܬܬܠܡܕܝܢ: ܠܬܘܩܢܐ ܕܟܢܘܫܬܐ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܟܠܗ. ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܦ ܗܠܝܢ
ܕܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ: ܠܐܚܝܕܝ ܥܬܝܕܐ ܕܡܬܦܪܢܣܝܢ. ܠܐܦܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ
ܘܠܡܝܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܘܬܐ ܘܠܟܠ ܠܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܘܬܐ: ܘܐܦ ܠܩܫܝܫܘܬܐ ܐܚܪܝܬܐ ܕܠܥܠܡܐ ܡܢ ܗܠܝܢ.
ܘܡܛܠ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܟܢܐ: ܐܘܚܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܒܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܝܘܡ ܡܢ ܝܘܡ:
ܒܬܪܝܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܪܐ. ܘܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܘܬܐ ܡܬܬܒܥܝܐ. ܘܡܫܝܚܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ
ܡܬܚܬܐ. ܘܐܢܘܢ ܒܠܚܘܕܝܗܘܢ ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܥܕܡܐ ܕܐܪܥܐ: ܐܬܬܒܥܬܘܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗܝܢ
ܘܡܛܠ ܢܨܚܢܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܗܠܝܢ ܟܠܗܝܢ: ܡܕܒܪܐ ܥܠܝܗܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܡܬܬܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ
ܕܬܘܕܝܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܗܒܬ.] ܐܦ[1] ܗ̄ܘ ܓܒܪ ܗܢܐ ܛܘܒܬܢܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܘܡܫܘܚܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ
ܠܗܘܢ ܡܕܒܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܪܒܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܡܬܬܕܪܝܢ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܐܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ
ܘܡܛܠ ܐܘܚܕܢܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܐ ܕܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ: ܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܫܟܝܚܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܒܗ. ܐܠܐ ܐܬܓܠܝ ܡܢ ܗܕܐ
ܐܝܟ ܡܫܬܡܥܐ. ܘܠܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܒܥܒܪܐ ܠܐ ܐܢܫ. ܐܠܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܐܬܝܗܒ. ܘܡܛܠܬܗ ܕܝܢ ܦܓܪܗ
ܕܩܕܝܫܐ. ܒܫܦܝܘ ܘܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ. ܘܡܛܠ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܩܪܐ. ܒܬܠܡܝܕܘܬܐ ܘܡܬܬܠܡܕܢܘܬܐ
ܕܫܢܝܐ: ܘܒܥܠܡܐ ܘܡܬܚܙܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ. ܘܐܦ ܓܒܪܐ ܛܒܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܚܙܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܗܢܐ
ܗܢܐ ܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܝܠܕܐ: ܗܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܝܕܥܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܠܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܠܬܘܩܢܐ
ܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܐܬܚܙܝܘ: ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܡܬܟܫܦܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ. ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܕܒܗܝܢ
ܘܕܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܘܡܬܕܒܪܝܢ ܒܕܒܪܐ ܘܕܝܕܥܬܐ: ܘܢܝܚܝܢ ܒܗ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ.
ܒܟܠܗ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܐܚܝܕܘ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܗܕܝܪܝܢ ܒܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܗܕܐ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܐܬܚܙܝ: ܠܗ
ܗܝܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܐܠܝܨܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܡܬܚܙܝܘ: ܐܠܐ ܦܠܚܘܬܐ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܐܬܬܘ ܠܗܘܢ
ܠܡܬܚܙܝܘ ܘܠܡܬܝܕܥܘ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܐܚܝܕܘ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܟܠܗܝܢ. ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܦܠܚܘܬܐ
ܣܓܝܐܐ ܕܟܢܫܐ ܘܐܬܪܐ. ܘܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܗ̄ܝ ܕܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܢܨܚܢܐ ܒܟܢܫܐ ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܘܒܝܬܗ ܘܐܬܪܐ
ܠܗ. ܘܒܗ ܡܬܬܪܝܡ ܫܡܐ ܕܠܟܠܟܠ: ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܐܦܠܐ ܒܦܠܚܘܬܐ ܒܫܝܢܐ ܘܒܝܬܗ.
ܘܡܛܠ ܗܢܐ ܗܠܝܢ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܟܠܗܝܢ ܗ̄ܝ ܠܦܘܩܕܢܐ. ܘܐܦ ܐܢܫ ܐܬܬܢܝܚ ܒܦܫܝܛܐ: ܕܢܐ ܣܓܝ

[1] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 128, col. 2, l. 26.

[illegible]

[1] See Proverbs xxv. 20.

[2] Var. [illegible].

[3] Assemânî has [illegible].

[4] Assemânî omits ܐܦ.

[illegible]

II. To Simon, Bishop of Persia. [illegible]

[illegible]

[1] Assemânî has [illegible].

[illegible]

[1] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 132, col. 1.

[2] One copy omits ܕܡܫܝܚܘܬܐ.

ܒܦܘܪܣܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܗܡܝܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܚܙܐ. ܘܐܦ ܐܒܕܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ
ܐܫܬܪܝ ܕܦܘܪܣܢܗܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܫܘܥ. ܠܡܫܘܕܥܘ ܐܢܘܢ ܕܡܠܟܘܬܐ: ܟܠ ܐܢܫܝܢ
ܕܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܘܐܦܠܐ ܐܢܫ ܡܢܝܢ ܡܫܕܪ. ܐܝܟ ܕܫܡܥܢܢ ܕܐܬܐܡܪܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܒܦܘܪܣܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ:
ܡܢܗ ܕܗܘ ܕܐܒܕܢܐ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܦ ܐܝܟ ܘܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܕܫܡܥܢܢ. ܘܡܬܢܒܝܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܘ ܒܥܝܢܐ
ܕܠܐ. ܕܡܢܐ ܡܠܟܐ ܐܝܬܝ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܘ ܠܗܘܢ: ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܗܘܐ ܕܐܢܫܝܢ
ܒܦܘܪܣܢ ܕܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ. ܘܐܦ ܠܗܕܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܫܡܫܘ ܒܦܘܪܣܢ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܐܢܫ ܠܡܫܬܪܝܘ ܐܠܗܝܢ
ܡܫܡܫ ܒܗܕܐ ܕܦܘܪܣܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ: ܗܘ ܗܘܐ ܕܒܥܠ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܢܫܝܢ
ܐܠ ܒܦܘܪܣܢ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܪܘܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܒܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ: ܘܡܫܡܫ ܫܒܝܚܐ ܒܡܠܟܘܬܐ
ܐܠ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܕܐܬܢܒܝܘ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܠܗܐ ܠܝ ܡܫܡܫ ܡܫܪ ܠܡܫܬܪܝܘ ܠܗܘܢ: ܐܠܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ
ܒܦܘܪܣܢ ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܦ ܚܠܦ ܫܒܝܚܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܫܒܚܝܢ ܐܒܕܢ. ܒܫܡ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ ܠܝ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܗܐ
ܦܘܪܣܢ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ: ܐܒܕܢ ܦܘܪܣܢܗܘܢ ܠܗܠܝܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܗܘܢܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ
ܠܡܠܟܐ ܐܦܪܝܢ ܐܒܕܢܐ ܕܗܘܪܡܝܙܕܐܪܕܫܝܪ[1] ܘܡܠܟܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܒܕܢܐ ܕܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ.
ܕܐܬܦܘ ܕܐܬܬܚܝܘ ܒܗܘܢ ܐܬܡܪ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܒܕܢܐ: ܘܐܦ ܒܗܘܢ ܫܒܝܚܐ ܕܦܘܪܣܢܐ. ܕܠܗܐ
ܦܬ ܐܒܕܢܐ ܕܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܕܐܒܕܢܐ ܕܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ. ܐܘܕܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܫܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܐܠܗܝܢ.
ܕܠܡܫܡܫ[2] ܠܗܘܢ ܫܒܝܚܘܬܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ. ܘܠܐ ܠܡܫܡܫ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܒܗܕܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܢܒܝܘܗܝ
ܗܘ: ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܫܡܥܬ ܕܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܒܗܘܢ: ܘܐܦ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܐ:
ܐܠ ܐܬܪܐ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܕܝܢ ܒܠܝ ܒܗܘܢ ܚܙܝܢ ܘܗܘܐ ܡܬܗܦܟܝܢ: ܐܢܫܝܢ ܘܡܫܡܫܝܢܗܘܢ:
ܕܠܗ ܒܡܠܟܘܬ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܠܐ ܒܥܠܕܒ: ܐܠܐ ܘܡܢ ܕܝܠܝ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܦܘܪܣܢ ܐܬܐܡܪ.
ܘܡܠܟܘܬ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܒܥܠܕܒܒܐ ܗܘܘ. ܟܕ ܠܐ ܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܡܢ ܐܒܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܫܡܗ
ܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܚܠܦ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܡܢ ܒܝܬ ܠܘܬܗ ܕܡܠܟܐ. ܗܘܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܫܡܥ ܡܢ ܫܒܝܚܘܬܐ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܝܬ ܡܪܘܢ ܐܠܗܝܢ: [ܘܡܫܡܫ ܒܥܠܕܒ ܠܦܘܪܣܢ ܕܐܬܬܒܝܬܗܘܢ. ܕܐܬܐܡܪܐ ܡܢ
ܒܒܥܕܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܡܪ. ܕܐܝܟ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܠܒ ܕܡܫܡܫܢ ܒܥܠܗ: ܗܘܐ ܐܦ ܚܝ ܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ
ܘܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܠܡܫܡܫ ܠܗܘܢ. ܠܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܫܒܝܚܘܬܗ ܕܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܐܦ ܐܒܕܢ. ܡܫܡܫ ܕܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ
ܐܢܫܝܢ. ܘܐܢܫܝܢ ܐܦ ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܡܫܬܡܫܝܢ ܦܘܪܣܢܗܘܢ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ. ܐܢܫܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܣܢܗ
ܕܡܫܬܪܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܫܬܪܝܢ. ܦܘܪܣ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܫܒܝܚ ܕܐܠܗܝܢ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܒܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ:
ܚܝ ܗܦܟܝܢ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܣܢܗܘܢ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܠܡܫܒ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܢ. ܘܐܦ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܦ ܚܝܐ ܕܒܥܠܝܢ ܕܦܘܪܣܢ
ܐܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܦܘܪܣܢܗ ܕܡܫܢ. ܘܕܠܡܫܘ ܕܝܢ ܒܗܘܐ ܢܫܝܢ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ ܐܬܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ:
ܕܐܠܗܘܢ ܗܘ ܠܡܫܒܚ: ܐܦ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܠܐ ܠܗ ܠܗܘܢܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܒܫܡ ܡܫܬܡܫܝܢ. ܕܗܘ ܕܒܦܘܪ

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[1] Assemânî gives ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕܐܪܕܫܝܪ, but read ܗܘܪܡܝܙܕܐܪܕܫܝܪ ܗܘܡܙ أَرْدَشِير; see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 19, note 5.

[2] Assemânî has ܘܠܡܫܡܫ.

[illegible]

III. To the Bishops of the Ḳeṭrâyê.[1] [illegible]

[illegible]

[1] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 133 f.

ܗܢܘܢ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܠܗ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܐ: ܕܐܬܒܛܠܘ ܡܢ ܟܠ ܦܘܠܚܢ ܐܦ ܡܢܗ ܕܫܘܡܠܝܐ
ܗܕܝܢ. ܕܠܐ ܢܗܘܘܢ ܐܟܠܝ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܫܪܝܪܘܬܐ: ܠܕܝܪܝܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܕܡܝܢ ܘܢܟܦܝܢ. ܒܪܡ ܐܢܐ
ܡܬܒܥܐ ܕܢܫܡܫ ܘܢܬܡܢܥ ܫܘܠܛܢܝ: ܕܡܛܠ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܦ ܡܢ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܠܢܦܫܗ. ܠܡܘܬܐ ܡܫܡܫ
ܟܕܢܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܘܬܐ ܒܫܠܐ ܫܠܝܚ. ܟܕ ܐܡܪ ܘܐܫܬܘܕܥܘܢ ܕܢܬܒܥܐ ܗܟܢܐ. ܘܐܢܫܝܢ ܕܠܐ
ܫܕܪ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܕܢܬܕܪܐ ܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܕܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܐܬܩܢܬ ܒܚܘܫܒܐ ܗܘ ܕܢܬܬܪܝܡ ܥܠ ܠܟܠܗ ܡܢ
ܡܠܬܗ. ܟܕ ܢܫܬܒܩܘܢ ܚܛܗܝܗܘܢ ܘܡܢ ܥܠܬܗ. ܘܐܬܦܢܝ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܒܥܬܝܕܐ ܒܚܘܫܒܗ ܕܗܘ.
ܘܕܝܢ ܟܕ ܠܗ ܗܘ: ܐܠܐ ܕܠܐ ܫܒܩ ܐܬܚܫܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܬܠ ܕܡܢ ܒܥܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ: ܥܒܕܐ
ܚܕ ܐܦ ܐܢܫܝܢ: ܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܥܠ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܐܚܪܢܝܐ. ܘܦܩܕ ܠܝ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܟܬܒܘܬܗܘܢ
ܒܟܬܒܐ. ܠܘ ܕܝܢ ܠܟܠܢܫ ܒܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܕܢܐ ܠܗܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܒܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܥܠܡܢܝܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ
ܘܡܢܐ ܢܒܥܘܢ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܡܕܡ ܕܦܩܕ ܠܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܒܐܢܫܘܬܗ ܘܗܟܢܐ ܐܬܢܨܚ ✠

IV. To the Ḳetrâyê.]ܕܠܘܬ ܩܛܪܝܐ ✠ ܗܘܝܘ ܕܡܢܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܐܘ ܐܚܝ̈

ܚܒܝ̈ܒܐ: ܗܢܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܐܬܚܘܝ ܠܝ ܢܦܫܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܐ ܠܐ ܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܒܒܥܬܐ ܘܡܥܒܕܐ ܕܟܠ
ܫܘܦܪܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ: ܘܚܘܒܐ ܡܬܒܥܝܢܐ ܕܢܘܗܪܐ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܠܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܫ̈ܡܝܐ: ܘܐܢܘܢ
ܡܬܘܡܐ ܠܟܠܝ̈ܢ ܕܡܬܝܬܝܢ ܟܝܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܠܝ ܕܡܬܒܪܟܐ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܕܡܬܬܦܝܣ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ
ܒܫܠܝܚܘܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ: ܢܬܦܣ ܐܢܫܝܢ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܕܐܬܓܠܝܬ ܕܦܘܫ.. ܘܡܬܬܘܕܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܢܗܘܐ
ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝ ܕܝܠܗ ܢܗܘܐ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܡܬܬܣ ܠܝ ܠܡܫܒܚ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܦ ܐܢܫܐ
ܡܢ ܫܘܪܝܐ ܘܐܢܫܐ ܕܐܬܚܘܝ ܥܒܕܗܘܢ ܒܗܘܢ ܐܢܫܐ. ܗܘܝܢ ܠܬܠܡܝܕܘܗܝ ܡܢ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ
ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܕܒܝܬܐ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܦܣܩܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܐܚܝ̈ܢܐ ܐܡܪ ܗܘܐ.
ܘܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܗ ܒܠܫܢܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܚܘܒ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܘܕܠܘܬܗܘܢ: ܐܠܐ ܘܐܬܚܙܝܬ
ܐܢܫܐ ܐܚܝ̈ܢܐ: ܕܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܡܬܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܘܠܗܘܢ: ܒܝܘܡܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܓܠܝܬ
ܫܠܝܚܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܚܝܠܐ ܐܢܫܐ ܕܡܬܒܪܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܠܡܣܒܪܘ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܬܘܪܐ ܚܝܐ
ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܐܡܪ. ܐܡܪܐ ܕܠܐ ܟܠ ܢܬܒܥܐ ܠܬܘܒܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܒܗܘܢ: ܗܘ ܕܒܪܐ ܗܘ
ܕܡܬܒܥ ܠܟܢܫܐ ܫ̈ܡܝܐ ܕܠܗ ܠܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܒܪܡ ܡܢܐ ܒܗ ܚܝܐ ܐܢܐ ܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܒܒܝܬܐ
ܕܢܦܠ ܐܠܗܐ: ܐܝܟ ܡܢܐ ܕܐܬܬܫܡܫܢ ܐܠܘܗܝ ܨܦܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܕܦܘܫ: ܐܢܐ ܓܘܫܡܐ
ܕܡܬܦܫܛ ܐܝܟ ܒܠ ܒܥܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ: ܐܬܬܦܝܣ ܕܐܬܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܒܥܝܐ ܡܕܡ
ܫܠܝܚܐ: ܒܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܝܘܡܢܐ ܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ ܡܬܒܥ ܠܟܢܫܐ ܕܠܗܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܒܝܬ
ܐܦ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܨܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܐܢܫܐ ܗܘܠܟܐ. ܕܠܗ ܠܟܠܝ̈ܢ ܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܐܢܫܐ ܡܬܦܫܛܐ
ܒܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܡܬܪܒܝܐ ܕܡܢܐ. ܐܬܚܙܝ ܗܘܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܗ ܡܢ ܡܢܝܢܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܘܠܗ ܡܢ ܟܪ
ܢܒܥܐ ܕܚܝ̈ܐ ܕܫܠܝܚܐ ܒܗܢܐ: ܐܪܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܢܬܚܙܝܐ ܗܘܡܢܐ ܕܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܒܢܘܚܐ ܐܚܝ̈ܢܐ.
ܐܠܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܡܬܒܥܗ ܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܠܗ ܐܦܣܩܘܢ ܠܡܕܒܪܢܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܒܥܝܢ ܗܘܫܡܫܐ ܕܠܒܪ
ܡܢ ܐܚܝ̈ܐ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܒܗ ܫܘܡܠܝܐ ܕܦܘܪܩܢܐ ܫܡܥܝܢ ܠܫܘܡܠܝܗܘܢ: ܐܠܐ ܡܢ ܚܝ̈ܠܗ ܕܫܡܝܐ

[illegible]

[1] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 134, col. 2.

[2] This clause is omitted in some copies.

[illegible]

[1] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 135, col. 2.

ܡܫܝܚܐ: ܕܠܡܘܬ ܒܢܝܐ ܗܘ ܕܦܣܩ ܐܣܛܪܐ ܥܠ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܒܬܘܟܒܫܬܐ ܕܡܢ ܡܕܝܢܬܗ
ܕܐܠܗܐ: ܟܠܐ ܒܗܝܢ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܠܗܘ ܕܡܗܘܐ: ܐܠܐ ܠܗ ܚܕ ܟܠ: ܒܒܗܝܢ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܠܗܘ
ܕܐܠܗܝܐ ܘܕܝܠܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܢܦܠܐ ܠܗ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܘܠܐ ܡܬܝܐ ܗܘܐ: ܕܡܢ ܒܗܘܐ ܗܘ
ܡܫܝܚܝܐ ܢܘܟܪܝܐ ܡܫܝܚܝܐ: ܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܘܡܢܗ ܕܡܪܢ. ܢܠܐ ܕܒܕܘܟܬܐ
ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܢܣܒܐ ܡܢ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܕܝܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܡܫܘܕܐ ܣܓܝ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܡܢ
ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܕܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܡܫܪܐ ܚܠܦܝ ܕܐܠܗܘܢ ܒܐܪܥܐ ܘܚܝܠܐ ܒܗܘܢ: ܡܢ ܟܘܢ ܘܡܢ
ܢܐܡܪ ܕܢܬܦܢܘܢ: ܒܗܘ ܐܝܟܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܬܠܒܫܝܢ ܗܘܘ. ܘܢܦܠ ܡܢܗ ܒܟܘܠܗܘܢ
ܕܢܦܠ ܘܒܝܬ. ܐܝܟܢ ܕܢܦܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܡܘܢܐ: ܘܡܢܗܘܢ ܐܟܪܐ ܘܡܬܐܡܪܝܢ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ.
ܘܢܦܩܘܢ ܡܢ ܚܝܠ ܕܡܦܬܢ ܕܒܗ ܢܬܬܥܝܪܘܢ ܠܟܘܠܗܘܢ. ܐܦܠܐ ܗܘܝܬ ܠܝ ܐܢܫ ܡܫܝܚܐ.
ܐܦܠܐ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܢ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܝܬܝܐ ܗܘܝܢ. ܢܗܘܐ ܕܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܠܐܝܬܘܬܗ
ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܗܘ ܕܐܬܝܠܕ ܒܐܢܫܘܬܐ. ܘܐܢ ܡܕܡ ܡܢ ܟܢܝܫ ܕܒܐܢܫܘܬܐ ܒܗܝܢ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ
ܠܡܫܡܥ: ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܕܐܬܓܠܝ ܗܘܝܬ ܡܫܬܡܥܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܘܡܢܟܘܢ ܠܗ: ܗܘܝܬܘܢ ܐܬܬܘܣܦ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܐܦܝܐ ܕܐܦܝܢ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܡܢܗܘܢ. ܘܡܬܢܓܕܝܢ
ܘܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܡܫܬܡܥ: ܘܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܐܝܟ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܒܬܫܡܫܬܐ. ܐܬܦܪܫܘ ܡܢܟܘܢ ܒܐܠܗܘܬܐ
ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܟܘܢ ܒܫܠܝܚܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܝܟ ܕܒܕܐ ܥܠ ܡܠܬܗ ܕܡܪܢ: ܗܘ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܟܢܫܐ
ܢܐܬܐ ܠܟܘܠܗ. ܘܐܢܫ ܒܗ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܟܢܫܝܢ: ܦܠܓܘ ܐܟܘܠܗ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܒܟܠܗ ܘܒܝܬ
ܢܦܫܗ: ܒܟܠܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܟܘܠܗܘܢ ܕܒܝܬܗ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܗܘܘ ܢܦܩܘܢܢܝܗܘܢ. ܐܝܟܢ ܕܒܗܘܢ
ܠܟܘܢ ܡܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܗܝܢܐ ܒܗܘܢ. ܕܒܝܬ ܘܡܫܡܠܝܐ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܗܘܝܢ. ܘܐܢܫܘܢ
ܡܫܝܚܝܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܬܝܠܕܘܢ ܗܘܝܐ ܡܬܠܒܫܐ ܕܡܬܟܢܫܢ ܕܐܬܐܡܪ ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ:
ܗܘ ܒܗ ܕܢܦܩܘܢ ܘܡܬܦܪܫܝܢ ܘܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܕܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܕܡܪܢ.[1] ܢܐܬܦܠܓ ܒܗܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܐܡܪ
ܡܢ ܕܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܐܬܕܝܢ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܗܘܢ: ܘܥܠ ܗܘܝܢ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܕܒܗܝܢܐ
ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢܗܘܢ. ܐܡܪ ܡܢ ܕܟܠ ܡܫܬܡܥܢ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ. ܘܦܪܘܩܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܠܗܘܢ
ܠܗܘܢ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܡܬܐܡܪ: ܐܝܟ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܢ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܠܡܘܕܝܐ ܘܠܐܦܣܩܬܐ ܒܗܝܢܐ:
ܘܐܝܟ ܠܐܢܫܘܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܐܡܪ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܡܫܬܡܥܝܢ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܝܬܝܢ: ܠܒܪܢܫܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܐܬܦܪܫܬ
ܡܫܬܡܥܬ ܕܒܕܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܕܗܢܘܢ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܘܡܬܦܪܫܝܢ ܘܐܬܡܫܠܡ. ܘܐܬܐܡܪܘܢ ܠܗܘܢ
ܡܕܝܢܐ ܢܕܥܘܢ ܕܢܦܩܘ ܒܗܝܢ ܒܗܘܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. [ܘܐܬܕܪܟܘ ܘܐܝܟ ܐܬܕܪܟܘ. ܘܐܬܦܪܫܬ
ܐܬܕܪܟܘ ܟܠܐ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܬܐ ܫܦܝܪܬܐ ܐܬܓܠܝܬ ܒܡܕܝܢ. ܠܗܘܢ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ
ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܕܝܠܗ. ܢܦܩ ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܒܟܠܕܘܟ ܕܒܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ ܫܠܝ. ܘܐܝܟܢ ܫܦܝܪܢ
ܫܠܝܚܐ ܠܫܡܝܐ. ܘܗܟܢ ܒܗ: ܢܦ ܐܢܫ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܬܡܥ ܡܫܬܡܥܢܗ: ܕܒܟܘܢܫܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ
ܒܗܘ ܕܐܬܒܢܐ. ܘܡܫܬܡܥ ܢܦܩ ܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܕܟܘܠܗ. ܠܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܫܠܝܚܐ ܡܫܬܡܥܢܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ:

[1] Assemâni has ܘܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܕܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܐ ܘܕܐܠܗܘ ܘܕܡܪܢ ܘܕܪܘܚ.

[illegible]

[illegible]

V. Second letter to the inhabitants of Ḳaṭar. [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

VI. To the solitaries in the country of the Keṭrâyê. [illegible]]

[illegible]

ܘܡܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܕܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ: ܕܡܫܬܒܚܝܢ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܕܫܒܚܘܗܝ ܘܡܫܒܚܝܢ:
ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܫܡܫܝܢ ܕܐܠܗܐ: ܐܠܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܠܡܘܬ ܫܕܐ ܗܘ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܫܬܘܕܝ ܕܫܬܝܪܐܝܬ ܗܘܘ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܘܫܒܩܘ ܐܠܗܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܕܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ: ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܠܡܘܬ ܘܡܬܬܘܬܐ
ܕܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܠܡܬܘܕܝܘܬܗܘܢ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܫܒܩ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ: ܡܠܦܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܫܠܐ
ܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܠܘܩܒܠ ܕܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ ܘܡܫܠܡ ܘܡܬܚܫܒ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܐܫܬܡܥܘ ܡܢܡܫܬܐ
ܕܫܘܪܝ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܐܠܗܐ. ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܕܟܠ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܟ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܫܡܫ ܠܝ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܐ
ܫܠܝܚܐ: ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܗܢܐ ܕܟܠ ܘܡܬܬܘܕܝܢ. ܕܐܝܟ ܦܠܚܐ ܕܘܡܝܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܐܡܪ ܠܟ. ܡܬܬܘܬܐ
ܠܘܩܒܠ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܕܫܡܫ. ܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܠܝ ܡܢܐ ܫܡܫܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܡܪ. ܕܡܢܐ ܠܟ
ܕܦܠܚܬܝ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܫܡܫ. ܐܠܐ ܕܫܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܫܡܫ ܫܡܫܐ ܡܫܡܫܢ ܫܡܫ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܡܠ.
ܡܫܡܫ ܟܠ ܗܢܘܢ ܕܡܬܬܘܕܝܢ ܕܟܘܢ ܘܐܡܪ. ܗܘ ܠܟ ܫܡܫܢ ܡܫܡܫ ܡܫܡܫܢ. ܘܡܬܬܘܕܝܢ
ܡܫܡܫܢ ܘܟܠ ܟܘܡܪܐ ܕܡܬܬܘܕܝܢ ܠܘܩܒܠ ܡܫܡܫܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܫܡܫ ܟܠ ܐܢܫܐ ܠܡܫܬܡܫܢܘܬܗ
ܕܡܫܡܫ. ܘܡܫܡܫܢ ܠܡܫܡܫ ܐܫܡܫ ܗܘ ܫܡܫ ܕܠܐ ܡܫܡܫܢ. ܡܫܐ ܕܐܬܡܫܠ ܡܫܬܡܫܢܘܬܐ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܢ. ܗܠܝܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܟܠܗܝܢ: ܠܘ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܬܬܘܕܝܢ ܡܫܡܫ ܠܗܝܢ ܐܠܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ
ܕܫܠܐ ܫܡܫܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܕܝܢ ܕܫܡܫ ܘܡܫܡܫܢ ܕܡܢ ܟܠ ܫܡܫ ܕܫܘܪܝ
ܕܐܠܗܐ: ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܠܡܘܬ. ܡܫܡܫ ܐܝܟ ܠܡܫܡܫܢ ܕܡܠܐ ܘܫܡܫ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ.
ܘܫܡܫ ܡܫܡܫ ܐܡܪ ܡܫܡܫܢ ܘܫܠܡ ܕܫܘܪܝ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܫܡܫܢܐ ܫܡܫ
ܒܐܝܕ ܡܫܡܫ: ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܕܠܘܬ ܒܗܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܐܠܐ ܫܡܫ
ܒܐܝܕ ܗܢܐ: ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܠܘܩܒܠ ܡܠܬܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܢ: ܘܗܘ ܡܫܡܫ ܕܡܫܡܫ ܕܫܡܫ
ܫܡܫܐ. ܘܫܡܫ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܕܝܢ ܕܫܡܫܢ ܫܡܫ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ:
ܐܠܐ ܗܘ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܟܠܗ ܒܗܢܐ ܕܡܫܡܫ: ܘܗܘ ܡܫܡܫ ܕܫܡܫ ܘܡܫܡܫ: ܘܗܘ ܡܫܡܫ
ܕܗܘ ܕܡܫ ܠܡܫܡܫ ܕܫܡܫܗܘܢ ܡܫܡܫܢ ܘܫܡܫ. ܘܗܘ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܦܠܚܘܬܐ ܠܡܫܡܫ ܫܡܫܐ
ܐܢܫܘܢ: ܘܫܡܫܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܗܘ ܫܡܫ ܫܡܫ: ܘܡܫܡܫ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܫ ܠܫܡܝܐ ܐܠܗ:
ܘܫܡܫ ܒܐܝܕ ܕܡܫܡܫ ܕܫܡܫܢܐ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܡܫܡܫ: ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܡܫܡܫ ܫܡܫ. ܠܐ
ܗܘ ܡܫܡܫ ܕܐܝܟ ܡܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܫܡܫ ܕܫܡܫ: ܠܘܩܒܠ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܡܫܡܫ
ܒܐܝܕ ܡܫܡܫ ܐܫܡܫܘܢ: ܘܡܢ ܠܐ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܡܫ ܠܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܫܡܫ ܫܡܫܐ:
ܒܗܢ ܐܦ ܠܡܫܡܫܗܘܢ ܕܫܡܫ ܕܡܫܡܫܢ ܘܡܫܡܫ ܕܡܫܡܫ: ܐܡܪ ܫܡܠ ܕܐܝܟܢܐ: ܡܫܡܫ
ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܟܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ. ܘܡܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܢܐ ܐܫܡܫܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܫܡܫ ܫܡܫ
ܒܡܫܡܫ ܕܡܫܡܫܘܬܐ. ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܡܫܡܫܢ: ܘܡܫܡܫ ܕܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ
ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܕܫܡܫ ܘܡܫܡܫ: ܡܫܡܫ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܫܡܫ ܡܫܡܫ: ܘܡܫܡܫ ܠܗܘܢ
ܒܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ: ܐܠܐ ܒܐܝܕ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܫܠܐ ܫܡܫܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܡܫܡܫܗܘܢ ܒܡܫܡܫ ܡܫܡܫ
ܐܡܫܡܫ ܒܡܫܡܫ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܘܐܬܡܫܡܫ ܠܡܫܡܫ ܕܡܫܡܫ ܗܢܐ. ܘܗܢܐ ܡܫܡܫ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܝ ܗܢܐ:
ܒܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܡܫ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܬܡܫܡܫ ܒܗ ܒܡܫܡܫ ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ. ܘܡܫܡܫ ܐܢܐ

ܕܐܬܡܘܬܢܘ ܡܫܬܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܒܐܘܠܨܢܐ ܡܫܬܠܡܢܐ ܘܐܬܒܛܠܘ ܠܡܫܪܝܗ ܕܒܠܒܗ ܗܘܐ. ܘܗܘܐ
ܐܡܝܢܐܝܬ ܒܨܘܡܐ ܘܒܨܠܘܬܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗ ܒܥܕܬܐ: ܡܫܡܫ ܒܨܘܒܝܢܐ ܠܒܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܘܗܠܝܢ
ܐܢܫ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܕܗܘܐ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ ܦܘܪܫܢܐ ܒܬܘܕܝܬܗܘܢ: ܠܐ ܕܢܐܡܪ ܡܕܡ ܦܓܪ ܡܢ
ܚܝܠܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܐܦܪܝܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ: ܐܫܬܠܝ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܢܗܝܪܐ ܕܐܝܟ ܗܢܐ: ܘܐܬܬܘܝܘ ܠܬܘܗܝܬܐ
ܕܝܬܝܪܐ ܕܐܠܗܝܬ. ܗܘܢܐ ܗܢܝܐ ܦܘܫܩܐ ܕܐܠܦܢܐ ܕܪܘܚ: ܡܢ ܐܬܦܪܫ ܡܬܬܐܠܦܢ ܒܫܢܝܐ
ܗܘܐ ܕܬܘܫܒܚܬܐ ܘܐ ܐܬܬܢܝ ܡܢܝܢܐ: ܕܢܘܚܐ ܡܠܝܐ ܚܘܒܗܘܢ ܒܝܬܝܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܬܘܩܢܐ. ܠܡܬܒܠ
ܦܪܩܢ ܕܗܘܝܘ ܫܘܬܦܐ ܠܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܒܐܬܪܐ ܕܒܘܬܒܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܐܬܒܥܘ ܡܢ ܢܦܫܗܘܢ ܥܡܐ ܝܬܝܪ
ܘܐܫܬܪܝܘ ܕܐܬܦܪܫܘܦܐܬܐ ܕܡܥܬܡܪܝܢ ܗ̄ܘܘ ܒܗ. ܘܚܠܦ ܕܠܐ ܐܥܒܪܘ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܬܒܪ ܡܛܠܬܗ
ܒܥܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܒܚܝܠܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܢܗܘܦܐ ܦ̈ܘܚܝܐ. ܗܘ ܦܪܘܩܢ ܡܘܫܐ ܡܢ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܚܝܠܗܘܢ
ܬܘܩܦܐ. ܕܐܬܦܢܝ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܫܬܪܝ ܒܗܝܢܐ ܡܢ ܥܒܕܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܚܠܦ ܚܝܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܢܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ
ܥܒܕܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܘܐܬܝܗܒ ܒܗܘܢ ܠܐܬܪܐ ܕܒܘܬܒܘܬܗܘܢ. ܐܝܟ ܘܐܫܬܪܝ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ
ܒܐܘܒܢܐ ܕܦܐܪܐ ܠܗ. ܘܡܚܠܦ ܕܒܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܕܦ̈ܘܩܕܢܘܗܝ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܠܝܗܘܢ: ܠܘܬ ܗܕܐ ܒܠܚܘ
ܡܬܬܪܘܬܐ ܡܚܝܠܘܬܗܘܢ: ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܐܬܒܘܝܢܐ ܕܗܝܡܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܒܟܠ ܐܬܪ ܡܬܬܪܒܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܚܝܠ
ܚܝܠܗܘܢ. ܕܐܢܐ ܕܚܝܠܐ ܥܒܕܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ: ܕܐܢܐ ܦ̄ܫ ܕܐܝܟ ܕܐܦ ܡܢ ܒܗܘ ܗܘ ܡܬܗܦܟܐ. ܕܐܦ
ܝܠܘܦܐ ܢܡܘܣܐ: ܐܝܟܘܬ ܡܢ ܘܡܢ ܒܠܒܗ ܥܒܕܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܠܝܠܘܬܐ. ܕܡܢܐ ܡܬܘܒ ܡܬܬܢܝܐ
ܡܢܐ ܕܐܬܬܘܒܢܐ: ܐܠܗܐ ܦܠܓܐ ܘܡܠܟܐ ܡܠܝ ܕ̈ܝܢܐ: ܢܛܠ ܠܗܘܢ ܐܝܟ ܒܐܬܪܐ
ܕܐܬܬܘܝܬܗ. ܕܒܝܠܝ ܐܬܬܪܘܢ ܒܪܘܚܗ. ܕܒܒܪܝܬܗܘܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܢܬܡܪ ܡܬܢܐ ܒܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ
ܘܠܒܘܫܬܗܘܢ ܒܝܘܡܐ. ܒܕ ܢܗܘܐ ܬܪܝܢ ܬܪܥܝܗܘܢ ܘܬܐܪܬܬܗܘܢ. ܕܐܬܒܝܘܢ ܠܦܬܓܡܘ ܬܒܥ
ܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܡܕ̈ܝܢܐ: ܡܢܘ ܦܝܢܐ ܘܐܝܟܢܐ ܘܐܘܪܚܐ ܘܦܬܓܡܐ. ܘܐܬܪܘܢ ܒܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܒܘܬܒܗ
ܕܡܥܒܕܢܐ. ܘܐܬܬܥܝܠܘ ܒܒܠܒܗ ܡܘܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܠܦܘ ܕܡܢ ܕܡܫܚܐ ܒܢܦܠܐ ܐܢܐܬ ܡܢ ܟܠ
ܠܡܬܒܥ ܠܝ: ܘܐܢܐܬ ܡܢ ܡܢܐ ܕܐܬܠܝܢ ܘܬܘܝܢ: ܐܝܟ ܢܦܠܬܗ ܕܡܬܗܦܟ ܒܝ: ܠܗ ܐܬܬܘܒܢܐ
ܒܥܒܕܗ ܒܗܘܐ ܡܚܝܐ: ܒܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܕܪ̈ܐ ܕܒܠܝܬܐ ܒܠܬܡܝ ܐܬܡܝ ܐܠܦܬܐ ܠܗܘܝܐ
ܕܒܒܕܐ ܠܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܦܠܓܝܢܐ ܘܠܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܕܐܬܦܪܘܬܐ. ܡܦܪܘܫ ܐܬܐܘܢ ܕܚܝܠܬܐ:
ܡܦܪܫ ܒܠܒܗܘܢ ܐܝܟܢܐ ܕܡܠܦܢܐ ܘܕܡܗܝܡܢܐ. ܘܡܘܕܒܘ ܐܬܘܢ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܕܥܒܪܐ ܘܡܫܡܫ
ܐܬܒܝܬܐ. ܘܗܒܢܐ ܐܦ ܠܐ ܠܘܬܐ ܦܘܫܩܝܗܘܢ ܕܐܬܦܬܟܪ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܠܘܬ ܐܬܦܬܟܪܘܗܝ
ܡܢ ܦܬܓܡܐ. ܘܦܝ ܐܘܒ ܕܡܚܠܦ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܕܦܘܪܬܐ: ܥܒܕܬ ܠܡܐ ܨܝܢܬܗܝܢ ܒܚܝܠܬܐ
ܕܚܝܠܐ. ܘܡܥܒܕܬ ܐܘܒ ܐܦ ܨܝܢܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܒܐܒܕܬ ܐܪܐ ܡܢ ܦܬܓܡܐ. ܠܗ ܠܥܡܗܘܢ ܦܘ
ܕܡܬܦܠܐ ܐܦܘܫܐ ܕܐܬܘܪܒܥܐ. ܕܒܕ ܐܬܦܪܘ ܐܒܗܘܢ ܕܡܢ ܡܠܠܐ ܕܚܝܠ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܠܘܬܗ.
ܘܡܢ ܡܫܦܚܘܬܗ ܕܒܕܚܠܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ: ܦܘ ܕܚܝܒ ܦܘܩܕܐ ܠܡܫܦܚܘܬܗ ܬܘܩܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܡܬܒܥ
ܐܝܟ ܕܠܡܘܕܝܢ ܕܢܦܫܗ ܘܕܒܠܒܗ ܐܒܕܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ: ܢܗܒ ܗܘ ܡܠܘܐܐ ܗܦܟܢܐ ܠܟܦܘܪܘܬܐ
ܕܒܕܪܘܦܚܝܘܬܐ: ܘܐܚܦܪ ܐܒܕܗ ܐܦ ܠܐܦܫܘܩܐ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܚܝܠܗܘܢ. ܘܡܒܪܟ ܐܘܒ ܐܦ ܨܝܢܐ
ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܬܦܪܬ. ܕܒܐܪ ܦܘ ܡܒܕܡܝܢ ܒܐܬܪܟ ܠܗ: ܐܝܟܢ ܕܐܦ ܡܬܚܠ ܗܘܠܝ: ܐܬܐܬܪܐ

[Syriac text]

VII. The second Epistle to the solitaries in the country of the Ḳeṭrâyê.

[Syriac text]

[illegible]

ܠܟܘܢ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܒܠܒܕ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܗܟܢܐ ܠܐ ܡܢܘܚܝܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ.

[illegible]

ܠܗܘܢ ܒܬܪ ܡܢ ܒܥܘ ܚܘܒܝܗܘܢ ܕܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ. ܘܦܪܫ ܗ̄ܘ ܡܢܗܠ ܕܐܬܒܪܝ ܐܠܗܐ.
ܘܡܠܬܐ ܕܝܘܣܦ ܥܠ ܫܡܗ ܘܢܦܩܬ ܒܝܫܘܥ ܠܟܪܝܗ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܡܢ ܒܠ ܕܒܗܝܢ. ܥܕܡܐ
ܠܚܠܡܝܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܡܝܢ ✡ ܘܗܘܐ ܫܠܝܡܝܢ ܘܡܠܬܐ ܕܟܕܒܘܢ ܠܡܫܝܚ ܝܫܘܥ ܕܒܠܒܝ
ܐܡܝܢ ✡

CHAPTER XI.[1]

OF RABBAN ʿĂNÂN-ÎSHÔʿ[2] THE DOCTOR, AND MONK, AND COMPILER OF THE "BOOK OF PARADISE."[3]

It is not right that the glorious memory of the holy Abbâ ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ[4] should drop out from our mind, or that we should suppress the mention of his indefatigable zeal, on the contrary, let us place his noble acts among [those of] his companions, for happiness at the right hand of our Lord Christ is [also] laid up for him with them. Now this blessed man ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ and Îshôʿ-yahbh[5] his brother came from the country of Adiabene; they were both trained in doctrine in the city of Nisibis, being children of the school and love and household of the blessed Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh [of Adiabene]. They became disciples in the Great Monastery [of Îzlâ], as the books which belong to them in the library of this monastery testify, for they shew that

[1] Parts of this chapter are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 139, 144.

[2] Properly ʿĂnâ-n[î]-Îshôʿ. See Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. iv.

[3] See *infra*, p. 189f.

[4] ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ and his brother Îshôʿ-yahbh were fellow-students at Nisibis with Îshôʿ-yahbh III., and afterwards entered the great convent on Mount Îzlâ; they flourished about the year 645. See Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 843; *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 144, col. 1.

[5] He afterwards became Bishop of Ḳârdâlîâbhadh. (See p. 177).

they were written by their hands there. Now Abbâ Ânân-Îshôʿ having lived the life of an ascetic with all excellence, and having his mind constantly fixed upon the works of the ascetic fathers, determined to go and worship in Jerusalem. And from there he went to the desert of Scete,[1] where he learned concerning all the manner of the lives of the ascetic fathers, whose histories and questions are written in books, [p. 79] and concerning their dwellings, and the places in which they lived. And when he turned to come back he made his journey by way of the [monastery of the] holy Mâr John, Bishop of the Scattered, of whom I have made mention a little way back,[2] that he might be blessed by his holiness,[3] and enjoy his conversation. And after he had come to his own monastery,[4] he took his brother, and they came to this monastery [of Bêth ʿÂbhê] by reason of the annoyance and contention which had taken place there, for certain men who were slanderers, and who set themselves against holy men, had risen up there, and they drove out the holy Rabban Narsai, the disciple of Mâr Bâbhai, who finally became head of the monastery[5] and was renowned for a life of excellence. And concerning Mâr Narsai the holy Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh, when he was Bishop of Nineveh, wrote a letter to the Great Monastery, blaming them, and saying, "Ye have not acted rightly towards that [holy] man in making him a stranger

[1] See *supra*, p. 39, note 3.
[2] See *supra*, p. 129.
[3] Read ܒܩܘܕܫܗ.
[4] *I. e.*, Mount Îzlâ.
[5] See chap. 18. Narsai succeeded Bâbhai as head of the Monastery of Îzlâ after A. D. 628. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 455, col. 2. He is probably the Narsai to whom Îshôʿ-yahbh wrote Letters Nos. 29 and 50.

to your congregation."[1] Now when they came to this monastery, and dwelt in silence according to the rule of ascetics, Rabban ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ the wise of understanding laboured so hard in the study of books, that he surpassed all who were before and after him in his knowledge. And when Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh was Metropolitan of Arbêl (Arbela),[2] and wished to draw up in

[1] Thomas is no doubt quoting from a letter which he had at hand, but of which no copy seems to have come down to us. No. 16 of the letters written by Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh while he was Bishop of Môṣul is addressed to the monks of the Monastery of Mount Îzlâ, and refers to the expulsion of some of the brethren. He says that he has twice written to them, and that inasmuch as he has received no answer he is afraid that what he has heard by rumour of the quarrel which had broken out among them, but which he never expected could be true, has really happened. He describes the quarrel as the work of the devil in the form of a man, and in a long exhortation advises them to remember their past glorious state, and to endeavour to bring it back again. Finally he says, "Go forth after your brethren, and gather them together, and if it be necessary for you to endure suffering, shrink not from it until ye have made them dwellers together with you, and loving associates." ܘܦܘܩܘ ܒܬܪ ܐܚܝܟܘܢ ܘܟܢܫܘ ܐܢܘܢ. ܘܐܢ ܐܠܨܐ ܠܟܘܢ ܚܫܐ ܠܡܣܒܠ ܠܐ ܬܬܟܠܘܢ. ܥܕܡܐ ܕܬܥܒܕܘܢ ܐܢܘܢ ܠܟܘܢ ܒܢܝ ܡܬܘܬܒܐ ܘܡܫܘܬܦܐ ܪܚܡܐ (fol 17*a*.). It is probable that ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ and his brother left the Monastery of Îzlâ on account of the disturbance referred to in the above letter.

[2] The chief town of Adiabene, situated about 70 miles east of Môṣul. Of Arbêl, Arbîl, or Irbil, إِرْبِل (Yâḳût, t. I, p. 186ff.) Bar-Bahlûl says ܐܪܒܝܠ ܡܢ ܚܕܝܒ. ܐܬܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܐܘ ܚܕܝܐ قرية ببلاد حزّة تُنسب اليها مطرنة الموصل ܡܕܝܢܬܐ. ܘܐܬܘܪ ܘܐܬܘܪܐ ܘܡܘܨܠ ✲ Duval, *Syr. Lex.*, col. 280. The site is a very old one, and is mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions. See Schrader, *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 441.

order a book of the Canons[1] that he might send copies of it to all the countries of his patriarchate, he made the wise Abbâ ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ, the love of whom is very dear and sweet to me,[2] to sit with him during the drawing up of the canons, because of the institutes and rules which he had composed, and because he found that he[3] alone possessed in a sufficient measure a clear mind, and a natural talent for the art of music,[4] and a knowledge how to arrange words.

Now the excellent man, and elect of God, Îshôʿ-yahbh, the brother of ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ, was appointed Bishop of Ḳârdâliâbhâdh,[5] that is Shennâ a city of Bêth Râmmân. And the noble ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ composed defi-

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[1] The *librum horarum Canonicarum* of Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 145, col. 1. For the regulations made by Îshôʿ-yahbh for times of prayer, *etc.*, see *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 139, 305, and especially p. 526.

[2] Compare p. 88, line 3 (text) where Thomas says "I am consumed with love for him," *i. e.*, ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ. Strike out note 2.

[3] In note 3 read ܢܦܫ ܠܗ. Assemânî has ܕܒܟܠܗܘܢ (*B. O.*, iii, p. 139, col. 2).

[4] ܡܘܣܝܩܝ ܩܠܐ.

[5] Ḳârdâliâbhâdh, كاردارى آباذ is the old name of Shennâ dhĕ Bêth Râmmân, or Sinn Bârimma, سِنّ بارِمّا which was situated at a distance of ten *farsaḥ* from Tekrît, تكريت, on the east bank of the Tigris, below the spot where the Lower Zâb flows into the Tigris. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 189, 253. وبارمّا ايضا قرية فى شرقى دجلة الموصل واليها نسب السنّ فيقال سِنّ بارِمّا Yâḳût, t. 1, p. 464, ll. 20—22. According to B. M. Rich 7203, fol. 161 *b*, col. 1, and B. M. Orient. 2441, fol. 346*b*, col. 2, ܩܪܕܠܝܒܕ also = مدينة السن. Hoffmann suggests that Ḳârdâliâ-bhâdh = Ḳârdîn-âbâd (cf. Rûbîl for Reuben), *i. e.*, "Ḳârdîn's colony." Cf. Yazdîn-âbâd (text, p. 234. 19, 386. 16).

nitions and divisions of various things,[1] [p. 80] which were written upon the walls of his cell. And when his brother Mâr Îshô'-yahbh came to pray in this monastery, and saw the divisions of the science of philosophy of his brother 'Ănân-Îshô', he begged him to write a commentary on them for him, and to send it to him, which 'Ănân-Îshô' actually did. And he wrote to him a clear exposition in many lines, from[2] which will be apparent to every one who readeth therein the greatness of his wisdom; now the title of this work is, "A letter[3] which a brother wrote to his brother; to the excellent and holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh the Bishop, 'Ănân-Îshô' in the Lord, greeting." He also[4] wrote a work on the correct pronunciation of the words and of the difficult words which are used with different significations[5] in the writings of the Fathers, which

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[1] Read ܕܡܕܡ. [2] Read ܡܢܗ̇.

[3] Read ܕܐ ܠܟܬܒܬܐ.

[4] Compare the entry in 'Abhd-Îshô's *Catalogue* (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 144) ܠܫܘܠܚܝܐ ܗܘ ܫܘܠܟܐ ܘܦܘܫܩܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ. Assemânî refers to an *Exposition of obscure passages from the Book of Paradise*, in which unfortunately the name of the author is not given, but says 'an hujus Ananjesu sint, non ausim definire' (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 146, col. 2, at the foot). The famous "Book of Paradise" redacted by 'Ănân-Îshô' is described by Thomas in chapter 15 of this book; see p. 189f. His work entitled *Liber Canonorum de Aequilitteris, i. e.*, on the different pronunciation and signification of words that are spelt with the same letters, has been published, with the additions of Honain ibn-Isḥâḳ of al-Ḥîrah, (died in 873) and another compiler, by Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, pp. 2—49.

[5] In this work he followed in the footsteps of Joseph Hûzâyâ, and anticipated Jacob of Edessa and the monks of Ḳarḳaph˘thâ. Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 843, col. 1.

exists among the books in the library[1] of this convent, and which surpasses all other collations in its accuracy; and according to what I have learned concerning these his [books] from the aged Elders, they were completed and given to us by him. Now when the blessed Mâr Ìshô'-yahbh the Catholicus departed this temporary life,[2] the holy Mâr[3] George became Patriarch after him.

CHAPTER XII.[4]

OF THE BLESSED MÂR GEORGE,[5] THE CATHOLICUS.

This holy man Mâr George came from Kaphrâ[6] in the province[7] of Bêth Gâwâyâ, which is in the[8] country of Bêth Garmai; he was the son of rich and noble

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[1] We must read here ܕܒܝܬ̈ܐ ܕܐܣܛܘܢ̈ܐ ܕܥܘܡܪܐ ܡܢܩܝܬܐ ܕܐܝܬ ܒܒܝܬ ܟܬܒ̈ܐ. See Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. V.

[2] Read ܗܢ ܚܝ̈ܐ ܕܙܒܢ̈ܐ. [3] Strike out ܡܢ after ܡܪܝ.

[4] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 149f.

[5] George, the disciple of Îshô'-yahbh, was first Bishop of Môṣul, then Metropolitan of Adiabene, and finally Patriarch of the Nestorians; he succeeded his friend Îshô'-yahbh A. D. 661 and sat until 680. He wrote ܐܓܪ̈ܬܐ ܘܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ ܘܬܘܪ̈ܓܡܐ ܘܡܕܪ̈ܫܐ ܘܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ ܥܠ ܟܠ ܘܥܢܝ̈ܬܐ. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 153, 708.

[6] ܟܦܪܐ = كفرى, a place on the naphtha mountains between Tûz Ḥurmatli and the Diyâla river. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 277.

[7] ܪܘܣܛܩܐ, a tract of land, Pers. رُسْتَاق, plur. رَسَاتِيق, Arab. رُزْدَاق, plur. رُزْدَاقَات, or رَزَادِيق. This word is compared with the Pehlevi רוסטאק by J. Müller; see Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1866, p. 81.

[8] Read ܕܒܐܬܪܐ.

parents, and his father possessed in this country [of Margâ] two estates, Tellâ dhĕ Zâllê, that is Tell-zallah, and Bêth Ḥabbâ,[1] and he was sent by his parents to watch and govern the affairs and business of these estates. [p. 81] And when he went into the monastery to pray and to be blessed by the ascetics and those who dwelt therein, their manner of life was pleasing in the sight of the blessed man, and he also wished to inscribe himself with the seal of their divine service. Now according to what I have learned from his kinsfolk, who possess written records of him, he became a disciple after the death of Rabban [Jacob], and the time itself shews us that it must have been subsequent to this event, for at that period he had not yet arrived at the age for being a disciple. It is probable that he received the tonsure before Rabban Ḳâm-Îshô' received the office of head of the convent. And when his father departed from this world, George entreated his brethren that the village of Bêth Ḥabbâ might be given to him as his share in the division of the inheritance, and he gave it to this monastery [of Bêth 'Âbhê]. Now when the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh was Bishop of Nineveh he saw the intelligence and good disposition and humility of the young man George, and was drawn to love him as the blessed Nectarius[2] loved Evag-

[1] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 227 and note 675 (p. 74). Tellâ dhĕ Zâllê and Bêth Ḥabbâ must have been situated very near Bêth 'Âbhê.

[2] Nectarius, the senator, a native of Tarsus, was made Bishop of Constantinople by Theodosius; he died about A.D. 397. Thomas of Margâ probably means either Basil the Great or Gregory Nazianzen. Socrates says (*Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 23) that Evagrius was ordained at Constantinople by Gregory Nazianzen,

rius,[1] and brought him to be his disciple. And when Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh became Metropolitan of Adiabene[2] he took the excellent and humble George with him; and when Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh became Catholicus he made him Metropolitan of this country (Margâ) in his place. So also when he became Patriarch this same Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh was appointed general governor of the dominion of the countries which were far away.[3] And he had many disciple and intimate friends, and one of them, George,[4] he made Metropolitan of Pĕrâth dhĕ Maishân,[5] and another George, to be distinguished from our George, he made Metropolitan of Nisibis, by whom was composed the hymn of praise for the consecration of a church which begins: —

> "Glory to Thy mercy, Christ, our King,
> "Son of God, adored by all."[6]

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and Sozomen relates (*Hist. Eccles.*, vi. 30) that when Gregory occupied the see of Constantinople, he made Evagrius his archdeacon. See also *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 45, 151.

[1] Evagrius of Pontus born about A. D. 345, died 399.

[2] *I. e.*, Ḥazzâ or Irbîl, Arbela.

[3] He claims that in the East (*i. e.*, Persia) more than twenty bishops and two Metropolitans had been ordained by the "Church of God;" see *supra*, p. 172, l. 21.

[4] In his first letter to the monks of Ḳaṭar Îshôʿ-yahbh praises the virtues of this George. See p. 168, l. 28.

[5] ܦܪܬ ܕܡܝܫܢ, فرات ميسان, *i. e.*, "the Euphrates of Maishân", a town on the Shatt al-ʿArab opposite to the modern town of al-Baṣra, البصرة, and including Moḥammera. Baṣra is about 65 miles above the mouth of the Shatt al-ʿArab, and 40 miles below the junction of the Tigris and Euphrates (Shatt al-ʿArab). Moḥammera is ten miles from Baṣra. Maishân was the name given to the district which extended from Ctesiphon and Seleucia to the Persian Gulf.

[6] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 152, col. 1.

Now both [these] Georges[1] were Persians by birth. [p. 82] Now when our Lord wished to gather [to Himself] the holy Mâr Ìshô῾-yahbh, the fathers who were [standing] near him entreated him, saying. "Whom dost thou appoint, O Mâr Catholicus, to become governor of the Church after thee?" And he answered humbly, and said, "The choice doth not rest with me, but with the fathers [who are] Bishops; but it appeareth to me that of all our contemporaries it is most fitting that George should be Catholicus;" and it came to pass that George was appointed Catholicus. And when he was appointed, according to the command of his holy master, George of Nisibis, the Persian, was absent on a mission to the land of Persia, on which he had been sent by Mâr Ìshô῾-yahbh while he was alive. And when he came back and heard that the Catholicus had commanded, "George shall succeed me," and that he had not distinctly stated which George, certain fair-speaking,[2] and malignant men disquieted[3] him saying,

[1] All the MSS have ܓܝܘܪܓܝܣ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ, but ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ must be corrupt. We might read ܐܚܪ̈ܝܐ (compare ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ for ܐܚܪܝܐ in *Hist. of Alexander*, ed. Budge, p. 1, l. 10) and translate "these last [two] Georges," or ܚܐܪ̈ܐ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ, "Persian noblemen," or ܒܢ̈ܝ ܚܐܪ̈ܐ ܦܪ̈ܣܝܐ or "sons of Persian noblemen."

[2] ܡܦܪܕܓܝ̈ܢܐ flatterers, deceivers. In B. M. Orient. 2441, fol. 370*b*, col. 1, and Rich 7203, fol. 179*b*, col. 2, we have ܡܦܪܕܓܢܐ ܕܝ مراي مملّق خداعين ܘܐܦ ܒܪ ܒܗܠܘܠ ܡܫܬܡܠܩܢ̈ܐ ܐܘ ܡܫܬܘܕܝܢ̈ܐ المتحسّنين الخداعين المملقين ܀ ܡܦܪܕܓܢܘܬܐ التملّق ممخرق ܀ ܡܦܪܕܓܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܪ ܒܗܠܘܠ المراياه التحسّن المحاباه الممخرق ܀

[3] Assemânî "seductus à quibusdam adulatoribus aientibus." (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 152, col. 1.)

"It is meet that thou shouldst have the Patriarchate, and there is no doubt that the Patriarch thy predecessor made his testamentary deposition with reference to thee." And having returned from Persia and having arrived at Mĕdhînâthâ dhĕ Bêth Aramâyê,[1] he did not go in [to visit] George the Catholicus, but he despised him and held him in contempt, and in his pride he left him and went to Nisibis.

CHAPTER XIII.[2]

OF THE HUMILITY AND GENTLENESS OF THE HOLY GEORGE, THE CATHOLICUS, [AND OF GEORGE THE METROPOLITAN OF NISIBIS].

Now since this holy man had, from his youth up, placed himself under the yoke of the humility of Christ, and had held himself to be of no account in comparison with what was excellent, and in his own opinion[3] had set himself below every [other] man, he did not meditate within himself and consider, saying, "I am a [distinguished man], the Catholicus, [p. 83] and I myself have power to despise him that despised me, and I can make a mock of him that held me in contempt," even although he had the power to prevent and put an end to his ministration, until he should come and apologize, and manifest penitence for his haughtiness.

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[1] *I. e.*, Ctesiphon and Seleucia. See *B. O.*, I, pp. 354, 356; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 352, note 1997. On p. 84, l. 1 (text), ܡܚܘܙܐ takes the place of ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.

[2] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 150, col. 1 ff.

[3] Read ܒܪܥܝܢܗ.

And moreover, that humble head [of the Church] was not moved to wrath by any of these things, neither did his exalted position overcome him, who while standing as the head of the Church, and as a mighty fountain from which holiness flowed down to all ranks, nevertheless made use of that justice which alone is fitting [before] God: on the contrary he meditated wisely and he judged mercifully, in that he listened to our Lord, Who said, "Whosoever among you wisheth to be great, let him be last of all men, and a servant of all men."[1] And he rose up lovingly and he went to the city of Nisibis to reconcile to him George the Metropolitan, who was angry and wrathful with him. Now the entry of Mâr Catholicus into the church of Nisibis was arranged to take place when George and all the city were gathered together in the temple at the time of the Mysteries[2] on the first day of the week. And when the Metropolitan who was in the pulpit, saw the Catholicus coming in at the door, he came down from the pulpit, and went out of the temple, and departed to his cell. Now when he had done this thing, the people of Nisibis were ashamed, and they were exceedingly grieved and angry with their Metropolitan, and they went up to him forthwith, and said to him, "How is it that thou art not ashamed to do this thing? How can we esteem thee a shepherd and a head whilst thou despisest all the toil, and trouble, and humility which Mâr Catholicus hath shewn thee? Thou must know, however, that unless thou yieldest thyself to be reconciled to him and art penitent for thy two acts of folly, [p. 84], namely in treating

[1] St. Matthew xx. 26,27.

[2] The Holy Communion.

him lightly in Màḥôzê,[1] and also at this present in our city, we will neither be thy people, nor shalt thou stand at our head;" and being compelled he came down, and they each expressed their contrition by bowing to each other to the ground. And Mâr Catholicus said, "Why hast thou raged and cut asunder the bonds of fatherly subjugation? and why hast thou turned aside the shoulder of humility from the yoke, and hast disturbed the order which is incumbent upon the paternal throne?" The Metropolitan said to him, "Our Master, Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, of holy memory made[2] a testamentary deposition that I should be Patriarch after him, for I was a very servant working before him, and I have trodden all Persia on his missions." The Catholicus saith to him, "It is true that thou hast travelled in obedience to him, but I was reared upon his holy knees. He it was who made me wise in holy doctrine, and he it was also who made me Metropolitan of the country of his fathers, and I have laid my hands upon his eyes, as Joseph laid his hands upon those of his father Jacob.[3] If thou hast worked before him he hath rewarded thee by making thee Metropolitan of the high place of the world, Ṣôbhâ;[4] this should be sufficient for thee and it is twice as much as thou hast deserved. For what merits which thou possessest could he have given thee the patriarchate? Or was it, peradventure that when thou didst find that we were humble, even as we are commanded to be, thou didst wish to magnify thyself against us, like the company of Ḳûrâḥ (Korah) and

[1] Ctesiphon and Seleucia.

[2] We should perhaps add the word [illegible] here. See p. 82. l. 13.

[3] Genesis xlvi. 29.

[4] *I. e.*, Nisibis.

Dâthan against Moses?[1] Know, however, that whilst[2] we have acted according to the command of our Lord and of the fathers, thou by this pride which thy piety has shown, hast proved thyself to be in opposition to it. May God[3] the Lord forgive us all, Amen." Thus by his humility Mâr George reconciled George the Metropolitan, and he bound on the crown of victory, and the happiness which is reserved for the humble is reserved for him in heaven. [p. 85] All these things, O beloved Mâr ʿAbhd-Îshôʿ, I have learned from the ecclesiastical histories of the saintly Mâr Athḳen,[4] who was called "Plucker out of his beard," of the Great Monastery [of Mount Îzlâ].

CHAPTER XIV.[5]

OF ANOTHER GEORGE [METROPOLITAN] OF PERÂTH DHĔ MAISHÂN, WHO WAS ALSO ANGRY AND WISHED TO LIFT UP THE HEEL AGAINST MÂR CATHOLICUS.

That holy men should live in afflictions, and that Satan would never let them have peace, but would, at

[1] Numbers xvi. 1—35. George means "Nay, we think rather that when thou didst find that we were humble thou didst wish" *etc.*

[2] Strike out ܟܕ. [3] Read ܘܐܠܗܐ.

[4] See also chaps. 16 and 29. Mâr Athḳen was originally a monk at Mount Ìzlâ, but he ended his days in the Monastery of Màr Aphnî-Màran. Besides the Ecclesiastical Histories here mentioned he wrote "a Disputation [addressed to] a wise brother," several letters, a Treatise on the monastic life, etc. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 217.

[5] Parts of this chapter are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 145,150.

every moment, be working all manner of grievous troubles for them, and disquieting the meek, and stirring up temptations for them, the adorable mouth of our Vivifier foretold, saying, "In the world ye shall have tribulation,"[1] and again, "If they have persecuted me, you also will they persecute."[2] What then? As soon as George of Nisibis had been reconciled, and Satan saw the profound humility which the Catholicus had manifested in respect of him, and the long road of trouble and afflictions which he had borne, he could not endure to leave that blessed man without other pain and anxiety even for a short time. Now when the Catholicus went down to Mĕdhînâthâ dhĕ Bêth Armâyê, he heard and learned also concerning George of Pĕrâth dhĕ Maishân,[3] how he was bringing accusations against him before the heathen, and also that he was making ready to offer resistance to him. And although this also made trouble for him, he went down to make peace, and to make of none effect the crafts of the Calumniator. Now when he arrived at [Pĕrâth dhĕ Maishân], George left that place and departed to 'Âḳôlê.[4] And since that holy man [George] was armed with humility against all Satanic assaults, [p. 86] he went to take refuge with the spiritual man, Rabban

[1] St. John xvi. 33. [2] St. John xv. 20.

[3] See *supra*, p. 181.

[4] ABC have ܥܩܘܠܐ, and Vat. has ܩܩܘܠܐ, which Assemânî (*B. O.*, iii, 1, p. 150, col. 2) transcribes ܚܩܘܠܐ. Hoffmann would read ܥܩܘܠܐ. The town ܥܩܘܠܐ, العاقول is ܟܘܦܐ, الكُوفَةُ, al-Kûfâ, a city about thirty five miles south of Babylon, ten east of Meshed 'Alî, and twenty-four from the Euphrates. See Yâḳût iii, pp. 322—326.

Khodhâhwai, the head of the Monastery of Bêth Ḥâlê,[1] a man who strove to live the life of Antony [the Great] and of Macarius, a holy man in truth, and a praiseworthy. And that holy man served the will of Mâr Catholicus with ready mind and with all the obedience with which it was seemly to act before the head of the Church; and thus through the instrumentality of Rabban Khodhâhwai, and through the humility of Mâr Catholicus, that George also was reconciled.

And after these things Mâr Catholicus went down to Bêth Ḳeṭrâyê[2] that he might reconcile the inhabitants thereof, for they had cut themselves off from obedience[3] to the episcopal throne of Rêw-Ardashîr,[4] which is Persia; and he went to the island of Dîrên,[5] and the people thereof were also reconciled. And he went up from there, and came to this holy monastery, and he brought with him cloths for the altar which had been woven for him in the island of Dîrên, of Bêth Ḳeṭrâyê. And he entreated the wise and holy

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[1] See *supra*, p. 102, note 7.

[2] The inhabitants of Ḳaṭar قَطَر on the east coast of Arabia, along the Persian Gulf, opposite Baḥrên. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 114f. We should probably read ܒܝܬ ܩܛܪܝܐ.

[3] See the letters of Mâr Îshô‘-yahbh on pp. 154—174.

[4] Read ܪܝܘ ܐܪܕܫܝܪ Rêw-Ardashîr, or Rêv-Ardeshêr, later Rêshahr. This town was situated on the river Tâb, on the frontier between Pêrsistân, and Khûzistân, and is to be distinguished from Rîshahr, near Abûshehr (Bushire) on the Persian Gulf. The residence of the Archbishop of Persia was at Rew-Ardashîr. See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 19, note 4.

[5] A place on the chief island of Baḥrên in the Persian Gulf. It is the دَارِين of Yâḳût, ii, p. 537. See also Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 57, note 2.

father ʿÂnân-Îshôʿ that he would collect the chapters and questions which were scattered about in a confused manner and were sown mixedly through the various sections of the [Book] of the histories, and narratives, and triumphs, and the questions and answers of the ascetic fathers,—now this book was called the "Conversations of the Elders"[1]—and that he would make each question follow that to which it belonged in consecutive order.

CHAPTER XV.[2]

OF THE COMPILATION OF THE BOOK WHICH WAS CALLED "PARADISE."

Now this Abbâ ʿÂnân-Îshôʿ, (may his memory be for all blessings),[3] who was mentioned a little way back, was a contemporary[4] of both these Patriarchs who were anointed with oil,[5] and to both he showed his obedience; [p. 87] to Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh in arranging the Canons of the Ḥûdhrâ,[6] and to Mâr George in arranging the Book of the Fathers, which work he undertook to do.[7] And having asked for the prayers of Mâr Catholicus, and of the holy old men of his con-

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[1] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 49.

[2] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 145.

[3] See Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 843, note 19.

[4] Read ܒܕܒܪܐ ܕܬܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ.

[5] Literally "sons of oil." Assemânî has ܟܘܡܪ̈ܐ (col. 2, l. 37).

[6] *I. e.*, the service book for the whole year.

[7] This refers to the words, "And he entreated the wise and holy father," *etc.*

gregation, he began and finished this command [with] which he had been commanded. And with an enlightened mind, and a wise understanding—especially as the Spirit had manifested in him the efficacy of His gift,—he arranged and fitted together in smooth order, six hundred chapters, [divided] into fifteen Canons, each containing forty sections.[1] Each chapter was [followed by a] question having direct reference[2] to the contents of the chapter which it followed, (so that if a brother was labouring in any spiritual warfare whatsoever, and wished to pluck consolation or to take counsel on the matter which vexed him, he might find it ready close at hand; and the counsels were placed in consecutive order so that he might be very quickly consoled in his affliction and relieved, and also that he might lay[3] soothing plaster[4] on his suffering wound), and four hundred and thirty other chapters, which treat generally of all kinds of excellence, and many others to which he did not affix numbers nor did he arrange them in order.[5] And he took from the Commentary on the blessed Matthew the Evangelist, the Discourse which was composed by Mâr John Chrysostom[6] on the praises

[1] Reading, with Hoffmann, ܘܡܫܬܐܠܬܐ ܦܘܩܕܢܝܢ *i. e.*, 15×40. Assemânî has "Divisit autem universum opus in sexcenta et quindecim capitula, quatuordecim canonibus et distinctionibus comprehensa." (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 145, col. 2).

[2] Read ܡܫܐܠ "asking".

[3] Read with Vat. ܕܢܣܝܡ. [4] ܡܠܓܡܐ = μάλαγμα.

[5] The book contained then six hundred chapters on specific points, divided into fifteen books of forty sections each, four hundred and thirty chapters on general matters, and a large number of chapters on miscellaneous subjects.

[6] Born at Antioch, A. D. 347, died 407.

of the Egyptian ascetics,[1] and the Questions of the blessed Mâr Abraham[2] of Nephthar, and other examples and narratives which he himself had collected from the writings of the Fathers. And he arranged the whole work in two volumes; in the first part were the histories of the holy Fathers composed by Palladius[3] and Jerome,[4]

[1] This Discourse or Encomium is extant in Syriac in Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 17,174 (Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 1075, col. 2). The title reads ܗܘܠܠܐ ܕܐܡܝܪ ܕܡܪܝ ܡܢ ܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܐܒܗܬܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܕܡܫܢܝ ܐܘܓܠܝܘܣ. ܕܐܡܝܪ ܠܡܪܝ ܣܘܪܝܐ ܕܦܠܠܕܝܘܣ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܦܘܠܚܢܗܘܢ.

[2] Abraham is always called ܢܦܬܪܝܐ, or ܢܦܬܪܝܐ by the Nestorians (see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 191, note 1), and ܢܦܠܝܐ by the Monophysites (see *B. O.*, 1, p. 463, note 1; Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 774, col. 1). The Nestorians derive the word from the district called ܢܦܪ, نِفّر, in the province of Kashkâr (ܢܦܬܪ ܟܘܪܐ ܕܡܢ ܢܦܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ, Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2430), but Hoffmann is inclined to refer it to Νέφθαρ, 2 Maccabees i. 36, where there was a place of sacred fire, although he thinks it quite possible that Niffer was really the birthplace of Abraham, and that he may have identified his town with Nephthar, through a mystic fancy. According to 'Abhd-Îshô' he wrote "various compositions," and a work on the monastic life. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 191, and 1, pp. 463, 464; Wright, *Catalogue Syr. MSS.*, p. 1075*b*.

[3] Palladius the great friend of Chrysostom was born about A. D. 367. He embraced the ascetic life about 387, was made Bishop of Hellenopolis after 391, and took refuge in Rome from the persecution in 405. He visited several places in Palestine, and travelled in Egypt from Alexandria to Aswân in search of material for his history of the Egyptian ascetics, and was the friend of a large number of the most famous of them. The *Paradise* or *Lausiac History* of Palladius is thought to have been composed between the years 414 and 420. See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, viii. pp. 272,359; Cotelerius, *Monumenta*, iii. 563; Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 49, note 1.

[4] He died A. D. 420. According to the *Catalogue* of

and in the second part were the questions and the narratives of the fathers which he himself had brought together. And he called this book "Paradise",[1] [p. 88] and thus it is handed down and received in all the monasteries of the East, and the fathers everywhere praise his ability and applaud his work. And being inflamed by love for him I have written down his honourable memorial among the histories of the holy men who were his fellow workers and associates.

THE SYRIAC VERSION OF THE PARADISE OF PALLADIUS.

During the winter of 1888 the Vicar of the Chaldean Patriarch was so kind as to show me some of the Syriac Manuscripts in his possession, and among them was a thick

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'Abhd-Îshô' (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 49) Palladius and Jerome ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܕܥܒܕ̈ܐ ܩܕ̈ܝܫܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ ܕܥܒܕ ܚܝܠܐ ܕܦܠܠܕܝܘܣ ܘܐܝܪܘܢܝܡܘܣ ܚܕܢ. See *B. O.*, 1, pp. 568,608.

[1] The "Paradise" of Palladius contained the lives of the western ascetics, and the "Paradise" of Joseph Ḥûzâyâ contained the lives of the eastern ascetics (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 102, col. 2); both are to be distinguished from the "Paradise of Eden" by 'Abhd-Ìshô', Metropolitan of Nisibis, (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 325), and the "Little Paradise" by David, Bishop of Kartaw. See *infra* Bk. II. chap. 24. For the account of the Syriac version of the Paradise of Palladius and Saint Jerome, and the Questions of Abraham of Nephthar, which is believed to be the redaction made by 'Ànân-Ìshô' see pp. 192—206. A portion of this same version appears to be preserved in Brit. Mus. Add. 17,263 (Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 1079, No. DCCCCXXXI); but Add. 17,264 (Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 1078, No. DCCCCXXX) is probably the work of Gabriel of Ḳaṭar. See Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 843, note 19.

volume containing the Lives of Holy Men by Palladius; now the Syriac copies of the work of Palladius differ as much from one another as the Greek,[1] and as the copy which I was then examining was old and complete, and was, moreover, different from any version of the work of Palladius then known to me, I asked to be allowed to have a copy of it made by a trustworthy scribe; the permission was most kindly given and the copy was made. Subsequent investigations and enquiries made in and around Môṣul proved that this version was believed to be the redaction of the great work of Palladius made by 'Ănân-Îshô' at the request of George the Patriarch. In the first volume of his *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, (p. 608) Assemânî describes a somewhat similar copy, but as frequent reference to this redaction, although not actually mentioned by name, is made by Thomas of Margâ in his Monastic History, and as some important extracts from it are made in this edition the following complete description of the copy made at Môṣul may be useful to students and others.

This manuscript consists of 353 paper leaves measuring 13½ in. by 9. Each page is occupied by one column of writing, generally containing 28 lines. The quires are thirty-six in number, and are signed with letters. The volume is written in a fine, bold Nestorian hand with numerous vowel points. The colophon fol. 352*a* runs: ܫܠܡܘ ܬܘܒ ܬܫܥܝܬܐ ܘܢܨܚܢܐ ܕܐܒܗܬܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ ܝܚܝܕܝܐ ܕܣܝܡ ܠܩܕܝܫܐ ܘܡܝܬܪܐ ܡܪܝ ܦܠܕܝܣ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܗܠܠܝܢܘܦܘܠܝܣ[2] ܡܕܝܢܬܐ: ܕܟܬܒ ܠܘܬ ܠܘܣܘܣ ܦܪܦܘܣܝܛܐ (πραιπόσιτος τοῦ κοιτῶνος). ܘܡܠܟܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ ܘܚܣܝܢܐ ܘܪܚܡ ܡܫܝܚܐ ܘܡܘܗܒܬܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܠܥܠܡ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ ✡

"Here end the histories and triumphs of the holy fathers [and] solitaries which were composed by the holy and excellent Mâr Palladius, Bishop of Hellenopolis, which he wrote for

[1] For a description of the contents of Syriac MSS. of the Lives of the Solitary Brethren by Palladius in the British Museum see Wright, *Catalogue*, pp. 1070—1078; the "Illustrations of the Book of the Paradise" op. cit. p. 1078 ff.) by "a native of Ḳaṭar" is a different work. See Wright, *Syriac Literature* (in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 9th edit., p. 843, note 19.).

[2] Read ܕܗܠܠܝܢܘܦܘܠܝܣ. The original name of this town was Δρεπάνη, but was changed to Ἑλληνόπολις because Helena, the mother of Constantine, was born there.

Lôṣâ (Lausus) the chamberlain [of the Emperor Theodosius]; to God be glory and honour and praise and worship and exaltation, for ever and ever; Yea and Amen."

The book was finished on the sixth day of the latter Teshrîn, in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1890, in the blessed village of Alḳôsh, the village of Nahum the Prophet which is laid and built by the side of the Monastery of Rabban Hôrmîzd the Persian, in the days of the Catholicus and Patriarch of Babylon of the East, Mâr Êlîyâ XIII, and was written by 'Îsâ bar-Esha'yâ, the son of the deacon Cyriacus from the village of Eḳrôr.

[Syriac text]

[Syriac text] The title runs:—"By the might of our Lord Jesus Christ we begin to write the Book of the Histories and Triumphs of the holy fathers [who were] solitary monks of the desert, and who hated this world and all that therein is, which was composed by the holy and excellent Mâr Palladius, Bishop of Hellenopolis, and which he wrote for the chamberlain Lausus." [Syriac text] The work contains:—

I. Fol. 1 *b*. The history of the life of Antony by Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria. [Syriac text]

II. Part I. Foll. 41*b*—109*a*. Histories of the solitary brethren of the desert from the Paradise of Palladius. [Syriac text]

a The letter of Palladius to Lausus the chamberlain who asked him to write an account of the lives of the solitary monks of the desert. [Syriac text]

[Syriac text]

[illegible]

See fol. 41 *b*.

b The scope of the Book.

[illegible]

[illegible]

See fol. 42*a*

c Counsels to Lausus ܡܠܟ̈ܐ ܕܠܘܣܘܣ — See fol. 43*b*

1 The beginning of the Histories. Of Abbâ Isidore. ܫܘܪܝܐ ܕܡܠܘܐ ܕܬܫ̈ܥܝܬܐ܀ ܕܥܠ ܐܝܣܝܕܘܪܘܣ — See fol. 47*b*

2 Of Dorotheos of Thebes. ܕܕܘܪܘܬܐܘܣ ܕܡܢ ܬܐܒܝܣ — See fol. 48*a*

3 Of a certain young virgin. ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܚܕܐ ܥܠܝܡܬܐ — See fol. 50*a*

4 Of Didymus ܬܘܒ ܥܠ ܕܝܕܝܡܘܣ — See fol. 50*b*

5 Of Alexandra of Alexandria. ܥܠܝܡܬܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܬܐ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ — See fol. 51*b*

6 Of Abbâ Macarius and the virgin. ܡܩܪܝܣ ܘܥܠ ܒܬܘܠܬܐ ܚܕܐ — See fol. 52*a*

7 Of the Monks of Mount Nĕṭîrâ (Nitria). ܕܥܠ ܕܝܖ̈ܝܐ ܕܢܛܪܝܐ — See fol. 53*a*

8 Of Abbâ Ammon. ܕܥܠ ܐܒܐ ܐܡܘܢ — See fol. 54*a*

9 Of the blessed Ôr. ܕܥܠ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܐܘܪ — See fol. 55*b*

10 Of the blessed Pambo. ܕܥܠ ܛܘܒܢܐ ܦܡܒܘ — See fol. 55*b*

ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܗܢܐ ܡܩܪܝܣ ܡܛܠ ܗܘܐ ܒܛܠܝܘܬܗ ܠܒ ܦܬܟܪ̈ܐ
ܐܝܕܘ̈ܗܝ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ. ܘܗܘܒܢܐ ܡܛܠ. ܟܕ ܕܝܢ ܡܟܝܪ
ܗܘܐ ܕܢܫܠܡ. ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܫܠܝ ܕܒܘܪܗܢܐ ܒܗ ܒܟܕܢܐ ܗܘ.
ܥܡ ܛܠܘܝܐ ܕܥܠܝܡܘܬܗ. ܘܦܫܛ ܐܝܕܘ̈ܗܝ ܒܨܠܝܒܐ. ܘܟܕ
ܡܛܠ ܐܫܠܡ ܪܘܚܗ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܕܡܫܐ ܗܘܐ ܫܡܥܐ ܟܕ
ܐܝܬ ܘܚܙܐ ܕܦܪܩ ܫܠ ܛܝܒ ܐܢܫܐ. ܘܦܫܛܬܗ ܐܝܕܘ̈ܗܝ. ܥܡ
ܠܗ ܠܒܪ. ܫܪܒ ܗܘܐ ܛܝܒ ܕܒܛܠܝܘܬܗ ܩܪܡ....... ܘܟܕ
ܚܙܐ ܕܫܘܝܬ ܗܘ. ܐܝܬ ܠܘܬܝ ܘܐܡܪ ܠܝ .... ܘܟܕ
ܦܟܝܪܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚܬ ܕܢܦܪܘܩ ܐܝܕܘ̈ܗܝ ܠܘܬܗ.
ܘܗܟܢ ܫܦܪ ܡܛܟܣܐ ܒܕܡܘܬܐ ܕܨܠܝܒܐ ܘܐܬܩܒܪ܀

ܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܐܬܪܥܠܐ ܕܘܟ ܕܐܡܪܘ ܥܠ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ ܐܬܢܣܝܘܣ
ܐܢܫ ܕܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ ܕܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ ܘܐܬܛܠܡ ܐܢܫ ܕܢܕܪܫܘܢ ܠܗ.
ܟܕ ܐܘܣܦ ܦܪܘܣܦܐ ܠܡ ܩܥܕܐ ܕܢܐ ܠܒܢ. ܒܡܘܡܘܗ̈ܝ
ܕܡܘܗܝܡܢܘܬܗ ܡܠܟܐ ܘܒܗܘܢ. ܘܡܗܝܡܢ̈ܘܬܐ ܐܠܝܡ ܕܠܐ
ܩܕܡ ܠܒܛܘܠܐܢܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܬܐ ܗܘܬ ܘܡܟܣܝܐ ܠܗ. ܘܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ
ܢܬܬܕܥ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܕܝܢ ܕܠܐܗܘܢ ܕܟܪܝܐ ܘܡܫܒܚܐ ......
ܘܡܛܠ ܠܗܕ ܗܘܬ ܒܗܘܠܐ . . . . . ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܦܛܪܝܪܟܐ
ܐܬܢܣܝܘܣ.... ܡܠܠ ܠܝ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܗܢܐ. ܕܠܘܬ ܠܟܝ ܐܬܐ
ܐܬܝܬ ܕܠܘܬܗ ܐܬܬܦܝܣ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܠܘܬܟܝ. ܡܢ ܚܕܘܬܗ
ܗܟܠ ܡܗܝܡܢܬܐ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܟܕܐ ܡܢܗ ܟܠ ܚܘܫܒܝܗ̈. ܘܗܘܬ
ܟܠܗ ܕܡܢܝ ☆ ܘܡܫܡܫܐ ܠܗܡܢܐ ܗܘ ܘܟܕ ܟܠܗ ܕܐܬܠܝܡ
ܫ̈ܢܝܢ ܘܫܬ

44	Of Gelasia ܓܠܐܣܝܐ.	See fol. 92 *b*
45	Of Juliana ܝܘܠܝܢܐ.	See fol. 92 *b*
	ܗܝ ܗܕܐ ܕܒܥܬ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܥܡ ܟܠܗ ܕܢܘܠܡܝܘܣ ܡܫܡܫܢܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܚܣܝܐ. ܦܠܠܕܝܣ ܘܫܐܠܬܗ ܐܠܗܝܐ ܚܣܝܐ، ܥܡ ܡܫܐܠܬܐ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܕܝܠܗ. ܘܡܫܝܚܐ ܠܗ ܒܬܫܡܫܬܗ.	
46	Of ܗܪܘܕܝܘܢ and his wife.	See fol. 92 *b*
47	Of the blessed woman ܡܠܢܝܐ.	See fol. 93 *a*
48	Of a monk of Ancyra.	See fol. 93 *b*
49	Of John of Lycus in the Thebaïd ܠܘܩܘ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ ܕܬܒܐܝܣ.	See fol. 94 *b*
50	Of Poseidon ܦܘܣܝܕܘܢ.	See fol. 96 *b*
51	Of ܦܛܪܐ ܟܪܘܢܝܘܣ	See fol. 97 *b*
	ܢܒܥ ܕܫܡܗ ܟܪܘܢܝܘܣ. ܡܢ ܗܕܐ ܕܫܡܗ ܦܛܪܐ	
52	Of James the lame, an acquaintance of Antony.	See fol. 98 *a*
53	Of Diocles, ܕܝܘܩܠܝܣ, the grammarian and philosopher.	See fol. 100 *a*
54	Of Cophiton, ܩܘܦܝܛܘܢ, who lived four miles from Antinoë.	See fol. 100 *b*
55	Of a monk who fell.	See fol. 100 *b*
56	Of Ephraim, a deacon of the Church of Edessa.	See fol. 101 *a*
57	Of Innocent? ܐܢܘܩܢܛܝܘܣ (sic)	See fol. 101 *b*
58	Of Elpidius ܗܠܦܝܕܝܘܣ who lived in the caves of Jericho.	See fol. 102 *b*
59	Of Eustathius ܐܘܣܛܬܝܘܣ brother of Elpidius.	See fol. 103 *a*
60	Of Sisinnes, ܣܝܣܝܢܘܣ, disciple of Elpidius.	See fol. 103 *a*
61	Of Gaddaeus the Palestinian ܓܕܝ ܦܠܣܛܝܢܝܐ.	See fol. 103 *b*
62	Of Elijah.	See fol. 103 *b*
63	Of ܡܫܝܚ ܒܪ ܟܠܒܐ from Jericho.	See fol. 104 *a*
64	Of Serapion dhĕ Sedônâ ܣܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܣܝܕܘܢܐ.	See fol. 104 *a*
65	The triumph of Eulogius.	See fol. 107 *a*
	ܢܨܚܢܗ ܕܥܘܠܘܓܝܘܣ ܗܘ ܕܩܢܐ ܠܝܘܐܢܐ ܕܡܬܚܒܠ ܗܘܐ ܦܠܓܗ ܡܫܠܡ ܡܬܚܝܢܐ ✲	

II. Part. II. Foll. 109*a*—197*b*. Histories of the solitary brethren, composed by Palladius. ܬܘܒ ܦܠܓܘܬܐ ܕܬܪܬܝܢ ܕܬܫܥܝ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܚ̈ܐ ✠ ܕܣܝܡ̈ܢ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܠܗ ܠܦܠܕܝܣ ✠

[1] Numbered o in the MS.

III. Foll. 157*a*—197*a*. The histories of the solitary brethren of the Egyptian desert written by Hieronymus. ܐܝܪܘܢܘܡܘܣ.

16 The triumphs of Isaiah, and Paul, and Noph the confessors with Abbâ Ôr. See fol. 191 *a*
17 The triumphs of Evagrius. See fol. 191 *b*
18 The triumphs of Abbâ ܦܝܛܪܘܢ. See fol. 192 *a*
19 The triumphs of the blessed fathers who worked miracles. See fol. 192 *b*
20 The general triumph of the brethren in the Nitrian desert ܢܝܛܪܘܣ. See fol. 193 *b*
21 The triumphs of Ammon of Nitria. See fol. 194 *a*
22 The triumphs of another Ammon. See fol. 194 *b*
23 The triumphs of Didymus, of ܩܪܘܢܝܣ, and of three brethren. See fol. 195 *a*
24 The triumphs of Philemon, of John, and of Serapion. See fol. 195 *b*
25 The triumphs of Apollo the Martyr. See fol. 196 *a*

IV. Foll. 197 *b*—350 *b*. The Counsels of the holy old men, and the questions and answers of the brethren. ܡܠܟܐ ܕܩܕܝܫܐ ܣܒܐ ܘܫܘܐܠܐ ܘܦܘܢܝ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܐܚܐ ✡

1 Questions 1—62. On fleeing from men, on the solitary life, and on dwelling in the cell continually, compiled by Palladius. See foll. 197 *b*—205 *a*. ܥܠ ܥܪܘܩܝܐ ܕܡܢ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ ܘܥܠ ܝܚܝܕܝܘܬܐ ܘܐܡܝܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܩܠܝܬܐ ܕܡܟܢܫ ܠܦܠܕܝܘܣ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ✡ This section contains questions, etc., by Arsenius, Ammon, Sisoes ܣܝܣܘܝܣ, Sarmâṭa ܣܪܡܛܐ, Antony, Theodore, Bĕṭîmîôn ܒܝܛܝܡܝܘܢ, Joseph, Nestor, Poemen, ܐܦܘܣ, Bishop of Oxyrhynchus, Macarius, Alonius, Pambo, Abbâ John, Abbâ Agathon, Abbâ Moses, and many others whose names are not mentioned.

2 Questions 63—103. On fasting and abstinence. See foll. 205 *a*—209 *b*. ܬܘܒ ܥܠ ܨܘܡܐ ܘܡܣܝܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܟܬܒܐ ܕܦܘܩܕܢܐ ܐܡܝܢܐ ✡ Sayings, etc., of Paphnutius, Macarius, Isaac, John, Sisoes, Abraham, Agathon, Theodotus, Paphnutius, Serenus, Poemen, Sylvanus, Daniel, Benjamin, and others whose names are not mentioned.

3 Questions 104—134. On reading the Scriptures, night vigils, the singing of the Psalms and continual prayer.

See foll. 209*b*—213*b*. ܬܘܒ ܥܠ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܠܬ̈ܐ ܘܡܥܒܕ̈ܐ ܕܫܠܝܘܬܐ ܘܫܘܥܝ̈ܐ ܕܡܫܬܥܝ̈ܢ ܘܓܠܝܢ̈ܐ ܘܡܫܝܢ ܀ Sayings, etc., by Arsenius, Pachomius, Joseph, Sisoes, Isaiah, Poemen, Epiphanius, Antony, John, Daniel.

4 Questions 135—156. On weeping for our sins. See foll. 213*b*—215*b*. ܬܘܒ ܥܠ ܗܘ ܕܠܡܒܟܐ ܘܕܝܢ ܠܐ ܕܢܒܟܐ ܥܠ ܚܛܗ̈ܝܢ ܕܢܒܐܬ ܒܠܥܕ ܦܝܠܝܡܘܢ. Sayings, etc., by Ammon, Poemen, Sisoes, Paul, Theodore, Macarius, Arsenius, Noah, and others.

5 Questions 157—181. On self-denial. See foll. 215*b*—218*b*. ܬܘܒ ܥܠ ܡܣܬܪܩܘܬܐ ܀ Sayings, etc., by Arsenius, Philagrius, ܦܝܠܓܪܝܘܣ, Serapion, Theodore, Isaac, Agathon, Poemen and others.

6 Questions 185—235. On patience. See foll. 218*b*—226*a*. ܥܠ ܡܣܝܒܪܢܘܬܐ ܀ Sayings etc., by Agathon, Macarius, John, Paul, Antony, Theodore, Chaeremon, ܟܪܝܘܢ, Arsenius, Poemen, Isidore, Moses, Paesius the brother of Poemen, and others.

7 Questions 236—245. On submission to God, and to our parents and brethren. See foll. 226*a*—228*b*. ܥܠ ܡܫܬܡܥܢܘܬܐ ܕܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܠܘܬ ܐܒܗ̈ܐ ܘܐܚ̈ܐ ܀ Sayings, etc., by John, Joseph, Sylvanus, Daniel, Pambo, and others.

8 Questions 246—386. On exceeding watchfulness in our thoughts, words, and deeds. See foll. 228*b*—247*b*. ܥܠ ܙܗܝܪܘܬܐ ܝܬܝܪܬܐ ܕܒܚܘܫܒ̈ܝܢ ܘܡܠ̈ܝܢ ܘܥܒ̈ܕܝܢ ܀ Sayings, etc., by Arsenius, Ammon, Hôr, Paphnutius, Sisoes, Joseph, Poemen, Theodore, Paesius, Antony, Lot, Isaac, ܦܝܦܐܪܝܘܣ, Daniel, John, Ûr, Eulogius, Pambo, Macarius, Likṭâ, Paul, Epiphanius, Eugenia, Agathon, Hyparchus, Pachomius, Alonius, and others.

9 Questions 387—435. On love, and charity and the receiving of strangers. See foll. 247*b*—255*b*. ܥܠ ܚܘܒܐ ܘܡܪܚܡܢܘܬܐ ܘܩܘܒܠܐ ܕܐܟܣ̈ܢܝܐ ܀ Sayings, etc., by Lot, Joseph, Philip, Ammon, Macarius, Antony, Theodore, Poemen, Sisoes, Akhîlâ, Zeno, and others.

10 Questions 436—547. On humility. See foll. 256*a*—269*a*. ܥܠ ܡܟܝܟܘܬܐ ܘܕܝܠܗ̇ ܐܝܟ ܠܚܘܫܒܗ ܘܗܘ ܕܡܬܡܟܟ ܡܢ ܟܠܢܫ ܐܢܫ

ܕܐܒܗ̈ܐ ✲ Sayings, etc., chiefly by the above mentioned writers.

11 Questions 548—586. On fornication. See foll. 269*a*—275*a*. ܥܠ ܙܢܝܘܬܐ ✲ Sayings, etc., by Isidore, Daniel, Isaac, Poemen, John, Zeno, Theodore, and other writers.

12 Questions 587—722 (fol. 295*a*); 101—400. See foll. 275*a*—333*b*. Of the acceptance of repentance. ܥܠ ܕܡܩܲܒܠܢܘܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܘܕܝܢܐ ܘܒܗ ܠܗ ܕܢܐܒܕ ܒܥܒܕܐ ✲ Sayings, etc., chiefly by the above mentioned writers. Some leaves appear to have been wanting at fol. 295*a* in the manuscript from which this copy was made.

13 Homilies against the idle and sluggish. See fol. 333*b*. ܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܠܘܩܒܠ ܟܡܝܪ̈ܐ ܘܠܡܬܚܢ̈ܢܐ ܘܠܟܠ ܕܠܐ ܚܝܣܝܢ ܕܢܦܫܗܘܢ ✲

14 Homilies against those who love vain-glory. See fol. 333*b*. ܠܘܩܒܠ ܪ̈ܚܡܝ ܫܘܒܚܐ ܣܪܝܩܐ ܘܡܫܬܒ̇ܗܪ̈ܝܢ ܒܡܪ̈ܚܘܬܗܘܢ ✲

15 Questions and answers of the holy fathers for teacher and pupil. See fol. 334*b*. ܫܘ̈ܐܠܐ ܘܦܘܢܝ ܦܬ̈ܓܡܐ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܘܡܠܦܢܘܬܐ ܕܪܘܚܢܘܬܐ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ ܡܫܝ̈ܚܝܐ ✲

16 Admonition concerning the questions and answers, *etc*. See fol. 339*a*. ܡܙܗܪܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܫܘ̈ܐܠܐ ܘܦܘܢܝ ܦܬ̈ܓܡܐ ✲ ܕܥܠ ܚܘܒܐ ܕܡܕܡ̈ܐ ✲

17 Sayings of the fathers which I have found in other books. See fol. 341*b*. ܬܘܒ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ ܕܐܒܗ̈ܬܐ ܕܐܫܟܚܬ ܐܢܘܢ ܒܟܬܒ̈ܐ ܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ✲ (Numbered from ܐ—ܠܛ).

18 Questions and answers of the fathers. See fol. 345*b*.

19 Of humility and how a man should hold himself to be of none account before all men. See fol. 346*b*.

20 Admonition of the holy fathers. See fol. 348*b*.

21 A second admonition. See fol. 349*b*.

22 Admonition of Abbâ Mâr John Chrysostom. See fol. 350*b*.

CHAPTER XVI.[1]

OF THE DEATH OF THE HOLY MÂR GEORGE THE CATHOLICUS.

According to what I have learned from the histories of the Church, all of which I have written down in this book,—now some are taken from written documents, and some from oral tradition,—and according to what I have also found written in the Ecclesiastical History[2] of the excellent Mâr Athkên concerning Mâr George the Catholicus, the king who reigned in his time was named Ḥasan bar-ʿAli الحسن بن على, and that writer saith, "Ḥasan began to reign in the same year[3] in which George was appointed [Catholicus];

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 151, coll. 1. 2.

[2] The text here appears to be corrupt, but I give what I believe Thomas meant to say. Hoffmann would emend the first four lines of the chapter thus: ܐܝܟ ܗܿܝ ܕܝܠܦܬ ܡܢ ܡܟܬܒܢܘ̈ܬܐ ܥܕܬܢܝ̈ܬܐ ܥܠܗܝܢ ܕܟܬܒܬ ܒܟܬܒܐ: ܡܢܗܝܢ ܗܿ ܡܢ ܟܬ̈ܒܐ: ܡܢܗܝܢ ܕܝܢ ܡܢ ܡܫܠܡܢܘܬܐ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܘܐܟܘܬܗ̇: ܐܫܟܚܬ ܕܝܢ ܐܦ ܒܐܩܠܝܣܝܣܛܝܩܝ ܕܡܝܬܪܐ ܡܪܝ ܐܬܟܢ ܕܠܗܘܢ ܥܠ ܡܪܝ ܓܝܘܪܓܝܣ ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ: Assemânî reads "Sicut didici ex Ecclesiasticis historiis circa ea omnia, quae hic scribuntur, et alia quidem ex codicibus, alia vero ex traditione, et historia Ecclesiastica excellentis Mar Atken, hoc praeterea in historia de eodem Mar Georgis Catholico scriptum reperio." (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 153.)

[3] Mâr Athkên is in error here. George succeeded Îshôʿyahbh A. D. 661 and sat till 680, but Ḥasan ibn-ʿAli began to reign A. H. 40 and died A. H. 49, when he was succeeded by his younger brother Ḥusên حُسَين, who died A. H. 61, or about twenty-one years after Ḥasan began to reign. See Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 843; Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 153, col. 2; *Annales quos scripsit Aṭ-Ṭabarî*, ed. de Goeje, ser. II, t. 1, pp. 1, 366; Ibn-el-Athiri, *Chronicon*, ed. Tornberg, t. iii. (A. H. 60—95), Leyden, 1876, p. 383 ff.

and when George had ministered in the patriarchate and Ḥasan had reigned twenty-two years, both died in the same year, that is to say when each had ruled twenty-two years.[1] Now Mâr George died in Ḥêrthâ,[2] the city of the Arabs, and was buried with Mâr Abhâ,[3] the Catholicus and Martyr, with all the honour which befitteth the labours and afflictions with which he wearied himself by sea and land for the sake of the holy Church and the flocks which had been entrusted to his hands by our Lord. And we may learn concerning the depth of his doctrine and the height of his wisdom, from the address of prayer which he composed, and which begins:—

"O God,[1] the Eternal, Who art from everlasting,
[p. 89] "Thou Who art everlastingly the Good Being,
"Whose goodness never changeth. . . . ."[4]

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[1] Hoffmann would strike out ܕܒܫܢ̈ܝܢ ܘܫܢ̈ܝܢ.

[2] A town, the ruins of which lie a little to the south-east of the modern town of Meshed 'Alî. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 97.

[3] Mâr Abhâ was originally a Magian. He was baptized at Ḥêrthâ and he studied at Nisibis and Edessa. He was elected Patriarch A. D. 536, and shortly after began to teach at Seleucia. Owing to a dispute with Khusrau I. Anôshârwân (531—579) he was banished to Âdhôrbâigân, but he returned to Seleucia where he was thrown into prison by the king, and died A. D. 552. His body was carried to Ḥêrthâ and buried, and the Nestorians style him Mâr Abhâ the Martyr. For a list of his works see *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 75—81. See also Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. 89—95 and Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 836, col. 2.

[4] In pentasyllabic tripartite metre. The extract ends abruptly. Hoffmann emends thus:—

| ܐܠܗܐ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡ | ܗܘ ܕܡܠܘܐܝܬ | ܐܦ ܛܒܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ |
| ܐܦ ܡܢ ܛܒܘܬܗ | ܠܐ ܡܬܘܡ ܡܫܬܚܠܦ | ܦܪܝܫ ܚܘܫ̈ܒܐ |

And he composed for it mournful tunes which were to be accompanied by beautifully arranged instrumental music.

CHAPTER XVII.[1]

OF RABBAN SABHR-ÎSHÔ` WHO WAS SURNAMED RÔSTÂM.[2]

This Rabban Sabhr-Îshô` who was called Rôsṭâm, the beloved friend of the holy fathers who lived in this holy monastery, and the composer of histories of them, came from Ḥêrem, a village of Adiabene. He was a venerable and holy man, and from his youth up had been a disciple in the Great Monastery of the holy Rabban Mâr Narsai, the head of the monastery. And when he had been there a short time, the fathers who were there asked him, and he wrote [a tract] on the occasion of the celebration of the Golden Sabbath[3] Eve; he also wrote a lengthy work, in elegant language and with a clear mind, which consisted partly of disputations against heretics, and partly of arguments against obscure opinions of various kinds. And he departed from thence and came to our monastery, and when he had tarried here also a short time, the monks from the holy Monastery of Bêth Ḳôḳâ[4] came after him, and

Assemânî, considering ܘܟܡ ܙܘܡ̈ܠܐ to be no part of the metrical composition, translates, "Quot in ea suavium Cantuum mutationes cernere est, et quot pulcherrimo ordine succedentes sibi strophas et modos!"

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 454, col. 2.

[2] He flourished about A. D. 650.

[3] *I. e.*, "the first Sabbath eve after Pentecost." ܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܩܕܡܝܬܐ ܕܒܬܪ ܦܢܛܩܘܣܛܝ. See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2984.

[4] On the Great or Upper Zâb in Adiabene.

through their entreaties, and the counsel of the Elders of this congregation [who gave it] for the benefit of that holy monastery, he sorrowfully departed from here. He wrote also another book in eight discourses on the dispensation of our Lord, on the conversion of the various countries by the hands of the blessed Apostles, and on chastity and ascetic life. [p. 90] He also composed at the request of the holy Elders who were here, but especially of Abbâ Ḳardâgh, who occupied the same cell as Mâr Îshô'-yahbh [of Adiabene], the history of Rabban Mâr Îshô'-zekhâ,[1] of the Monastery of Gaṣṣâ; the history of Mâr Îshô'-yahbh; the history of Rabban Mâr Abraham, the head of this monastery, who came here from the monastery of Rabban Zĕkhâ-Îshô';[2] and of Rabban Ḳâm-Îshô'.[3] He also composed the history of Mâr Abraham of Nephthar,[4] of Rabban Mâr Job the Persian, and the history of Rabban Sabhr-Îshô' [the founder of the Monastery][5] of Bêth Ḳôḳâ.[6] Thus with the sweat of his toil in the vineyard of Christ dropping from his brow, he departed from this world, and his soul had rest. And to me when I saw in his writings the love with which he burned for this holy house, it seemed good to make pleasant this history with the venerable memorial of his uprightness.

[1] See *supra*, pp. 83, 86. [2] See *infra*, p. 213.

[3] The Abbot of Bêth 'Âbhê. [4] See *supra*, p. 191, note 2.

[5] See *B. O.*, ii. p. 418, col. 2; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 215, note 1715.

[6] He also wrote a history of the two brethren Joseph and Abraham. See *supra*, p. 108, note 6.

CHAPTER XVIII.[1]

OF RABBAN GABRIEL, [THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY], WHO WAS SURNAMED THE "COW".

Among the chapters of this our history, O our friend and master, Mâr Abhd-Îshô', we will also recount the history of the venerable Gabriel, who was rapid in thought and zealous for glorious deeds. This man sprang up,[2] according to the body, in the country of Siârzôr,[3] but it did not please him to remain in that place like a savage deprived of the instruction of doctrine, and he set out from thence and came to the city of Nisibis, where he laboured and acquired the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Now this man also was a disciple in the Great Monastery of Mâr Abraham [on Mount Îzlâ], and he toiled in the learning of many books, [p. 91] and his mind was diligently trained in controversy and in disputation against heresies. Especially, however, did he take up arms against the "shorn" followers of Severus of Antioch[4] who lived in the Monastery of Ḳarṭĕmîn,[5] and he had much controversy with them, and [he composed] answers to them which burned up the evil stubble of their hateful doctrine.

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, 456, col. 1.

[2] We should strike out ܡܢ after ܕܓܒ.

[3] *I. e.*, شَهْرَزُورُ, Σιαρσοῦρα, a large tract of country in the mountains between Arbela and Hamadàn كورة واسعة فى الجبال بين اربل وهمذان See Yâḳût t. iii, p. 340f.

[4] They shaved the whole head; see *supra*, p. 40, note 4.

[5] The ܕܝܪܐ ܕܩܪܛܡܝܢ was founded before A. D. 500. See Assemâni, *Dissertatio de Monophysitis*, *B. O.*, ii. p. lxxiii. It lay to the east of Mardîn, in the district of Ṭûr 'Abhdîn, which extended from Gezîret ibn 'Omar on the Tigris to Mardîn. See

And when Sâhdônâ was driven out of the Church, he went after him to Edessa,—as he himself testifies, saying, "At that time, when the wretched Sâhdônâ was expelled from the Church, I, Gabriel, blazed with the burning zeal of my soul, and I went to Edessa to him,"—and there he held a controversy with him, and defeated him. And when the holy Mâr Narsai, the head of that holy monastery, departed from this temporary life to the life which endureth for everlasting, this Gabriel composed the history[1] of his noble deeds, at the end of which he wrote, "It is sufficient for me to say in praise of Rabban Mâr Abraham and his congregation, that the holy Rabban Jacob, the founder of the monastery of Bêth ʿÂbhê, went forth from it, for the Lord hath built by his hands the king of monasteries;" and from then until now this passage hath been handed down in all places, and Bêth ʿÂbhê is called the "king of monasteries." Now he was head of the monastery there for a short time, but he departed from thence and came to this monastery. And when Rabban Ḳâm-Îshôʿ departed to his dwelling place, the blessed Bĕrâz Sûrîn[2] rose in his place; and when he also departed, the blessed Mâr Bar-Ṣâumâ—to whom Mâr Ḥĕnân-Îshôʿ wrote a letter at the beginning of his holding the office of Patriarch—rose in his place; and when he also had completed his days, Rabban Gabriel became the head of this holy monastery.[3] And he

Socin, *Zur Geographie des Ṭûr ʿAbhdîn*, in Z.D.M.G. Band xxxv. p. 259. For the word ܩܘܪܛܡܐ, *i. e.*, קורטמא قرطم, κουρδουμ see Löw, Aram. Pflanzennamen, p. 218, no. 162.

[1] Read ܬܫܥܝܬܐ.   [2] See *supra*, p. 153.

[3] He became Abbot under Ḥĕnân-Îshôʿ I., who sat from 686—701.

composed a discourse on washing the feet, [p. 92] which was read on the day of the Passover of our Lord, and he wrote a history of the noble acts of the holy martyrs of Ṭûr Bêrâʿîn,[1] and narratives of various kinds. Now that discourse which was referred to in the commemoration of Rabban Jacob does not, strictly speaking, belong to this Gabriel, but it was composed by Mâr Gabriel, Metropolitan of Karkhâ dhê Bêth Sĕlôkh,[2] who was called "Gabriel the Dancer," and concerning whom we shall write when we come to his place.[3]

CHAPTER XIX.[4]

OF RABBAN MÂR ABRAHAM THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY OF RABBAN ZĔKHÂ-ÎSHÔʿ.[5]

Now although[6] [the order of] the narratives of our work is destroyed and they do not possess the chronological sequence which it was expected they should possess, nevertheless according to my own opinion and according to the historical tradition which I have received from my fathers, I have preserved the order of

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[1] For the Syriac text see Brit. Mus. Add. 12,174 (Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 1133), and for a German translation see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 9—16. The martyrs Àdhurparwa, Mihrnarsê and Mâhdukhtî suffered in the ninth year of Sapor, King of Persia.

[2] Kerkûk. [3] See *infra*, Bk. ii. chap. 33.

[4] Passages from this chapter are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 255, col. 2.

[5] See *supra*, p. 24. [6] Read ܐܦ.

the times, and of those [who lived] in them. And even if one person should be placed a little too late, and another a little too early, this is not a matter for blame and reproach, inasmuch as thy wisdom, O ʿAbhd-Îshôʿ, man of enlightened mind, lover of holy histories, did entreat me to go round the whole circle[1] of the ascetics who have lived in this monastery and through all the mass of their histories, and to bring them to light before thee. Now it appears that the following account of Rabban Mâr Abraham of Bêth Rabban Zekhâ-Îshôʿ, which we have omitted, belongs to the period[2] of those histories which have been related by us, although we place it a little too late. And when Rabban Abraham was an old man he came to this holy monastery on account of the cold of the country of Dâsen,[3] and on his entrance here, [p. 93] by reason of his fame and the exalted rigour of his ascetic life, this brotherhood entrusted to him the headship of the monastery. And he led those diligent sons in all the ways of a holy life, and they made their perfection[4] reach to heaven, and he wrought here mighty and exalted miracles, which are made known by his history composed by the excellent man [Sabhr-Îshôʿ] Rôsṭâm.[5] And it came to pass that when he was here, he was the head of this congregation and also of the congregation of [the Monastery of] Rabban Zĕkhâ-Îshôʿ from which he went

[1] Read ܩܘܩܠܘܣ = κύκλος. [2] Read, with Vat. ܒܙܒܢ̈ܐ.

[3] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 206, and *supra*, p. 67. It is clear that the Monastery of Rabban Zĕkhâ-Ìshôʿ was on a higher level in the mountains than Bêth ʿÀbhê, because it was colder to live in, but its exact situation is unknown.

[4] Read ܠܓܡܝܪܘܬܗܘܢ. [5] See *supra*, pp. 108, 210.

forth. And one steward and governor and guardian ordered the affairs of both monasteries, and the monks of that monastery did not act in any way without the command of the steward who was elected from this congregation, nor did the monks here oppose in any way the commands of the steward elected from that congregation, for it was a matter which excited the praise of God with all men. And this thing was rumoured among all the monasteries of this country. And although both Rabban Jacob and Rabban Zĕkhâ-Îshô' came forth from that holy monastery in Mount Îzlâ there was neither division nor severance of love on account of this. So also when the blessed Mâr Abraham had been borne to the rest of the grave, like a shock of corn in its season,[1] and the standing corn at its time [of harvest],[2] this arrangement,[3] that one steward and governor should minister unto both these holy monasteries, continued for a long time after him.

CHAPTER XX.[4]

OF THE OTHER HEADS WHO LIVED IN THIS MONASTERY.

Now, to the lives of these [men] which have already been written, our discourse should add also some account of the noble deeds and pious lives of the holy fathers [p. 94] who lived in this holy monastery after

[1] Job v. 26. [2] Isaiah xvii. 5.

[3] Read ܗܕܐ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ.

[4] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 217, col. 2.

them, I mean of Rabban George of Adiabene, who was called 'Bar-Ṣayyâdhê,'[1] of Sâmâ[2] his brother, of Abbâ Nathaniel,[3] of Abbâ Ṣelîbhâ,[4] and of Rabban Gabriel,[5] who was called 'Ṣephrônâ', whose holy bodies were laid in the place in the chapel where the monks say the third service of the day;[6] but inasmuch as Mâr David[7] the Bishop, of [this] monastery, hath before our time written upon them, as well as upon others, at the request of Khûzn[a]hîr,[8] the believing man from the

[1] *I. e.*, "George surnamed 'son of fishermen'", he flourished about A. D. 650 under the Patriarch Ḥĕnân-Îshôʿ I. See *B. O.,* iii. 1, p. 217, col. 2. His life was the first in the "Little Paradise." *B. O.,* iii. 1. p. 218.

[2] A Persian name?

[3] See *supra*, p. 96, note 3. For his works see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 224.

[4] See *supra,* p. 96.

[5] See *supra*, Bk. 1. chap. 28, p. 96.

[6] ܒܝܬ ܣܘܒܥܐ usually means 'refectory,' but here it must mean the place in the church where the service was held after ܣܘܒܥܐ, *i. e.*, the meal which was eaten in the evening by the holy men who had fasted all day; by laymen this service is called "the prayer before sleep." See Badger, *The Nestorians,* vol. ii. p. 18.

[7] *I. e.*, David of Bêth Rabban Zĕkhâ-Ishôʿ, concerning the founding of which monastery at the end of the sixth century see *B. O.,* iii. 1, p. 255. He became a bishop under the Nestorian Patriarch Timothy, who is said to have sat from 780—823. See Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 845; and *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 254, where a list of his works is also given.

[8] This name is corrupt. We should probably read ܚܘܙܢܗܝܕ = خَواز ناهيد, *Ḥawâz* + *Nâhêdh,* "who hath Anahîd for a support," or perhaps خُوزَان and ناهيد *Ḥôzân* + *Nâhêdh* = heart + Anahîd. For Anahîd in proper names see Horn, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, Berlin, 1891, p. 32.

village of Bâshôsh,[1] I pass on to recount the history of those, the narratives of whom are not written down.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF ABBÂ SIMON [WHO WAS SURNAMED] THE "BEARDLESS."[2]

I entreat the wisdom of wise and understanding readers, that as they advance in the study of this book, they may hold me entirely free from blame should it appear [to them] that one narrative is in advance of its correct position, and another is after. For not all narratives will admit of being written down in chronological order, lest peradventure the root of history being severed, the narrative should lean[3] to one side, and become like an animal which tries to walk upon two[4] of its four legs, a thing which it is not in any way possible to do. What then?

Now in the time of Mâr George, the Catholicus[5] and Patriarch, of holy memory, there lived in this our monastery an old holy man who was called Simon, on whose face, according to what is written by his fellow

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[1] Bâshôsh, where Abraham established a school, lay near Shalmath, in the district of Shôsh, (See Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. I. p. 392) in the diocese of Margâ, near Môṣul. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 223ff. Of Shôsh Yâḳût (iii, p. 334f.) says:—
والشّوش قلعة عظيمة عالية جدًّا قرب عَقْر الحُمَيْديّة من اعمال الموصل قيل هى اعلى من العقر ولكبر لكنّها فى القدر دونها

[2] For ܩܘܣܝܐ.
[3] Read ܢܣܛ, omitting ܘ.

[4] Read ܬܪ̈ܬܝܢ or ܬܪ̈ܬܝܗܝܢ.

[5] He sat from 661—680. See *supra*, p. 179ff.

monks, by reason of the austerity of his ascetic life, and the severity of his abstinence, no hair remained in his beard, and for this reason he was surnamed the "Beardless." [p. 95] He was a great and glorious man in his days, for by the word of his mouth every affair of the monastery was governed by the ordering of his wisdom. And his old age shone like a broad and splendid beam of light through his lofty understanding, and his exalted philosophy.[1] And like a wise merchant he gathered together and filled his soul with all manner of riches of the treasures of the Spirit, so that the word which our Lord spake, "Every scribe that becometh a disciple of the kingdom of heaven, is like unto a wise man, who bringeth forth from his treasures things new and old,"[2] was fulfilled in him; but all the glorious things of this man are drowned in the sea of oblivion[3] because of the length of the time in which they happened before us.

CHAPTER XXII.[4]

OF THE GOING DOWN OF RABBAN SIMON TO GEORGE THE CATHOLICUS, [AND OF THE BARRENNESS WHICH HE MADE TO FLOWER IN THE CITY OF ḤADHATTÂ].

Now when the blessed Mâr George the Patriarch[5] went up from the countries of Persia and Bêth Ḳaṭrâyê,[6]

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[1] Point ܘܒܦܝܠܣܘܦܘܬܗ. [2] St. Matthew xiii. 52.

[3] ܡܬܢܫܝܢܘܬܐ, √ ܢܫܐ, a rare word. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 54, l. 19.

[4] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 183, col. 1.

[5] Read ܦܛܪܝܪܟܝܣ. [6] Read ܕܒܝܬ ܩܛܪܝܐ.

because he had been absent there a long time, and because everything concerning him was a joy or a sorrow to this holy congregation,[1] when all the holy Elders heard of his coming to the paternal throne of Bêth Aramâyê,[2] they decided to send suitable men to meet him and to salute the father of fathers. And they all entreated this honourable head of the monastery, Abbâ Simon, to be the agent by whose means the homage due to his holy fatherhood might be conveyed to him: and this holy old man undertook to do so gladly, and he and others went down to the gate of the Patriarch. And when they had gone in to the city of Ḥadhattâ,[3] [p. 96] a certain God-fearing man received them into his house, and he and his wife were childless,[4] like the God-fearing Shunammite woman[5] and her husband, to whom, from the time that the prophet Elisha entered into their house, God gave a son through the prayers of the prophet. And when Abbâ Simon asked those aged people how they did, they revealed to him that they had no child at all to be the heir of their old age: and the holy man gave them some water in which he had washed the cross which was upon him, and said to them, "Behold, God will give you a male child, and his name shall be called John;" and he went down to the door of the father of fathers.

[1] *I. e.,* they shared in his joy and sorrow.

[2] Seleucia. See *supra,* p. 183.

[3] *I. e.,* الحَدِيثَة. It was situated on the left bank of the Tigris, about a *farsaḥ* below the mouth of the Great Zâb. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* pp. 178, 234 and note 1501.

[4] Literally, 'were in barrenness.' [5] 2 Kings iv. 17.

CHAPTER XXIII.[1]

OF MÂR JOHN[2] OF DÊLÛM.[3]

And it came to pass that that Divine power which cleaveth to those who fear it, and which has worked, and [still] worketh in a marvellous manner in all generations through them, even as it worked with Sarâ (Sarah)[4] and Rephkâ (Rebekah)[5] and Hannah[6] and the

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[1] Extracts from this chapter are given in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 183. col. 1.

[2] He flourished about A. D. 690. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 183, col. 1.

[3] Arab دیلم, a region to the south-west of the Caspian Sea, having Adhôrbâîgân on the west, Ḳazwîn on the south, and Ṭabaristân on the east. With Dêlûm, Gîlân (older form Gêlân) is often mentioned. Dêlûm represents the steep mountainous tract of country, covered with woods and abounding with streams of water, which is opposite Ṭabaristân, while Gîlân جيلان or كيلان is the flat, fertile plains at the foot of the mountains. قال ابن حوقل وبلاد الديلم سهل وجبل فالسهل يسمّى الجيل والسهل هو ساحل على بحر الخزر تحت جبال الديلم See *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, ed. De Slane, p. 426. The half-savage inhabitants of Dêlûm served as mercenaries in the armies of the Sassanide kings, and some of them were, as we learn from the following extract from Yâkût (ii, p. 711), settled near Shahruzûr. دَيلَمِسْتَان قرية قرب شهرزور بينهما تسعة فراسخ كان الديلم فى ايام الاكاسرة اذا خرجوا للغارة عسكروا بها وخلّفوا سَوَادَهم لَدَيْها وانتشروا فى الارض غايبين فاذا فرغوا من غاراتهم عادوا اليها ورجلوا الى مُسْتَقَرّهم ‌ For the chief towns of Dêlûm see De Slane, *op. cit.*, p. 428f.; for references to the people of Dêlûm as mercenaries see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 479, note 1; and compare Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 1640; and *B. O.*, iii. 11, p. DCCXLf.

[4] Genesis xxi. 1.

[5] Genesis xxv. 21.

[6] 1 Samuel I. 20.

Shunammite woman,[1] worked also with those believing people, and made perfect; and according to the prayer and prophecy of the holy old man, when the season of the year came round, a child of their old age was born unto them, and according to the command of Rabban Simon they called him John. And as God hath sanctified to His household the fruit which hath been born from barrenness, and by His care for them hath made them exalted and glorious in their generations, (as for example, Isaac[2] and Jacob[3] and Samuel[4] and others), that same Power which governeth all things, and which manifesteth extraordinary things through His saints, and which makes them, from being fruits of the body, fruits of the Spirit, also established as a witness of His effectual might, [p. 97] which is above all things, that man of whom we now write. And the Holy One set him apart, like Samuel, from his childhood, and accounted him to be His own, and made him a member of His household. And when this child had been born to his truly believing parents, whose lives rejoiced in him as in the air which they breathed, (for he was the light of their consolation), with great watchfulness and care for him they placed him in a school;[5] and because the Lord knoweth His own, and worketh effectually that He may be known of them, he learned in a short

[1] 2 Kings iv. 17.

[2] Genesis xxi. 1—6.

[3] Genesis xxxv. 11.

[4] 1 Samuel vii. 15—17.

[5] The school was called *Bêth Yûlphânâ*. ܒܶܝܬ ܝܽܘܠܦܳܢܳܐ, *Bêth Dêrâshâ* ܒܶܝܬ ܕܪܳܫܳܐ and *Madhreshtâ* ܡܰܕܪܶܫܬܳܐ, but more commonly ܐܶܣܟܽܘܠܺܝ, σχολή. For the methods employed for teaching children, and a list of the books ordered to be read, see *B. O.*, iii. 11, p. CMXXXVII ff.

time the Psalms and the other subjects which it is the duty of boys to learn. And when he was some few years old, when as yet he had experienced neither the motions of the body nor the importunities of the passions, he forsook those old people, worthy of blessed memory, and everything, and came to this holy monastery. Now although many have written histories about this blessed man, especially Abhû Nôḥ,[1] who resteth among the righteous, I will relate briefly a few matters concerning him. It would seem that his coming [to this monastery] took place in the days of the holy Mâr Abraham, him of Bêth Rabban Zĕkhâ-Ìshôʿ, as I will shew at the end. Now that same Divine grace which brought the child into existence through the prayers of the holy Abbâ Simon, placed him at the door of his cell, so that just as he had been the cause of his birth, so he should also be the guide and leader of his early manhood in each sublime step of the ascetic life. And when Abbâ Simon knew who he was,[2] and whence he came, and the cause of his coming to the monastery, for the young man informed him concerning these things little by little, his affection went forth to him, and he loved him much, even as Jacob loved his beloved Joseph when he saw[3] him. And when the [other] holy Elders had learned how he

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[1] Abhû Nûḥ of Anbar, the disciple of Abraham Bar-Dashendad of Bêth-Ṣayyâdhê, surnamed the "Lame", (who flourished about A. D. 720), was a contemporary of the Patriarchs Joshua and Timothy and flourished about A. D. 810. He wrote the "Solution of the Kurʿân," ܫܪܝܐ ܕܩܘܪܐܢ, a "Disputation against heretics," and "other excellent works", among which was, probably, the History of John of Dêlûm. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 212.

[2] Read with A, ܒܠܒܘܗ.

[3] Genesis xlvi. 29.

had been born, because of the majesty of that holy old man and the honour in which he was held in this congregation, they offered no opposition on account of his youth to his receiving the tonsure. [p. 98] Now when he had become a disciple he was set to do the work of the monastery, and to be the keeper of the vineyard of the monastery which was situated in Dûrê,[1] a village of Naḥlâ dhê Malkâ;[2] and he continued in this service a long time living nobly a life of excellence, after the manner of the Elders who had led a monastic life from their youth up. And he made for himself of the vine branches in the vineyard a little hut[3], in which he tended the vines and watched and laboured the whole time that he was there, and in which, to this day, mighty deeds and healings of sicknesses are wrought by the prayers of that holy man. And the believing and God-loving people of that village testify that they had recourse[4] to him in every affliction, and having asked for the prayers of that holy man, rest and deliverance were afforded unto them. And the venerable old man Elisha relates:—"When I was sent there by the monastery to be the keeper of the vineyard, the marks of the fingers of the blessed man still remained in the plaster of mud with which he had plastered that cave. And when I was in the vineyard by myself,[5] and there was no man with me,

[1] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 207.

[2] Since this place was situated in Dâsen, it may be either Nahala, or Melik on the little river Gherasin, in Margâ. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 201.

[3] ܟܘܦ̈ܬܐ, a rare word.

[4] Literally "they used to make use of him as a mediator."

[5] Read ܒܠܚܘܕܝ.

the Kartĕwâyê[1] came against me to carry away the iron tools and the provisions which were with me; and when I perceived that they were breaking down the hedge and coming through into the garden, I cried out to Mâr John [to come] and help me. And I saw an old man of lofty stature who appeared to me standing at the door of the cave, clothed in glorious and shining apparel, and when I saw him gladness came over me. And he deceived those thieves with apparitions[2] and he hid the cave from them, and having sought much for it, and finding it not, they departed and went away. Thus the Lord protected me and all that was with me by the prayers of that holy man." [p. 99] Now that blessed man planted a nut tree there, and nuts like unto those which it produced[3] were not seen upon any other tree there, and although they took many [cuttings] from it, and planted them, they never produced[4] any tree. And, as it is written concerning the prophet Samuel, "It was heard[5] from Dan even to Beer-sheba that Samuel was to be a prophet of God,"[6] so also was this word spoken[7] concerning this man by reason of the miracles which he wrought from his youth up.

[1] The Kurds of Kartaw القرتاويّة lived in the region above Arbela, to the west of the Lower Zâb. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 207.

[2] *I. e.*, phantoms, spectres. This word is explained:— ܡܪ̈ܓܠܓܠܢܐ خَيَالَات ظُلْمَة البَصَر والفشر ܡܪ̈ܓܠܓܠܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܡܚܙܘܢܐ ܗ̄ ܗܘ ܓܠܓܠܐ ❊ See Brit. Mus. Rich 7203, fol. 188*b*, col. 2; and Brit. Mus. Orient. 2441, fol. 380*b*, col. 2.

[3] Read ܕܡܦܩܐ.

[4] Read ܐܘܠܕܘ.

[5] Read with Vat., ܕܐܫܬܡܥܬ.

[6] 1 Samuel iii. 20.

[7] For ܐܬܡܠܠܬ Hoffmann would read ܐܬܡܠܝܬ, and translate

CHAPTER XXIV.[1]

OF THE FAMINE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THEIR DAYS IN THIS COUNTRY, [AND OF THE DEPARTURE OF JOHN AND HIS MASTER TO NÊRĔBHÂ OF BÊTH-GAZZÂ.]

In the book which was composed by David, the pious Bishop of the Kartĕwâyê, which is called the "Little Paradise,"[2] which begins with the history of Rabban George bar-Ṣayyâdhê,[3] the head of the monastery, in the history of Abbâ Ṣĕlîbhâ the Aramean[4] it is made known that a great famine took place in this country. Now from this passage it would seem that the blessed Mâr John [did not][5] receive the tonsure at the hands of Mâr Abraham, because at the time of this famine the blessed Abraham was dead. And when the famine had become very severe, and there was no help to alleviate it from anywhere, Abbâ Simon, who had three disciples, one of whom was our blessed John, gathered them together, and said to them, "Come, my children, let us depart from this place and go to the country of the mountains, and let us eat the leaves of the trees and not die;" and he took them and they departed to Nĕrĕbhâ dhĕ Bêth Gazzâ,[6] but some say that they went to the country of Salakh.[7]

"the word concerning Samuel of old was fulfilled also in this man by the signs which he was accustomed to work from his youth up."

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 184, col. 1.

[2] See *supra*, p. 192, note 1. [3] See *supra*, p. 96, note 2.

[4] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 24 and note 1997.

[5] But see *supra*, pp. 222, 223.

[6] *I. e.*, they retired into the more mountainous parts of Dâsen.

[7] The Bishopric of Salakh is, apparently, to be sought for

[p. 100] And while they were thus living upon the berries of the trees, and were being directed by the blessed old man to the saving of their lives, the time of the departure of Rabban Simon drew near and arrived. And as Jacob called his sons,[1] so he called his disciples, and said to them, "Come, my children, my doctrine is to me, and I will tell you what things will happen unto you after my departure from this world." And when the first had drawn near him, he answered and said, "Thou shalt take to thyself a wolf;" and to the second he said, "No man shall follow thee, my son, or know the way in which thou shalt depart from the world;" [and to the third he said], "As for thee, my son John, behold, our Lord will magnify thee with miracles and signs, and He will make thee a head and a chief in the congregation of the brotherhood of ascetics, and thou shalt teach the heathen barbarians;" and these prophecies of the holy man came to pass to the three of them, according to what is written in his history.

CHAPTER XXV.[2]

OF HOW RABBAN JOHN WAS TAKEN CAPTIVE BY THE BARBARIANS.

Now when that holy old man had departed this life, and his three disciples remained behind in his cave, one of them took the books which their blessed master

in the present territory of the Bâlik-Kurds near Rawandiz. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 245.

[1] Genesis xlix. 1.

[2] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 184, col. 1.

had written and went down to the villages to sell [them], and to bring back food for them [all]. And when he had seen the world and the fairness thereof he took unto himself a wife; this is the man who took unto himself a wolf. Now when the two other disciples who remained behind had waited for some days, and their companion did not return, the second one went down to see what had become of him that had gone first, and he likewise did not come back, and it is not known what became of him; it is said of him, however, that he became an anchorite in the inner mountains. And when the excellent John saw that he was forsaken by his two companions, [p. 101] and that they were not, he also went down to see what had become of his two brethren. And according as the event happened and [by the working of] the Divine Providence that brought the holy man in the way to be the means of fulfilling the prophecy concerning himself, the men of Dêlûm[1] went forth to spoil and to make a raid upon the country where the blessed man was, and thus they also carried him off into captivity, and brought him to their country. Concerning this holy man these [facts] must suffice, for very many and great things are written concerning him.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OF RABBAN JOSEPH THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY.

Now according to what we have learned from the history of this holy Rabban Joseph, he came from the country of Shâhrâzûr,[2] and was a kinsman of the blessed

[1] See *supra*, p. 220, note 3. [2] See *supra*, p. 211, note 3.

Rabban Gabriel, who was called the "Dancer",[1] and during the lifetime of that blessed old man he came here, and became his disciple. He was a humble, happy, painstaking[2] and abstinent man, who, according to what is said, accounted all earthly things as ashes and dung compared with the ascetic life. And having excelled in the glorious works of asceticism, the mother of life, after the heads of the monastery who followed one after the other, the choice of the whole congregation fell upon this holy man, and he was ordained chief and governor over them; and when he had ministered in the office four years, he left it in the manner in which we are about to bring to light.

[P. 102]

CHAPTER XXVII.

OF ṢELÎBHÂ-ZEKHÂ THE CATHOLICUS, [AND OF HIS COMING TO THIS MONASTERY].

After the death of Mâr Ḥĕnân-Îshô῾,[3] the Catholicus and Patriarch of holy memory, the prince of fathers, the storehouse of grace, the mighty and spiritual man, Ṣĕlîbhâ-Zĕkhâ became the head of the Church. Now this man, according to what ecclesiastical histories write concerning him, was an avaricious and a haughty man.

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[1] He was ordained Bishop of Bêth Garmai by the Nestorian Patriarch Ṣĕlîbhâ-zĕkhâ who died about A. D. 729; see Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, col. 149, and note 2.

[2] ܦܠܚܬܢܐ, "labourer", a rare word.

[3] He sat from A. D. 686—701. For his writings see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 154.

And when he heard of the golden[1] Book of the Gospels which our Mâr Îshô‘-yahbh,[2] the blessed in everything, had bequeathed to this our monastery, he came with all his insolent pride to take it and to carry it away with him to Mĕdhînâthâ dhĕ Bêth Armâyê.[3] And when he had come unto the monastery and this assembly had received him joyfully, even as they were wont to receive the other Patriarchs who had come for the worship and honour of the place, he demanded of Rabban Joseph, the head of the monastery, that he should bring him that Book that he might rejoice in the sight of it. Now when he had done so, for he had no power to withhold it, and moreover, he did not comprehend what was in the heart of the Catholicus, he brought the Book from the Library and gave it into his hands. And when the Catholicus saw the splendour and beauty of the Book, which was ornamented with pure gold, and precious stones, he was devoured by desire for it, and he took it and laid it in his wallet.[4] Then the head of the monastery answered and said to him, "Thou art not acting rightly in taking our Book in this iniquitous[5] manner." And the Catholicus said, "Ye solitaries have no need of this Book, therefore let the believers enjoy it;" and straightway he commanded those that were with him [p. 103] to set out on their way quickly. Now when this had taken place, the board for summoning the congregation was

[1] ܕܗܒܢܝܬܐ, a rare word.
[2] *I. e.*, Îshô‘-yahbh III. of Adiabene.
[3] *I. e.*, to Seleucia.
[4] Or, 'saddle-bags', = Arab. الخرج, and جراب, a 'leather bag'.
[5] ܒܠܘܣܝܬ, a rare word.

struck,[1] and those among the ascetics who were young and strong ran after the Catholicus and stopped him, even as David did Gûlyâdh (Goliath),[2] and they prevailed against him with stones and sticks. And when they had come up with him they threw him off his mule, and they buffeted him with outspread hands and closed fists in an unseemly manner although they had it in their power to take the Book [from him] without striking a blow. Now the abandonment [to this treatment] was wrought upon him by God because he coveted that which was not his own. And when the aged Elders heard what had been done to him by the novices, they gathered themselves together and went forth to appease the Catholicus, and they began to apologize for what had taken place without their knowledge and consent; and in this manner they pacified Ṣĕlîbhâ-Zĕkhâ, and he departed from them.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

OF THE DEPARTURE OF RABBAN JOSEPH TO THE MONASTERY OF RABBAN BAR-ʿIDTÂ.[3]

Now when the blessed Joseph, the head of the monastery, saw what had been done to Ṣĕlîbhâ-Zĕkhâ the Catholicus by the brethren, he abandoned the

[1] See *supra*, p. 54, note 3. [2] 1 Samuel xvii. 40.

[3] It is doubtful by which Bar-ʿIdtâ this monastery was founded. It may have been the Bar-ʿIdtâ who lived in the time of Îshôʿ-yahbh of Arzon (580—595), and who was the contemporary of Jacob the founder of the Monastery of Bêth ʿÀbhê; he is often quoted by Thomas of Margâ. See *supra*, p. 38, note 2.

headship of the monastery, and dwelt quietly in his cell. And when the brethren of the Monastery of Rabban bar-ʿIdtâ heard [of this], inasmuch as they had neither head nor guardian, they came after the blessed man, and thus at their entreaty, and by the advice of the Elders of this monastery, he went and became the head and governor of the monastery, and ministered in that office with all the ability which the headship required.

[P. 104] CHAPTER XXIX.

OF AYÂS[1] SHAIBNÂYÂ[2] WHO WISHED TO SLAY RABBAN JOSEPH, AND OF THE FLIGHT OF RABBAN FROM BEFORE HIM.

Now there lived in the neighbourhood of that monastery a man whose name was Ayâs, and he was a man of the tribe of Dhûhl,[3] and belonged to the family surnamed Shaibânâyê, and he was the store-keeper of the grain[4] of that monastery, and of all its property.

The day of his commemoration was the same as that of Jacob of Bêth ʿÀbhê. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 181. Cf. also بِحَازِرَ إِلَى جَنْبِ قَرْيَةٍ يُقَالُ لها باربيثا [بارْعيتَا read] بينها وبين مدينة المَوْصِل خمسة فراسخ Ṭabarî ii, p. 707.

[1] Arab إِيَاس. [2] *I. e.*, the descendant of Shaibân.

[3] See Wüstenfeld, *Genealog. Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme*, B. 18; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai sur L'Histoire des Arabes*, Table 9, part A (in Vol. I) and vol. II, pp. 449, 572, 592, 599, 603; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, pp. 330, 338; and cf. Yâķût ii. p. 349, l. 18 فدى لبنى ذُهل بن شيبان ناقتى. See also Brit. Mus. MS. 23,355, fol. 241*a* (*Kitâb al-Ansâb*, by al-Samʿânî.

[4] Read ܕܐܘܨܪܐ.

And he craftily[1] asked the brethren of that monastery to give him a place in which he might build a house[2] to shelter his cattle, and they in their simplicity commanded him to build a house wherever he chose. He therefore built a khân[3] by the side of the King's[4] highway, in the fields belonging to the monastery, and by those who passed along the road, as well as by the inhabitants[5] the building was called the "Khân[6] of Ayâs;" and little by little as he obtained power, he seized upon

[1] Read ܒܢܟܝܠܘܬܐ.

[2] ܒܝܬ ܟܘܢܫܐ a place of gathering together.

[3] The Syriac word ܡܘܬܠܐ = مَوْئِل or مَوْأَلَة *refuge, place of safety*. See *Kâmûs*, Bûlâḳ edition, A. H. 1303, vol. 4, p. 62. It = ܒܝܬ ܟܘܢܫܐ, or ܒܝܬ ܠܘܡܐ, cf. Neo-Syriac ܡܘܒܠܐ *barn, granary*, Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2036. In Ibn Haukal we have بَيْتُ مُوَاءَلَة, (which Hoffmann corrects into بَيْتُ مُوأَلَة) and concerning which De Goeje says "proprie *domus refugii* adhibetur sensu *domus spectabilis*," but Dozy asks 'ne serait-ce pas plutôt maison fortifiée?' See *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, t. II, p. 777, col. 1; De Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographicorum Arabicorum*, *Pars secunda*, *Viae et Regna Descriptio Ditionis Moslemicae Auctore Abûl-Kâsim ibn Haukal*, p. 81, line 8, and pars 4, p. 372. For ܒܝܬ ܡܘܬܒܠܐ "Mill-house" see Thomas of Margâ (text) p. 238, l. 11.

[4] Read ܕܡܠܟܐ. [5] Read either ܡܬܝܒܝܢ, or ܡܬܝܬܒܝܢ.

[6] I know of no other word by which to render ܡܘܬܠܐ, which meant a place where cattle, horses, asses, camels, etc., could be placed in safety for the night, or in time of war (compare the Border "peel-towers"). Ayâs's building was no doubt a private khân, the like of which exist in great numbers in the east at the present day. They are built in the form of a quadrangle, and have usually one large, strong door which is strengthened with heavy bars of wood, and fastened by massive bolts. On each side of the doorway are rooms for the accommodation of travellers, and along each of the walls are several

all the fields round about it.[1] And he slew the steward who lived in the monastery, and thinking to act like [Herod] Agrippa,[2] who having slain the blessed James, the brother of John, laid hands on Simon Peter also, this daring man, having slain that blessed man and cast his venerable body into a well of water in one of the cultivated fields of the monastery—which is to-day called Muḥarraḳiyyâ[3]—sent watchmen by night to the blessed Joseph to spy out the place where he was and to slay him. Now the blessed man learned this from the believing neighbours of the monastery, [who said], "Behold, this evil man has threatened to destroy thee also." And he left [the monastery] and went to the neighbourhood of the city of Bâlâdh,[4] to the region of Àwânâ,[5]

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stalls or chambers, usually open in the front, where the beasts are fed and sheltered. In the centre of the courtyard the camels are unloaded and their burdens piled up for the night. Such khâns usually have a supply of water either in a well in the courtyard, or close at hand outside. They are more expensive to stay at than the large public khâns, many of which have been built for the poor by rich men, and endowed with funds to pay for keeping them clean.

[1] *I. e.*, the monastery of Rabban bar-ʿIdtâ.

[2] Acts xii. 1.

[3] *I. e.*, مُحَرَّقِيَّة, or مُحَرِّقِيَّة. For the name مُحَرِّق or مُحَرَّق see Yâḳût vol. i, p. 91. l. 18; p. 391, l. 20; p. 451. l. 1; p. 538, l. 5; and vol. ii, p. 433. 12.

[4] See *supra*, p. 61, note 4.

[5] Àwânâ, which marked the limit of the church province of Bêth Nuhâdhrâ, lay on the east bank of the Tigris, a little above Môṣul, and nearly opposite to Eski-Môṣul. According to Yâḳût the Monastery of Abbâ Yâwseph lay on the caravan road near the Tigris about one farsaḥ from Bâlâdh. See the maps in Černik, *Technische Studien-Expedition durch die Ge-*

a village of Bêth Nûhdĕrân,[1] and there by his hands the Lord laid the foundations of and established that holy monastery, which has been called after his name in memory of him, and has obtained renown. [p. 105] Now I have learned[2] all these things from the history of this holy man which was composed by the venerable Mâr Athḳen,[3] the monk, of the holy monastery of Rabban Aphnî-Mâran.[4]

CHAPTER XXX.

OF RABBAN MÂR JOHN, METROPOLITAN BISHOP OF ADIABENE.

I should be an enemy of the truth and of the living Word of Christ, if in these writings I attempted to manifest flattery of [any] man, or if for the sake of polluted gain I dared to approach matters which are beyond my strength. Moreover, I should appear silly

biete des Euphrat und Tigris, (in Ergänzungsheft No. 45 zu Petermann's "Geographischen Mittheilungen", Gotha, 1876); and Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* p. 212.

[1] The MSS. have ܒܶܝܬ ܢܽܘܗܕܪܳܢ. Assemânî has ܒܝܬ ܢܘܗܕܪܐ, *B. O.,* iii. 1, p. 477, col. 2, at the foot. On this province see Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* pp. 208—216, but especially note 1662 (p. 209).

[2] The last three lines of this chapter are quoted in *B. O.,* iii. 1, p. 217, col. 1.

[3] For his other writings see *B. O.,* iii. 1, p. 216.

[4] The limit of the church province of Bêth Nuhâdhrâ on the north west was marked by the Monastery of Rabban Aphnî Mâran dhĕ Khurkmâ, which was called by the Muḥammadans Dêr al-Zaʿfarân, and was near, or on, Gebel Gûdî. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* p. 213.

and ignorant if while writing and completing and showing forth [these histories], through my love of God, and at the entreaty of His holy men,[1] I should add any matters of my own to that order which has come down to me by the tradition of those who recount histories, or should introduce any thing of my own into the accounts of the holy men, even though their beauty[2] would not be tarnished by the defect of my speech, nor [their sweetness] polluted[3] by the evil smell of my manner of treatment. Now we gather the rose from among thorns, and when we inhale its beautiful smell with our breath, the memory of the thorns is not present in our mind. And those who understand the culture of flowers and plants say that they sow garlic[4] and onions and other vegetables which have an unpleasantly strong[5] smell round about the rose, in order that through their nearness it may [appear to] acquire a more beautiful smell, and to have a more splendid colour. Let then this history which we are writing [take the place of][6] the rose, and let our own evil odour take the place of the leeks and onions and garlic, [p. 106] so that these holy men may [appear

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[1] *I. e.*, 'Abhd-Îshô' and the other monks of Bêth 'Âbhê. (See *supra*, p. 17.)

[2] If we read, with the MSS., ܫܘܦܪܗܘܢ, we must correct ܡܬܚܡܨܝܢ into ܡܬܚܡܨܐ, and ܡܬܛܢܦܝܢ into ܡܬܛܢܦܐ.

[3] After ܡܬܛܢܦܝܢ some word like ܒܣܝܡܘܬܗܘܢ seems to have dropped out.

[4] ܬܘܡܐ Cf. ܬܘܡܐ ܕܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܣܩܘܪܕܝܘܢ الثوم البرّي Brit. Mus. MSS. Orient. 2441, fol. 388*a*, col. 2; Rich 7203, fol. 196*b*, col. 2.

[5] Read ܡܚܪܦܢ.

[6] After ܕܡܫܬܟܚܐ, the word ܕܘܟܬܐ seems to have dropped out. The reading of Vat. is better than that of the text.

to] be the more glorious, and so that their glory may increase!

Now Abbâ ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ, of whom I have written above,[1] had a nephew whose name was John, and he was a disciple in this monastery during the lifetime of his uncle. And after the death of Abbâ ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ, together with the inheritance of his manner of life and his doctrine, he inherited his cell and every thing that he had. Now all the books which ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ and Îshôʿ-yahbh his brother wrote and left behind them, this John made to pass into the library [of this monastery]. And having formed within himself all those glorious qualities by which a man is sanctified for living the divine monastic life, for he had been born of parents who sprang from a blessed stock, in body and in spirit, he at length became the head and governor of this holy monastery. And the fame of his piety was carried into all places, and he was ordained Bishop of the country of Bêth Bĕghôsh.[2] And when the blessed Mâr Simon the Metropolitan departed this temporary life, the choice of the Bishops and of the government,

[1] *I. e.,* ʿĂnân-Îshôʿ the compiler of the Book of Paradise. See *supra*, pp. 189—192.

[2] Bêth Bĕghâsh, Bêth Bâghêsh, or Bêth Bâghâsh, the بابغيش or باغاش of the Arabs, was a district which lay on the Upper Zâb between Adhôrbâîgân and Ardabîl [read Dabîl] along which the Great Zâb flows. In the eighth century of our era the seat of the Bishop of Bĕghâsh was in the Church of Bai [see *infra* chap. xxxix (text p. 125, l. 3)], probably Ḳalʿa-i-Bai, the residence of Melik Beg, one of the first Kurdish princes of the Sambo dynasty, who with the help of the Syrian Christians in the fortress of Dîz obtained the rule over the Ḥakkârî region. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 227. The name Bêth Bĕghâsh is preserved in Basch Ḳalʿe; see Hoffmann in Feige, *Die Ge-*

and of the believing men of Adiabene fell upon him, and he was ordained Metropolitan by Mâr Ṣelîbhâ-Zêkhâ, the Catholicus, concerning whom we have written a little way back.[1] And while he adorned the office of head with all steadfastness, he made his body to abstain from everything which was pleasant, and he neither consented to drink wine, nor submitted to eat unclean things. And all transient glory was a polluted thing in his sight, because he had been nourished in a life above all reproach by the overflowing abundance of the doctrine of the holy and pious 'Ânân-Îshô', and he nobly preserved to the end the teaching of his uncle and master. And because of his love for this holy house, [p. 107] every day, so it is said, he used to sit in his cell and quietly meditate. And in the days of this holy man the inhabitants of Bêth Bôrê, a village in [the district of] Nineveh, built a fine and beautiful temple at great expense; now they had [over them] a pious Bishop [called] Ephraim who came from this holy monastery. And when they wished to consecrate that temple, Ephraim came to this monastery to Mâr John the Metropolitan, and at the request of the Bishop and of the believing people of Bêth Bôrê who were with him, he (Mâr John) went and consecrated that holy temple. And so after he had continued to be the head of the monastery for a long time he died in this holy monastery, where he had been born of the Spirit and instructed in everything, and where he had been

schichte des Mâr 'Abhd-Îshô', Kiel, 1890, p. 10, no. 10, (text p. 26, l. 14, translation p. 25, at the foot). Cf. بابغيش ناحية بين اذربيجان واردبيل يمرُّ بها الزابُ الأَعلَى Yaḳût, vol. 1, p. 446.

[1] See *supra*, p. 228.

honoured by being elected the head of the Monastery. May he rise from the grave with the holy fathers who begat him, and with them may he receive from his Lord the reward of his actions! And behold, according to what I have learned from the old men, his grave is by the door of the screen[1] of the martyrium. Now although the martyrium in which he was buried with the fathers, was demolished for the sake of this new temple which was built, nevertheless he and the other holy Metropolitans and Bishops were left in their places undisturbed. And if it be true, as I have heard from the Elders that it is, five Metropolitans and eighteen Bishops are buried in that holy chapel.[2]

CHAPTER XXXI.

OF MÂR DÎNDOWAI[3] BISHOP OF MA'ALLTHÂ.[4]

[P. 108] Now Mâr John had a companion in his cell whose name was Dîndowai, and he appointed him

[1] ܦܪܐܟܛܐ = φράκτης. See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1702.

[2] The last two sentences of this chapter are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 478, col. 2.

[3] He flourished about A. D. 720, and seems to have been the first Bishop of Ma'allthâ; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 210, note 1666 and the authorities quoted there. He was succeeded by Mâr Sergius, a monk of Bêth 'Âbhê, who was consecrated by Mâr Aḥâ; see *infra*, Bk. II. chap. xlii.

[4] ܡܥܠܬܐ, ܡܥܠܬܐܝܬ or ܡܥܠܬܐܝܬܐ, Arab. معلثايا, was one of the twelve dioceses under the Maphrian of Tekrît; see Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii, col. 123. It is often mentioned together with Ḥĕnàithà, and was situated about one hour to the west of Dehòk, a place about thirty-five or forty miles north of Môṣul.

Bishop of Ma'alltha and Ḥenaitha;[1] he was a venerable and holy man, and was also a disciple in this monastery. And there are in the library of this monastery many books belonging to him which bear witness to the love and affection which he bore to this holy house. He also was buried in this monastery with Mâr Sergius, the bishop who came after him, of whom we shall give some account.[2]

CHAPTER XXXII.

OF MÂR ÎSHÔ'-ZĔKHÂ, THE SYRIAN, BISHOP OF SALAKH.

Now although the story of the holy Mâr Îshô'-zĕkhâ, Bishop of our native country of Sĕlôkh has been briefly told by me in another place, namely, in the history of Rabban Gabriel, inasmuch as that history demanded

See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 208; *B. O.*, iii. 11, p. dcclx; and Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, ii. 1584 f. According to Badger, (*Nestorians*, vol. 1, p. 174) Ma'alltha contained twenty families and one church in 1842—44. Yâḳût (iv, p. 578, l. 4) makes معلثايا near Gezîret ibn-'Omar.

[1] Written ܚܢܝܬܐ, and ܚܢܝܬܐ, the latter vocalization being the correct one. Ḥnâithâ = the Χναιθα of Theophylact (V. 8. ed. Bonn p. 219, l. 9) and Χαμαιθα of Theophanes; its district seems to have reached from the valley at the mouth of the Rowandiz tributary of the Upper Zâb to Dâûdijâ in the western valley of the Ṣapna. The modern diocese of 'Amèdia corresponds tolerably well to the old church province of Ma'alltha, Beth Nûhâdhrâ and Ḥĕnâithâ. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 216—222; and the list of the villages in the 'Amèdia diocese in Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. 1, p. 174; and *B. O.*, iii. ii, p. dcclvii.

[2] See *infra*, chap. XLII.

[3] See Book VI. chap. XV. (text p. 384).

it, it nevertheless appeareth to me that I ought to speak of his noble deeds and triumphs among the righteous phalanx of his companions. This blessed man came from the country of Bêth Armâyê,[1] and according to what I have learned from the ancients, he was a monk in this holy monastery. It is said of him that his food daily throughout the entire year consisted of seven[2] mouthfuls which he passed into his stomach. And he made his soul a bird which was accustomed to fly upwards always, the object of the vision and meditation of which was beyond its body, and in his renunciation he was free from every distracting influence. And his cell was situated in Gâr Kâhnê,[3] according to what I have learned from Rabban Matthew the Elder, who heard it from his master Abbâ Mâran-Zĕkhâ.[4] [p. 109] Now when Mâr John became Metropolitan of this church province, and the Bishop of the country of Salakh had departed from this world, they appointed Mâr John to be bishop there. And when he had gone into this Outer Salakh[5] which is called Salakh of Narses, —

[1] See *supra*, p. 183, note 1. [2] Read ܕܫܒܥܐ.

[3] A pure Persian, or Kurdish name. *Kahnê* or *Kahnî* = Kurdish خانى "fountain", and Gàr calls to mind the al-Gàr mountain الجار discussed by Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 204, note 1618; see also note 2161 where a certain جار خانى "pitch fountain" is mentioned. Gâr Kahnê was probably situated near Bêth ʿÂbhê.

[4] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 187, col. 2, at the foot.

[5] The church province of Salakh ܐܬܪܐ ܕܣܠܟ was divided into Outer Salakh ܣܠܟ ܒܪܝܬܐ and Inner Salakh ܣܠܟ ܓܘܝܬܐ. Outer Salakh represented the country round about Arbêl, and Inner Salakh lay on the border of Adhôrbâîgàn. We must look for this province in the territory of the Bàlik-Kurds. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 243—245.

now it is also called Banânes,[1]—[he found] there a family of nobles who were chiefs of Salakh, and lords thereof. And one day one of them whose name was Pharrôkh-bandâdh[2] made a commemoration service in honour of Mâr Phransê[3] in his convent, to all the scholars who were there,—now there was a school there before that time, and at that time, and afterwards,—and when they had mixed the wine, and had given the first cup to Mâr Bishop, he tasted it, and behold it was acid. And he answered and said to Pharrôkh-bandâdh, "Pharrôkh-bandâdh", and he answered and said, "Bless, master." The Bishop said to him, "From what vine cometh this wine?" and Pharrôkh-bandâdh said, "From such and such a vine", and the Bishop spake to him this one word only, saying, "Let that vine wither;" and with the curse of the righteous man wrath clothed that vine. And when it was the morning of the next day, after the commemoration of the holy Mâr Phransê was ended, that man went home to his house, and he learned[4] that the vine had withered to its very roots in the hour in which the Bishop cursed it, and behold the place where it withered is as if it had been burnt with

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[1] Assemânî gives ܒܢܝܢܣ *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 479, col. 1.

[2] *l. c.*, Farrukhbhindâdh. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 289, 297. We should probably correct the Syriac thus: ܠܦܪܘܟܒܢܕܕ.

[3] Phransê can hardly be the Syriac form of 'Francis'. The name is probably wrongly vowelled, and perhaps stands for Farr + Narsê ܦܪ[ܢ]ܣܐ; cf. Mihr-Narsê, Àdhur-Narsê. Hoffmann. A Rabban Fransé is mentioned together with other holy men in the order for the burial of the priests given by Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. II. p. 307.

[4] Read ܘܝܠܦ.

fire, and is well known to this day. And fear fell upon all that country.

And Jacob[1], my father according to the body, related to me, and he had heard it from his fathers, that in the district called Bêth Shârônâyê[2] in which our village was situated there was a great, old oak (?), which was called the "king of the forest;" [p. 110] and in the villages round about it there were heathen who used to burn incense to it, and who worshipped before it, and we wished to cut it down, but we were afraid of the heathen who worshipped it, and also of the devil which appeared therein. Now when we heard of the coming of the pious Mâr Îshô-zekhâ into our country, and concerning the vine which he withered by his coming, when he had drawn near to the villages round about us, our priests went to bring him to us. And we commanded them that in coming back to us with the Bishop their way should be by the side of that tree, and they took that way. Now when the Bishop came near to the tree and saw its beauty, which was caused by the exceeding care [shown] to it, and learned that it was the god of the heathen who dwelt in these villages, without coming down from the animal[3] upon which he rode, or the matter causing him any astonishment, he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, and cried to the Lord, saying, "O Lord of heaven and

[1] The first part of this sentence is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 479, col. 1.

[2] This is probably the village of Shîrwân, lying in the "district of Shîrwân", about eighty miles to the north-east of Môṣul. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 220, and notes 1749 and 1762.

[3] Read here and elsewhere ܒܥܝܪܐ.

earth, uproot this god who receiveth together with thee worship and tithes;" and at his word the branches of that tree turned downwards, and its roots [grew] upwards, and thus was brought to nought the falsehood of the error of the devil which dwelt therein.

And[1] there was a village in Inner Salakh which was called Gôlâi,[2] the inhabitants of which were formerly Magians, and having become disciples of the doctrine of Christ they built a church in their village, and set apart certain nut trees and a small plantation[3] that there might be [always] a sum of money for the maintenance and expenses of the church. Now when those old men died, their children seized the nut trees and defrauded the church of what assistance they afforded.[4] And when the holy man went to that village, the priests of the church there complained[5] of being defrauded by their fellow villagers. [p. 111] And while the two parties were disputing with each other, the priests saying, "These trees belong to the church," and the laity contradicting [them], and saying, "This has never been so," the Bishop said to the [priests], "Dispute ye not one with another, for I believe that the Will of the command of Christ, the Lord of the Church, will, if those nut trees truly belong to this church, bring them

[1] The following story is apparently related also in Bk. VI. chap. XV. (text p. 384, l. 3 ff.).

[2] This name is spelt ܓܘܠܝ on p. 384, l. 3. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 245.

[3] Read either ܘܢܨܒܬܐ or ܢܨܒܬܐ ܒܨ. The parallel passage reads: ܘܦܠܚܘ ܠܗ ܢܨܒܬܐ ܚܕ ܕܓܘܙܐ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ (text p. 384, l. 5).

[4] "Their children made a dispute about the nut trees, and took them" (text. p. 384, l. 6).

[5] Read ܕܢܟܝܘ.

to the court yard of the church, without damage and without injury, in order that your dispute concerning their misappropriation may be rebuked." [And to the villagers he said,] "If those nut trees are yours, they shall remain just as they are without injury, in the place where they are." And that Will which maintaineth creation by its might, and to which are easy the things which are difficult to us and appear to be impossible, heard the voice of the son of its house, and brought all those nut trees near to the church. And there was there a poor old woman to whom the men of the village had given as long as she should live the half of the produce of a large nut tree which was among those trees to provide her with food. And when the sacristan rose up to beat the board[1] to summon the congregation for the office of the night, behold, he saw that all the nut trees had come round about the church, and in his joy he went to where the Bishop was sleeping to announce to him the departure of the trees; and the Bishop said to him, "I know it [already], my son, be silent." And when it was morning, and the people had heard this report, the whole village was gathered together to that place, and they rose up with wonder and praise, and they marvelled and wondered, and glorified God. They saw, moreover, that the tree upon the half of the produce of which the old woman used to live, was divided into two halves, and that one half had come[2] to the church with the other trees, and the other had remained in its place. [p. 112] Now many other things were wrought

[1] On the methods employed in monasteries for summoning the monks to prayer see Usener, *Der Heilige Theodosius,* p. 82. l. 18, and the note to this passage on p. 179. [2] Read ܐܬܝ̈.

by the holy Bishop Mâr Îshô‘-Zĕkhâ, but because of their number I have [only] written[1] these three, which will make known concerning their greatness.[2]

CHAPTER XXXIII.[3]

OF GABRIEL THE METROPOLITAN BISHOP OF KARKHÂ DHĔ BÊTH SĔLÔKH,[4] WHO WAS CALLED THE "DANCER" [AND OF THE DISCOURSE WHICH HE MADE].

Now this Gabriel,[5] of the city of Nisibis, having come to this monastery after he had been trained in the holy school there, laboured in the monastic life, as well as in the holy study of the Divine Books. And, as I have learned, having triumphed in the greatest self-abnegation,—now by reason of his abstinence and the asceticism of his nature his passions were [neither] stirred up, nor did there remain with him any of the inclinations of an impure mind,—it happened to him, because of the severity and the frequency of the fasts and labours, which he endured beyond his strength, that the people of the Karkhâ dhĕ Sĕlôkhâyê of Bêth Garmai, at the report of his ability and self-abnegation were moved to make him their head; and he was set apart for them, and was ordained Metropolitan by Ṣĕlîbhâ-Zĕkhâ the Catholicus, together with Mâr John of Adiabene[6] of holy memory. And when he was an old man he came here to pray, and to receive blessings

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[1] Read ܕܟܬܒܬ.
[2] Reading with Vat. ܪܒܘܬܗܘܢ.
[3] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 460, col. 1 f.
[4] *I. e.*, Kerkûk.
[5] He flourished about A. D. 720.
[6] See *supra*, p. 234.

at the tombs of his spiritual fathers. And it came to pass that one day during the commemoration of Rabban[1] he heard certain scholars complaining, and saying, "Would it not be more meet for this wholly famous congregation that one of them should compose a special service for the holy Mâr Jacob, [p. 113] rather than borrow[2] this one which was composed by Micha the Doctor for some one else, and recite it for Mâr Jacob as[3] if he were a pauper?" And Mâr Gabriel, who on account of his mincing gait was called the "Dancer", went straightway into the place where the deacons were, during the first session of the Psalms,[4] and he took tablets and wrote down the discourse which is now read for Rabban [Jacob]. And if thou dost examine the sequence of its composition, and the style of its language, thou wilt not find therein one example of the elegance of diction which the art of speaking requireth. And beginning first of all with prayer,[5] the discourse continueth with the words, "Let us place in the midst one of the ranks of those who love their Lord," and so forth. Then attacking the holy Mâr Bâbhai, and all that congregation from which Jacob went forth,[6] it saith, "Mad men who were exceedingly furious envied him with the evil imagination of their hearts," and so forth. Now we do not think that Mâr

[1] *I. e.*, Jacob the founder of Bêth 'Âbhê.

[2] ܡܫܐܠܝܢ.

[3] The MSS. have ܐܝܟ ܡܣܟܢܐ, but Assemânî has ܥܠ ܡܣܟܢܐ.

[4] ܗܘܠܠܐ. See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1646, and Badger, *The Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 21.

[5] ܡܨܠܝܢܘܬܐ.

[6] The allusion is to the expulsion of Jacob from the Monastery of Mount Îzlâ. See supra p. 59.

Bâbhai was stirred up to become the cause of the going forth of many from that monastery without the will of God, for if it had been so, not one of the holy men would willingly have taken upon himself the labour of founding a monastery. Moreover, Sâhdônâ, who lived at a time nearer to that dispute, in his history of Rabban [Jacob],[1] praises and magnifies and glorifies that holy monastery. And behold, this also we would make known, that although the blessed Rabban Ḳâm-Îshô',[2] and the holy Mâr Jacob,[3] and Rabban Aphnî-Mâran,[4] and Emmâ[5] Leontius Zînâyâ,[6] and Rabban Joseph[7] went forth from the monastery in like manner by reason of a dispute,[8] and became heads and governors in other monasteries, they neither called nor named this monastery a "monastery of madmen." And again Gabriel wishing to magnify this monastery, abuses its inhabitants and in his passion saith concerning the person of Mâr Jacob, [p. 114] "He left to them, that is to say to the monks, no possession in the land, and of everything which they possessed, that is to say the estates which their fathers Mâr Îshô'-yahbh the Catholicus,[9] and Mâr George[10] the Catholicus, bequeathed to them, behold they are entirely destitute." And again he saith, "No person is so utterly destitute of everything as they are, and although they labour, that is to say, although they gather in and carry out, in seed

[1] See *supra*, p. 83. [2] See *supra*, p. 151.

[3] See *supra*, p. 59. [4] See *supra*, p. 122.

[5] *I. e.*, αμμάς "abbess", a nickname, instead of Abbâ.

[6] *I. e.*, the man from Mount Zînai. See *supra*, p. 108, note 4.

[7] See *supra*, p. 179ff. [8] [illegible], a rare word.

[9] *I. e.*, Îshô'-yahbh of Adiabene.

[10] See *supra*, p. 179ff.

time and in harvest, there is no profit to him that toileth therein."[1] Now he[2] did not correct this discourse, and it continueth in its corrupt state.[3] And this blessed man also died in this monastery.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

OF THE BLESSED MÂR AḤÂ, METROPOLITAN OF ARBELA, [AND HEAD OF THE MONASTERY OF BÊTH ʿÂBHÊ].

If now it be that the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob, righteous men who are dead, is the God of the living and not of the dead, according to the testimony of the Divine Book,[4] inas-

[1] This appears to be the meaning of the text as it stands, but see the two following notes.

[2] *I. e.,* Thomas of Margâ did not correct this passage. Assemânî translates: "Nullas eis (monachis suis) opes in terris reliquit: et quoniam eas possidere maluerunt, en amisere omnia. (Agros intelligit, quos eis Patres ipsorum legaverunt, Mar Jesujabus, videlicet, et Mar Gregorius Catholici.) Prosequitur monachos iterùm sugillans: Nullus illis egentior; laborem nihilominus inutilem patiuntur. (Ingressum nempe et exitum, sementem et messem.) Hunc auctor hymnum, seu Carmen, haudquaquam emendavit, et hactenus sine ulla correctione legitur." (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 462, col. 1.).

[3] Hoffmann would emend thus:

I ܠܐ ܐܪܦܝ ܠܗܘܢ | ܡܕܡ ܕܐܪܥܐ | ܡܢ ܨܒܝܢܐ | ܠܡܣܬܒܪܘ |
ܕܨܒܘ ܗܘܘ | ܗܐ ܡܣܟܢܝܢ | [ܡܢ] ܒܠܡܕܡ | ܘܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ |
ܕܐܘܪܬܘ ܐܢܘܢ | ܐܒܗܝܗܘܢ | ܡܪܝ ܝܫܘܥܝܗܒ | ܘܡܪܝ ܓܪܝܓܘܪܝܘܣ |
ܩܬܘܠܝܩܐ |

II ܠܐ ܐܝܬ ܕܣܢܝܩ | ܡܢ ܟܠ ܡܕܡ | ܒܕܘܟܬܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ | ܘܥܡܠܝܢ ܥܡܠܐ |
ܡܥܠܐ ܡܦܩܬܐ | ܙܪܥܐ ܘܚܨܕܐ | ܕܠܝܬ ܒܗ ܝܘܬܪܢ ܠܕܠܐܝ ܒܗ |

[4] St. Matthew xxii. 32.

much as the righteous live with Him and are not dead, and for their sakes He keepeth the covenant, and performeth grace, and sheweth care for the thousands of generations, according to the word of the Lord,[1] the righteous men of old, and the just men who came after them, and the holy men who come last, are the children of His kingdom, even as the living and life-giving mouth of Jesus our God[2] maketh known, saying, "Many shall come from the east, and from the west, and from the south, and from the north, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of God."[3]

Now in respect of the fatherhood of the holy Mâr Jacob, we may see that the promise of the word of the Lord was fulfilled. [p. 115] For although he worked and laboured and strove in all the various works of the ascetic life, and loaded to the full the ship of his own person [with] all manner of riches and sent it forth to heaven that it might enjoy its good things in the times of need, he nevertheless raised up governors of all those who have been and who will be imitators of him in the place of his dwelling, and of his manner of life, namely, these holy men whose histories up to the present we have been shewing forth. Now among these was this marvellous and holy Mâr Aḥâ, this glory of ascetics, and object of praise of [spiritual] shepherds, this canon of all beauty of those who hold the five

[1] Exodus xx. 6.

[2] We should expect to read ܕܝܫܘܥ ܡܪܢ "of Jesus our Lord". On this point see Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii, p. 36. The expression "Jesus our God" naturally suggests a Monophysite writer. See Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 262, col. 2, No. 5.

[3] St. Luke xiii. 29.

talents[1], this wise and faithful steward of the kingdom of heaven, this holder of the keys of the height and the depth by the bestowal from on high of the Spirit of God, concerning whom I will relate a few things. Now although his birth in respect of the body took place in the village of Awâkh, in the district of Ṭalânâ,[2] in the country of Margâ, yet, like the prophet Jeremiah,[3] whom the Lord set apart to know the marvellous acts which were about to be made manifest by Him, in his bodily presence, and in the physical form of his limbs, God honoured him, and made him glorious and to be admired. Hail to the beauty of the beautiful who are made exceedingly beautiful by the Lord! Seth[4] became beautiful by the glory of his creation and renewed the glory of Adam[5] his father; Joseph was beautiful,[6] and all the hateful things [which he endured] did not mar his beauty; the beauty of Moses[7] made him great, and with it the Lord smote and made a mock

[1] St. Matthew xxv. 16.

[2] All the MSS. have ܛܠܢܐ, but see the Syriac text p. 155. 18, and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 202.

[3] Thomas of Margâ is probably quoting some apocryphal book.

[4] Compare "Seth the beautiful." *Book of the Bee*, ed. Budge, p. 27, text p. 29, l. 9.

[5] There is a reference to the marvellous beauty of Adam in the "Cave of Treasures" (ed. Bezold, p. 12). "And God formed Adam with His holy hands, in His own image and likeness. And when these angels saw his glorious appearance, they were moved at the beauty of his form" ܘܓܒܠܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܠܐܕܡ ܒܐܝܕܘܗܝ ܩܕܝܫܬܐ. ܒܨܠܡܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܘܬܗ. ܘܟܕ ܚܙܘ ܗܠܝܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܠܚܙܘܗ ܫܒܝܚܐ. ܐܬܬܙܝܥܘ ܗܘ ܡܢ ܫܘܦܪܐ ܕܕܡܘܬܗ ܀

[6] Compare יְפֵה־תֹאַר וִיפֵה מַרְאֶה Genesis xxxix. 6.

[7] Compare כִּי־טוֹב הוּא Exodus ii. 2.

of the Egyptians; the beauty of David[1] used to drive away the wicked spirit from Saul, and the beauty of Daniel[2] and his companions quenched[3] the flame and stopped[4] the mouth of the lions: not only with the beauty of the body, but with two-fold and double beauty, for to the visible and apparent beauty which nature had given them, and which grace had bestowed upon them, [p. 116] they united also that of the soul and mind which is prepared for the will of God.

Thus also was it in the case of this governor [Mâr Aḥâ] concerning whom my feeble discourse is about to speak. And thus have I heard from those who recount his glorious deeds, that together with the splendour of his acts and the glorious brilliance of his doctrine, he shone with the radiant beauty of a fine stature and a noble presence, and he was also born of believing and God-loving parents. Now this village of Awâkh was very famous for its fear of God, and concerning its church it is said that there were seventy priests in it at one time. And it came to pass that the blessed Mâr Aḥâ and another brother called Shûbhḥâl-Mâran were left orphans, for their father died when they were little children, and the believing woman their mother brought them up until they arrived at years of discretion; and they went forth from their village and came with their mother to Shalmath, a village of Saphsâphâ,[5] and entered the school there. And they were maintained [there] by the labour and care of the

[1] Compare וְהוּא אַדְמוֹנִי עִם־יְפֵה עֵינַיִם וְטוֹב רֹאִי 1 Samuel xvi. 12.

[2] Compare מַרְאֵיהֶם טוֹב וּבְרִיאֵי בָּשָׂר Daniel i. 15.

[3] Read ܕܥܟ. [4] Read ܣܟܪ.

[5] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 223.

venerable woman their mother, who is worthy of remembrance for good, and they studied Divine doctrine; and that power which protected the beauty of Joseph and Moses in Egypt and of Daniel in Babylon, protected the beauty of the blessed Mâr Aḥâ from temptations. And when they had come to the estate of manhood they two came and made themselves disciples in this monastery. Now the time in which nature had brought them into existence, was, according to what is said, a time of scarcity of food. And when they had laboured in the monastery[1] and had gone forth into cells, they brought to themselves the venerable old woman their mother, who had toiled during her widowhood and who had worked with her hands and reared them, by whose counsels their youth had been guarded from wantonness, and through whose care they had become learned in the Holy Scriptures, and they rewarded her with natural love in the manner which was her due,[2] [p. 117] and until the day of her death she was never separated from them, neither were they neglectful in ministering unto her. Now while Rabban Mâr Aḥâ wrote books, his brother Shûbhḥâl-Mâran was a book-binder.[3] And Rabban Mâr Aḥâ grew and increased and became exalted in the deeds of a pious life, which are perfected in the body[4] and the soul by those who are ascetics in very truth. And he subdued the passions, and purified the senses, and enlightened the movements

[1] *I. e.*, had passed through the period of labour in serving the community which was prescribed by the canons of monastic life. See *B. O.* iii. 2. p. 858.

[2] ܡܬܬܚܝܒܢܘܬܐ, a rare word.

[3] ܡܕܒܩܢܐ.

[4] Read ܕܦܓܪܐ.

of the mind, and that word which one of the holy men wrote was in very truth fulfilled in him, "Now in the time of youth doctrine groweth up together with the soul and is mingled with it. And it dwelleth in silence for a long time working in the two parts, [that is] in the spirit and in the body, according to the ordinance of the fathers. By its labour in the body it giveth to the needy, and receiveth strangers, and by the things of the spirit it shineth and enlighteneth." And he was directed and was guided [until][1] necessity drove him to the headship of the monastery and he drew near to subdue it.

CHAPTER XXXV.

OF THE ELECTION OF THE BLESSED MAN MÂR AḤÂ TO THE HEADSHIP OF THIS HOLY CONGREGATION.

Now when the blessed Mâr John, the head of the monastery who preceded him, was elected to the episcopacy of the Apostolic throne of Bêth Bĕghâsh,[2] and this congregation remained without his fatherly care, and without a man to succeed him and to stand at its head, Mâr Aḥâ knew that the election to the headship by all the brethren was ready to fall upon him; and he left his cell, and hid himself secretly in the monastery[3] for many days. [p. 118] And when [the consecration of] the blessed John was completed by Ṣĕlibhâ-Zĕkhâ the Patriarch, he came here; and when he asked

[1] Read ܥܕ ܐܠܨܬܗ.

[2] See *supra*, p. 236, note 2.

[3] Read ܒܡܥܪܬܐ.

concerning Mâr Aḥâ, and they[1] said, "He has fled", he adjured his brother Shûbhḥâl-Mâran to find him wherever he was. And the brethren went to seek him, and they brought him out of the secret place[2] in which he had hidden himself, and thus by the ordinance of Mâr John, and at the entreaty of the whole brotherhood, the blessed Mâr Aḥâ, who was beautiful in appearance and beautiful in mind, stood at the head of the planets, the children of the angel of light, Mâr Jacob. And he walked in all the modest manner of life which befits the humble, without ever thinking within his pious and lowly soul that he was the head and governor of the monastery. And while he entrusted to others the business of the management of the internal affairs of the monastery, and of going to the gate of princes, he himself, according to the custom of the other governors who were before him, sat quietly in the patriarchal chamber. And according to the tradition of his uncle,[3] there used to be sent to him each evening from the refectory, one single kind of food, without much water in it, and it was not even prepared specially for him, for it consisted of ordinary bread and a little onion with some water. And thus the ship of his humility travelled on, with a guiding wind blowing and with its swift sails[4] bellied out, and it flew on and passed through all the storms which sink ships and

[1] Read ܘܐܡܪܘ.

[2] ܡܛܫܝܬܐ *a hiding place.* In Brit. Mus. MSS. Or. 2441, fol. 136*b*, col. 1, and Rich 7203, fol. 56*b*, col. 2, and in Hoffman, *Syrisch-Arabische Glossen*, Kiel, 1874, p. 166, No. 4365. ܡܛܫܝܬܐ = المختفيات.

[3] Read ܕܕܗ.

[4] ܐܪܡܝܢܘܢ = ἄρμενον.

destroy wealth without regard. And the venerable old men, who received it from their masters, have told us that when he came into the congregation,[1] and stood at the head of the rows [of monks], from the beginning of the service until it was ended, he neither lifted up his eyes nor looked upon any man, but that from the beginning until the last 'Amen' he kept his eyes continually bent down to the ground in front of his feet, and upon the top of the sandals in which they were. And he made his passions submissive slaves, and he brought them under the yoke of order from the time that he was a novice; [p. 119] and he made his soul to possess good habits, so that not even between himself and his soul, did he make free with his body, even as his master Abbâ Isaias[2] commanded him. And thus all the time in which he ministered in the office of head, the sons of his congregation were in need of no teaching, for the holy sight of his person sufficed, as in the case of that brother who, together with many others, used to go to Abbâ Antonius[3] each

[1] Read ܕܠܟܢܘܫܝܐ.

[2] *I. e.*, Isaias of Scete, who was a contemporary of the two Macarii, Poemen, Sisoes, Paphnutius and many other famous ascetics who lived at the end of the IVth century of our era. See Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclés.*, VII. p. 194, col. 2; Cotelerius, *Eccles. Graec. Monumenta*, t. 1. pp. 445, 596, 801, 808; Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, vol. ii. pp. 458—465; Assemani, *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 46, col. 2. The Isaiah referred to and quoted so often by Palladius was the brother of Paesius, and both were the sons of a merchant who carried on business in Spain ܚܬܢ ܠܟܢܫܐ: ܚܕ ܐ ܠܟܪܐ: ܕܦܩܕܬ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܬܘܓܪܐ; one brother gave all his wealth to the poor, and the other employed his in founding and endowing a monastery.

[3] *I. e.*, Anthony the Great. See *supra*, p. 30.

year to see him. And when Abbâ Antonius asked him, while all the other brethren were asking questions and gaining instruction, saying, "My son, how long hast thou been coming to me thus? and why dost thou depart in silence?" that brother said to him, "It is sufficient for me, O father, to see thee, that is to say the sight of thee maketh me wise, and [teacheth me] to emulate thy manner of life." Even so did this our holy father become a mirror of divine beauties to all those round about him, and while the eyes of all his children in this congregation were looking upon him, heavenly splendour filled his person like that of an angel. And they too became benefited, and their minds were quieted, and they became wise by [following] his holy example.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

OF THE ELECTION OF THE HOLY MÂR AḤÂ, THE HEAD OF THIS MONASTERY, TO THE OFFICE OF METROPOLITAN.

Now when our all blessed father Rabban Mâr Aḥâ had excelled in these and such like things, and had led this holy congregation towards heaven for many years, the blessed Mâr John our Metropolitan, [p. 120] forsook the habitation with creatures of dust, and was united with and rested among the companies of spiritual beings; and in a good old age, and [after] a life of Apostolic deeds he was gathered to his fathers. Now certain people who were chief among the believers of Adiabene, namely, the *dahḳânê*[1] and noblemen, having had

[1] ܕܗܩܢ̈ܐ, more correctly ܕܗܩܢ̈ܐ. *Dihḳân* is the Arabic form of an earlier *dahyankâna*. Compare the Armenian *dehkan*

experience of the piety of the life of the divine man Mâr John the Metropolitan, and having also received by tradition from their fathers concerning the holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh,[1] and the blessed Mâr George,[2] and the excellent Simon,[3] men who had become Metropolitans over them from this holy monastery, were compelled with all the force of necessity to consider that steadfast shepherds had in all generations and in all times been appointed to them from [this] paternal congregation. And because they had elected Mâr John from this monastery, they decided with one accord, saying, "So far as it is possible for us we will not have a head[4] over

'the governor of a province.' In the Ḳâmûs (ed. Bûlâḳ A. H. 1303, t. IV. p. 221) الدِهْقَان is explained by زَعِيمُ فَلَّاحى العَجَمِ وَرَئِيسُ الاقْلِيمِ مُعَرَّبٌ Plur. دَهَاقِنَةٌ, and دَهَاقِينُ. The *dihḳân*, then, were a class of noble landed proprietors. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 1900, p. 239; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 446 f.; Bedrossian, *New English and Armenian Dict.*, Venice, 1875—79, p. 138, col. 1; and Lagarde, *Armenische Studien*, p. 43, no. 603 (in *Abhandlungen der Historisch-Philologischen Classe der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen*, Band XXII.). According to Mas'ûdî, Wahkert (وهكرت) was the first man who bore the title of *dihḳân*, تدهقن, and the دهاقون were divided into five classes, each of which wore its own distinctive garments. See *Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, tom. ii. p. 241. From Thomas of Margâ we learn that they paid tribute to the Shahrighân their superiors ܡܕܐܬܐ ܕܝܗܒܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܫܠܝܛܢܝܗܘܢ ܕܡܪܙܒܢܐ ܘܡܕܝܢܬܐ: ܘܡܢ ܠܘܬܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܦܩܕܝܢ ܥܠ ܕܗ̈ܩܢܐ Book iii, chap. 3 (Syriac text), p. 152.

[1] See *supra*, p. 131. [2] See *supra*, p. 179, note 5.

[3] See *supra*, p. 217.

[4] Reading ܢܗܕܪ from ܗܕܪ. Compare Lagarde, *Praetermissorum*. (Bar-Hebraeus on the Psalms) p. 164. l. 89; ܢܗܕܪ ܡܢ ܗܕܪܬܐ ترأس; Duval, *Lexicon Syriacum*, col. 344; *Cat. Bibl. Vat.*, t. iii, p. 354.

us except from among the congregation of the children of Rabban Jacob." And they went down to the holy father of fathers, Mâr Abhâ the Catholicus,[1] and brought a letter of prohibition[2] of the blessed Rabban Mâr Aḥâ, and thus he was of sheer necessity obliged to go down and receive the consecration[3] to the great work of the Metropolitanship of the countries of Âthôr[4] and Adiabene. And when he came up to his country the believing men of his diocese received him as an angel of light, and as the Apostle Simon Peter. And they found the head whom they had chosen for themselves exceeded by far all the expectation which they had formed of him in their minds, both in great and in glorious things, and in learning and in the sanctity of his life.

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[1] *I. e.*, Mâr Abhâ surnamed ܒܪ ܒܪܝܟ ܨܒܝܢܗ, Bar-bĕrîkh Ṣebhyâneh, from Kashkâr. He was the second Nestorian patriarch of that name and succeeded Phethion A. D. 740; he died A. D. 750 aged one hundred and ten years, and was buried in Seleucia. He was a learned man, and skilled in the knowledge of ecclesiastical works, and he is said to have passed all his time in reading books, ܘܟܠܗ ܙܒܢܗ ܒܩܪܝܢܐ ܕܟܬܒܐ ܡܬܢܗܐ ܗܘܐ See Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. col. 153. According to ʿAbhd-Îshôʿ he wrote a "Book on Generals, and Commentaries and Interpretations full of learning" ܟܬܒܐ ܕܥܠ ܡܦܩܢܐ ܘܦܘܫܩܐ ܘܡܦܫܩܢܘܬܐ ܡܠܝܐ ܝܘܠܦܢܐ. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 158f.

[2] ܟܠܝܢܐ = κώλυσις = ἀφορισμός = ἀκοινωνησία. See Hoffmann, *Verhandlungen der Kirchenversammlung zu Ephesus am XXII. August CDXLIX aus einer Syrischen Handschrift*, p. 92, note 146, p. 97, note 263, (in *Schriften der Universität zu Kiel*, Band XX, published by the Academia Christiana Albertina of Kiel).

[3] ܫܘܡܠܝܐ = χειροτονία = ܣܝܡ ܐܝܕܐ.

[4] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 182, 210ff.

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CHAPTER XXXVII.

OF THE HOLY MÂR ÎSHÔʿ-YAHBH THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY.

And when the blessed Mâr Aḥâ left the headship of the monastery, and was exalted from glory to glory, and passed from strength to strength, according to the [words of the] Book [of Psalms],[1] he ordained that the blessed Rabban Îshôʿ-yahbh should be his successor, and that he should be the guardian of this holy congregation in his stead. And finally, after many years, after the death of the holy and pious man, the good servant of Jesus Christ our Lord, Mâr Abraham, Bishop of Nineveh, Îshôʿ-yahbh, the head of our monastery, was made Bishop of the city of Nineveh[2] by the hands of Mâr Aḥâ; and concerning this Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh I will relate many things at the end [of this history].

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[1] Psalm lxxxiv. 7.

[2] *I. e.*, of Môṣul, (المَوْصِل, the place where two things join or meet) the town on the left bank of the Tigris opposite to the mound called Kouyunjik, which marks part of the site of ancient Nineveh. الموصل قاعدة ديار الجزيرة وهى على دجلة فى جانبها الغربى وقبالة الموصل من البرّ الآخر الشرقى مدينة نينوى (*Géographie d'Aboulféda* ed. Reinaud and Mac Guckin de Slane, p. 285. See also Yâḳût iv, p. 682f. An interesting account of this town is given by Ibn-Baṭûṭah (ed. Defrémery and Sanguinetti ii. p. 134f.), and for modern writers on Môṣul and its district see Rich, *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan, and on the site of ancient Nineveh*, vol. ii, p. 29ff.; Felix Jones, *Notes on the Topography of Nineveh*, in Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. XLIII. New Series, p. 404ff.; Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul*, Zweiter Theil

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OF THE MIRACLE WHICH THE BLESSED MÂR AḤÂ WROUGHT.

Now if we who are under the yoke of government judge ourselves, we shall not be judged by those who hold the reins of government; and if we are obedient to their good counsels, and to their wise commands, Justice will not sharpen the sword of its vengeance against us. If, however, we tread these under foot we prepare ourselves for severe punishment. And how does this apply here? Now there was in Adiabene a man who had transgressed by a notorious[1] sin which it is not necessary for me to set down here; [p. 122] and the eye witnesses[2] and those who had been injured in the matter having come, they brought their accusation against him to that wise head while he was sitting in the temple. And according to the express canon, "A man is innocent in his own judgment, but when his companion cometh he trieth him," he sent after the offender, and rebuked him gently, saying, "If thou hast committed this offence, confess it, and thou wilt be

Stuttgart, 1857; Sachau, *Reise in Syrien und Mesopotamien*, p. 341 ff.; Černik, *Technische Studien-Expedition durch die Gebiete des Euphrat und Tigris*, [forming nos. 44, 45 of Petermann's *Geographischen Mittheilungen*, (Ergänzungsheften)], Gotha, 1875; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, and Fletcher, *Notes from Nineveh*, London, 1850.

[1] ܡܦܪܣܝܐ. In Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203 fol. 162*b*, col. 1, and Orient. 2441, fol. 348*a*, col. 1, ܡܦܪܣܝܐ = ܦܪܣܝܐ, and ܡܦܪܣܐ and ܡܦܪܣܝܐܝܬ = ܦܪܣܝܐܝܬ.

[2] ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܕܟܕ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܣܗܕܐ ܚܙܝܐ ܐܘ ܡܠܘܫܐ ܐܘ ܡܫܒܠܢܐ ܕܐܝܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܢܨܝܢ Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 2441, fol. 348*a*, col. 2.

accepted by God in repentance, if thou desirest;" now as he disputed the matter his accusers reproached him, but neither at their testimony nor at the admonition of the holy man was he ashamed. And the Metropolitan answered and said to him, "Inasmuch as thou wilt persist in remaining unpersuaded, and art no more put to shame by us than thou art by other men, let the Lord take vengeance upon thee for thy sin." And he cursed him, saying, "I trust in our Lord who hath made us servants of this pasture, and hath given us power that every thing that we bind or loose in heaven and in earth shall be bound or loosed, that if thou art guilty, thou shalt receive the penalty which thou deservest; but that if, on the contrary,[1] thou art innocent, thou shalt be preserved free from harm." And hardly were the words from the mouth of the holy man ended, when the plastering[2] of the ceiling of the temple fell down cubit by cubit upon the head of that wretched man; and thus being exposed and made a mockery of he fell down in the temple in the presence of the holy man and of a large congregation, and his soul left him and departed. And fear fell upon every man at the words of the blessed man Mâr Aḥâ.

[1] Read [illegible].

[2] [illegible], a rare word.

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CHAPTER XXXIX.

OF THE REVELATION AND INDICATION OF WHAT SHOULD HAPPEN TO THE BLESSED AND HOLY MÂR AḤÂ, AND OF HOW HE SHOULD END HIS LIFE, AND [WHERE] HE SHOULD BE BURIED.

Now, according to the word of Mâr Xystus,[1] "God loveth the soul of the righteous man, and showeth plainly in his mind what is, and what is about to be;"[2] and again, "The soul of the righteous man is betrothed to God, and the soul of the righteous man seeth God, in that it bears itself before Him, according to His will."[3] Even thus to the soul of the holy Mâr Aḥâ, the vigorous worker of His will, did He reveal the measure of his life, and the place of his death, and the place where he should rest; and he constrained his

[1] Bishop of Rome from A. D. 432—440. See Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, Mar. 28; and *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 48.

[2] See Gildemeister, *Sexti Sententiarum recensiones Latinam Graecam Syriacas conjunctim exhibuit*, Bonn, 1873. The Syriac text has been published by Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca*, Leipzig, 1858.

[3] Sapientis anima deo aptatur a deo. ψυχὴ σοφοῦ ἁρμόζεται πρὸς θεόν. Sapientis anima semper intuetur deum. (ἀεὶ θεὸν ὁρᾷ.) Sapientis anima semper est cum deo (σύνεστιν ἀεὶ θεῷ). See Gildemeister, *Sexti Sententiarum*, pp. 70, 71, Nos 416—418. In Lagarde, *Analecta*, p. 23, l. 30, and p. 24, ll. 1—6, the passage runs:— ܢܦܫܐ ܓܝܪ ܕܚܟܝܡܐ ܠܗ ܡܩܪܒܐ ܕܢܚܘܐ. ܡܬܚܙܝܐ ܗܝ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ. ܢܦܫܗ ܕܙܕܝܩܐ ܡܬܡܟܪܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܢܦܫܗ ܕܙܕܝܩܐ ܒܟܠܙܒܢ ܚܙܝܐ ܠܐܠܗܐ. ܢܦܫܗ ܕܙܕܝܩܐ ܒܟܠܙܒܢ ܡܬܚܒܪܐ ܠܡܫܡܫܘ ܨܒܝܢܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ. ܢܦܫܗ ܕܙܕܝܩܐ ܒܟܠܙܒܢ ܥܡ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܝܗ. ܢܦܫܗ ܕܗܘ ܕܥܒܕ ܨܒܝܢܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܕܢܬܕܟܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܗܝܟܠܐ. ܘܐܝܢܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܢܦܫܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ: ܟܕ ܡܠܐ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ܘܒܗܝ ܒܟܠܗܝܢ ܠܐܠܗܐ ܢܦܫ ܘܡܢܗ ܗܘ ܢܦܫܗ ܕܙܕܝܩܐ ܡܬܢܗܪܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܫܦܝܪܘܬܐ ܡܬܠܘܐ ܒܐܠܗܘܬܐ.

soul and added to the acts of his ascetic life. So then, by the might of his prayers, I will write down the rest of this history which is to follow, and I will show forth to my supine companions those pillars of light [who] went forth from this holy congregation, the histories of whom have been allowed to fall into oblivion by the slothful, (of whom I myself am one), and have not been written down, and behold it is many many years ago since thou, O beloved of his Lord, and friend of His saints, Mâr ʿAbd-Îshôʿ, didst with all manner of wrestlings and supplications require of me to set before thee in writing those things which I had been accustomed to sow in thine ears. But I was not[1] persuaded to do this, for two reasons, firstly because [the writing of] histories brings upon those who compose them severe labour, and secondly because of the cessation from daily work, and the constant urging of the mind [which is necessary] to produce and bring forth into remembrance the deeds and glorious acts [of holy men], which have been laid up in its store house for a long time.

Now when [this Mâr Aḥâ] was a child and was in the school of the village of Shalmath,[2] he saw a dream in which he was clothed in the garments of the priesthood, like a bishop, and was attired with the mitre,[3] and held the episcopal staff. And he was

[1] Read ܠܐ. [2] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 223.

ܦܩܝܠܐ = φακεώλιον "fascia qua caput involuebant olim Saraceni." See Du Cange, Gloss. *Script. Med. et Inf. Graecitatis*, col. 1657. ܦܩܝܠܐ is glossed in A by ܟܘܒܥܐ, a word which is explained in Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 180*b*, col. 2, by مِنْدِيل *turban, the strip of cloth of which a turban is made*, and شستجة *head-cloth*. In Orient 2441, fol. 371*b*, col. 1, we

coming into the village as if he had journeyed thither from a place some distance off, [p. 124] and because of his weariness he sat down in the temple there. And a man, exceedingly glorious, stood up above him, and answered and said to him, "Behold, since thou art weary and fatigued, rest thyself from thy labour and trouble in this temple;" and taking the dress of ministration off from him, he said to him, "Sleep now until I call thee." Now in his youth he did not understand this vision, but when he had received the office of chief priest, he remembered the dream and meditated upon it. And when Rabban Simon, the holy teacher who finally became Bishop of Bêth Bĕghâsh,[1] was building the temple of the village of Shalmath of stones and lime, the holy Mâr Aḥâ came according to his custom to visit that village like the others. And he passed the night in the temple there, while it was yet unfinished, and a vision was shewn unto him twice,[2] the first time dimly, but the second time exceedingly clearly; but what manner of vision it was I have never learned. And on the morrow, when that holy teacher went to him he asked, "How much hast thou spent upon this temple?" and Mâr Simon said, "I have spent so much and so much." Mâr Aḥâ said to him, "How much more then, according to what the builders say,

have the same explanation with the addition of قِناع *head-cloth*, بُرْقُع *veil*, ܣܘܕܪܐ (= ܐܣܛܠܝܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܪܝܫܐ = شَوْذَر, σουδάριον), and reference is made to the passage in Genesis xxxviii. 19, ܥܙܩܬܟ ܘܫܘܫܦܟ ܘܚܘܛܪܐ ܕܒܐܝܕܟ where ܫܘܫܦܐ = פְּתִילֶךָ. In the Book of Paradise ܫܘܫܦܐ = ܣܘܕܪܐ a napkin "which Roman ladies wound round their heads." See the quotation in Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2442.

[1] See *supra*, p. 236, note 2. [2] Read [illegible].

will be required to finish it?" and he said to him, "So much." And Mâr Aḥâ brought out the money from his purse, and gave to him, and answered and said, "It hath been pointed out to me by the Lord that I shall end my transitory life in this temple, and that it shall be to me a place of rest until the revelation of our Lord." And the teacher answered joyfully[1] and said to him, "Thou hast announced exceedingly joyful tidings to me, that in this temple which is built by us both, we shall [both] be buried[2] until the day of the revelation of the Raiser of the dead." [p. 125] The Metropolitan said to him, "Not so, for thou buildest, but I shall inherit." Rabban Simon said to him, "How?" The Metropolitan said, "There is another temple in which thou shalt be buried, viz., in the Monastery of Bâi,[3] which is in the country of Bêth Bêghâsh, for thou shalt be appointed bishop by the governor who shall come after me, and there shalt thou finish the allotted course of thy life." And thus did it come to pass according to the word of the holy Mâr Aḥâ, for after his death[4] the blessed Mâran-ʿammeh, Bishop of Salâkh, succeeded him, and he made Mâr Simon Bishop of Bêth Bêghâsh; and after three years he ended his life, and was laid in the church of Bâi, the seat of the Bishops of Bêth Bêghâsh. Now I learned these things from Râmâ, an old and venerable deacon of the church of the village of Shalmath, and from Mâr Îshôʿ-zêkhâ, him of whom we have written previously,[5] who was

[1] ܒܚܕܘܬܐ. [2] Reading with Vat. ܢܬܩܒܪ.

[3] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 227, and *supra*, p. 236, note 2.

[4] The last few lines of this chapter are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 481, col. 2.

[5] Chapter XXXII. see *supra*, p. 241.

consecrated Metropolitan of the church of Salâkh by Mâr John, who died in peace, and in whose room Mâr Aḥâ appointed another, Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh.

CHAPTER XL.

OF ABBÂ ḤANANYÂ, WHO ATE VEGETABLES AND PASTURED WITH ANIMALS, AND WHO LIVED IN THIS MONASTERY IN THE TIME OF THE HOLY MÂR AḤÂ.[1]

Now I came to this holy monastery when I was a young man,[2] in the two hundred and seventeenth year of the era of the dominion of the Arabs, [before any] of these histories had been written by me.[3] And I used to listen to the histories of certain of the holy men, and by reason of the fervour which burned in me I used to make enquiries concerning them, [p. 126] and to learn about each one of them from the old men who were to be found here. Now therefore the vener-

[1] The first seven lines of this chapter are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 464, col. 1.

[2] Read with Vat. ܛܠܝܐ ܗܘܝܬ.

[3] The words ܠܣܘܟܡ ܡܢܗܝܢ are corrupt, and should probably be omitted. Assemânî has ܟܕ ܠܐ ܡܢܗܝܢ ܘܡܟܬܒܢܘ̈ܬܐ ܠܣܘܟܡ ܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܛܝܝ̈ܐ ܕܗܠܝܢ ܘܟܬܒ, but some word like ܣܘܟܡ seems to be wanting before ܕܗܠܝܢ. The words ܠܣܘܟܡ ܡܢܗܝܢ may be part of a clause in which Thomas stated in years of the Christian era how long ago it was that he came to Bêth ʿÀbhê, or began to write, or we might even translate them "[about] two hundred and . . . years ago." A. H. 217 = A. D. 832. ܣܘܟܡܐ = σήκωμα, *reckoning, era.* Cf. ܣܘܟܡ ܝܘܢܝ̈ܐ = era of Alexander, and ܣܘܟܡ ܡܪܢ = era of our Lord, and see the passages quoted in Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2719.

able elder Rabban Matthew,[1] who had had as master a very old and venerable man whose name was Abbâ Mâran-zĕkhâ, and whose cell was, as I learned from him, in the days of his youth near Gâr Kâhnê, used to say to me from time to time, "Come with me and I will shew you the cave of Abbâ Mâran-zĕkhâ;" and this same Rabban Matthew informed me concerning Rabban Mâr Ìshô῾-zĕkhâ, who became bishop of our native country.[2] And when I was rehearsing before him the wonderful things which had happened to us in Salâkh through him, not knowing that he had lived in this monastery, he said to me, "This Bishop whose glorious acts thou art relating, came from this monastery, and his cell is in Gâr Kâhnê. And he had near him in Gâr Kâhnê, in a little cave, a certain companion who was surnamed 'Abbâ Ḥananyâ of the wild goats.' And according to what I learned from my venerable

[1] Compare chap. XXXII, *supra*, p. 240.

[2] *I. e.*, Salâkh.

The ܬܘܪܚܐ, or ܬܪܚܐ is the *capra Caucasica* described by Ainsworth in *Jnl. Geogr. Soc.*, II. 27, which is sculptured at Gunduk, and which I myself have seen many times near the Sinjàr mountains, and between Môṣul and Al-Ḳôsh. The Arabic form of the word is تُرُّخ — الماعز الجبلى, and the Assyrian *tu-ra-ḫu*. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 133, p. 18; Dozy, *Supplément*, col. 144; and Nöldeke, *Z.D.M.G.*, Bd. xxxiii. p. 331. Tu-ra-ḫu is the Assyrian rendering of the Accadian DA. RA. See Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, i. pl. 15, col. VII. l. 6; ii. pl. 6, l. 10*c*; iii. pl. 70, l. 51; v. pl. 50, l. 46*b*; Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss*, No. 9050, p. 1116; and Bruno, *A Classified List*, No. 2947, p. 139. Brit. Mus. MS. Orient 2441, fol. 397*b*, col. 1 has ܣܘܢܐ ܘܘܝ (وَاوِي = ابن آوى) ܬܘܪܚܐ ܦ. "jackal," and ܬܪܚܐ ܦ. ܬܘܪܚܐ. ܬܘܪܚܢܐ: ܠܟܠܒܐ. In Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 207*a*, col. 1 ܬܘܪܚܢܐ = الترخين.

master Mâran-zĕkhâ, the life of his master was extended[1] until he reached a very, very old age, and once a week or fortnight he used to carry him [on his back] as if he had been a bundle[2] and bring him to partake of the sacrament. And the manner of life of this old man was, according to what I have learned, that he had neither fence nor door [to his cell], nor a place for retreat, nor anything, except that vegetable food[3] upon which, with a little bread, of which he ate in small portions and very sparingly,[4] he lived. But like the ostrich[5] which hath neither nest, nor cover, and which leaveth her eggs on the warm sand without care, according to the natural instinct which the Creator of the universe hath implanted in her, so also was the life of that old man, [p. 127] worthy of all good things. And at night while wandering in the wilderness, and passing the night with wild animals on the tops of the hills, by reason of his weariness and watching and labour, he used to prepare a little place and to lie down with them. Now the animals had had experience

[1] Read, with Vat., ܕܢܓܠܘܗ.

[2] ܟܪܟܐ = الكَارَّة, more correctly ܟܰܪܟܳܐ. See Hoffmann, *Syrisch-Arabische Glossen,* No. 4886, page 190.

[3] ܐܘܪܩܡܘܢܐ = ܐܘܪܩܡܘܢ̈ܐ, = غَدَاء *morning meal,* = قُوت, قَاتِت. *food,* Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 198*a,* col. 2.

[4] The reading of B C ܡܣܬܦܪܣ is perhaps to be preferred here, for it is connected either with ܦܪܣܐ *demensum,* σιτομέτριον (Luke xii. 42), or ܦܪ̈ܣܐ See Payne Smith, *Thes.,* coll 3276, 3279; and Bezold, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie,* Bd. ii. p. 46ff.

[5] More correctly ܓܦܐ ܕܢܥܡܝܢ = כְּנַף־רְנָנִים Job xxxix. 13. In *Awṣâr Râzê* Bar-Hebraeus explains the word:—ܗܘ. ܢܥܡܝܢ ܒܢ̈ܬ ܦܪܚܬܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܬܩܪܝܐ ܒܠܫܢ ܣܘܪܝܝܐ. ܗܢܘܢ ܕܢܥܡܝܢ ܒܩܠܐ ܦܪ̈ܚܐ ܡܫܒܚܢܐ. ܘܒܥܪ̈ܒܝܐ ܠܥܢ̈ܝܐ ܦܪ̈ܚܐ ܘܦܪܚܬܐ ܕܢܥܡܐ.

of him and they did not flee away from him, as in the case of that blessed man of whom it is written in the [Book of] Paradise, "He prayed to God that the beasts might be at peace with him, and it was so."[1] And again, "He prayed that the fire might also be at peace with him, and it was to him even as [he had prayed]. And he used to gather sticks of wood, and set fire to them, and go up and sit upon them."[2] For when the heart of a holy man[3] is cleansed from these five kinds of sin, namely, the love of money, and gluttony, and the lust of the body, and anger, and pride, these five brethren[4] who were with that rich man who was suffering tortures in hell, even as one of the saints made the comparison,[5] all creation will be found to be friendly to him, both irrational animals[6] and noxious reptiles; even as we may learn from the histories of holy men, as for example, that of the blessed old man Simon[7] who was ministered unto by a lion; and that anchorite in the history of the triumphant Mâr Milles[8] with whom a serpent lived, and whom it did not hurt, who made the angels his companions and helpers. But

[1] For accounts of the lions who were friendly with Macarius, the serpents who were at peace with Paul, and the hyaenas among whom Pachon lived, see Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, pp. 228, 650, and 732.

[2] See Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 469, col. 1, about the middle.

[3] Read ܕܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ.

[4] The allusion is to "For I have five brethren". St. Luke xvi. 28.

[5] *I. e.*, a comparison between the five brethren and the five sins here named.

[6] Read ܘܠܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ.

[7] Probably the Simeon Priscus of Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 809.

[8] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 51, and compare Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 39*b*.

why should I speak of angels since he was the abode of the Trinity, the Lord of the worlds? Now this blessed man, according to what we have learned, they sustained[1] in this monastery, so that for the sake of his love for God, he loved the food of animals and their companionship and their habitations. And he was also accustomed, according to what is said of him, each morning, which was the season of the day in which he took his food, [p. 128] to light a fire, and to boil water and to pour it upon the roots and over the dry crusts of bread with which he used to sustain his life. Now this was his food, and this was the season of the day in which he partook of it; but whether this was actually the case or whether he did this wishing either to conceal his manner of life or to be held of no account, I have neither been able to understand, nor have those who related this to me been able to decide. And his neighbours being stirred up with anger and burning with wrath, said, "How can this most aged man lengthen out his life in prodigality?" Now from the mere sight of the fire did they come to this conclusion,[2] but of what his food consisted, and of what he had within his cave they knew nothing. And every time they came to the monastery[3] they repeated their re-

[1] Read ܣܰܝܒܪܘ ܕܡܕܰܒܪܳܢܶܗ, the allusion being to the angels.

[2] The offence of which this old man seems to have been guilty in the sight of the other monks was that he ate a meal cooked by fire in the morning. Strict monks ate once a day, in the evening, and they believed that the passions of the body could not be subdued if food were eaten oftener. Not understanding his manner of life they appear to have assumed that he ate a meal both evening and morning, and considering this to be a bad example for the other monks they reported the matter to Mâr Aḥâ.

[3] Read ܕܝܪܳܝܶܐ.

proaches against that old man and complained of him, saying, "The proximity of this old man leadeth us down and bringeth us to the depth of a lax and dissolute manner of life." And once, the holy Mâr Aḥâ the Metropolitan having consented, they brought before him an accusation against that holy old man, and he answered and said to them, "Go ye after him and bring him [here], but take heed that he doth not flee from you." And when they heard this they leapt up [the mountain] with light footsteps, and they came up with him and laid their hands upon him, and one of them took his turban, and threw it over his neck, while the others pulled it down from behind,[1] saying in a scoffing manner,[2] "O foolish old man, how long shall we bear reproaches for thy sake? Didst thou[3] not know that justice would at length rise up in judgment against thee? Hasten thy steps, for the judge awaiteth thee." And without answering them a single word he drew near and came to the spring which we call 'Rabban's Spring', [p. 129] and he saw round about it a flock of wild goats, and he said to them, "Peace [be] with you, O dwellers in the wilderness, children and companions of my habitation! While we were living together in peace ye did not deny my fellowship with you, neither did ye set yourselves afar off from my company. Behold, I am justly taken captive by the righteous, because like you, I eat my meal in the morning; now since your [manner of] life[4] and food is the same as mine, come and let us go together to the judgment

[1] *I. e.*, one seized the old man's turban, unrolled it, and threw it over his neck while the others dragged it down behind like a cowl.

[2] ܡܒܙܚܢܐܝܬ, a rare word.

[3] Read ܕܗܘܝܬ.

[4] For ܕܘܒܪ ܚܝ̈ܝ.

chamber, so that when the judge seeth that we are many, he may spare us because of our number, for it might happen that he would not shew mercy upon one despised creature; come then in the name of the Lord." Now while the brethren marvelled at these words which were not those of a demoniac,[1] and [saw][2] the animals, which came running towards him, lifting up their feet and wagging their tails on all sides round about him like dogs when they see their masters afar off, surround[3] that holy man, they let go their hands from him, and entreated his pardon for what they had thought; and when they had knelt down and prostrated themselves before him and had risen up they could not see him at all, and thus he passed out of their hands, and where he went and where he died until this day no man knoweth. And when the brethren came to the Metropolitan in grief and sorrow and shamefacedness of conscience which rebuked them, and made known to him what had happened, he was exceedingly angry with them, and he answered and said to them, "While the other monks who were your predecessors in the place in which ye live, made that holy old man the type and pattern of all correctness of life, and took refuge from all their trials and temptations in his prayers, and were delivered, you who come after them, [p. 130] and who dwell in the caves and desert of holy men, hath Satan stirred up with a foolish and empty zeal, that he may not allow you to look upon the correct lives of holy men in a proper manner. It is rather to the injury of your own souls and to the shame of your understanding, that ye have bespattered pious

[1] ܕܝܘܢܐ, *i. e.*, one possessed of a ܕܝܘܐ, = διαμονιζόμενος.

[2] Read ܘܚܙܘ ܠܚܝܘܬܐ.

[3] Read ܚܕܪܘܗܝ.

and blessed men with blemishes. But God our Lord will require of you the priceless pearl which ye have destroyed out of this monastery by your error. Moreover ye ought to be ashamed of all this wickedness which ye have wrought, in going to the place of the little hut where he lived, and prying into the manner in which he prepared his food. I, however, warned you away from there, saying, Take heed that he doth not escape out of your hands; and I urged him to work many great and divine things before you to put you to shame, the like of which no man has ever wrought in our time."

CHAPTER XLI.

OF THE BLESSED MÂRAN-ZĔKHÂ, BISHOP OF ḤADHATTÂ AND OF THE BISHOP WHO PASTURED CAMELS [WHOM HE FOUND].

Now when the holy Metropolitan Mâr Aḥâ was sitting on the holy throne of the church of the city of Ḥadhattâ,[1] the pious and glorious and blessed Bishop Mâran-zĕkhâ, the disciple and fellow-worker of Rabban Aphnî-Mâran, was accustomed on the holy days of the fast[2] of our Lord to go out and pass them in silence

[1] ܚܕܝܬܐ, الحَدِيثَة. The site of this city is marked by Keshaf, near Sulṭân 'Abd'ullah, which is situated on the left or east bank of the Tigris one *farsaḥ* below the Upper or Great Zâb. حديثة الموصل وهى بليدة كانت على دجلة بالجانب الشرقى قرب الزاب الاعلى Yâḳût ii. p. 222. See also Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 178; and Ritter, *Erdkunde*, ii, p. 665, note 2, and p. 669.

[2] See Feige, *Die Geschichte des Mâr 'Abhdîshô'*, p. 57.

in the mountain of the village of Zînai.[1] [p. 131] And once when he was journeying along the road to that mountain, he saw the figure of a man standing on the top of a hill with his face turned towards the east;[2] and as he drew near to it,—now he was to the west of that person,—he heard him raising[3] [his voice] in the hymn of the Resurrection from the Communion Service of the First day of the week,[4] which beginneth, "Come all ye peoples, let us move our lips," and little by little he went up and came close to him. And Mâran-zĕkhâ, before he perceived that man, wondered how this[5] pasturer of camels was able to sing this hymn which was so difficult that[6] not every man was capable of singing it, and where he had learned[7] it. And when the holy Mâran-zĕkhâ saw him he marvelled, and cried out in the customary way, "Peace"; but that blessed man answered him in Arabic,[8] speaking in barbarous[9] language, wishing to disguise himself. And

[1] A village which cannot have been very far from Ḥadhattâ. It is mentioned *supra*, p. 108.

[2] On worshipping towards the East see Badger, *The Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 413.

[3] ܐܪܝܡ ܩܘܠܐ means *to sing*, *to praise*. Cf. Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. 93, line 2 ff., where ܩܡܘ = ܐܪܝܡܘ; and our English use of the words "raise the song" in "Come, ye thankful people, come, Raise the song of Harvest-home." *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, No. 382, London 1875.

[4] *I. e.*, the service for the holy Eucharist on Easter Sunday. The lesson for the day is taken from the XXVIIIth chap. of St. Matthew. See Brit. Mus. Add. 17, 923, fol. 92*a*, (Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 184, no. 65), and *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. CCCXXXII.

[5] Read ܠܗܢܐ?. [6] Read ܕܠܘ.

[7] Read with BC ܝܠܦܗ. [8] ܛܝܝܐܝܬ.

[9] ܠܥܘܙܐ a word used to express indistinct and hasty speech المتكلّم بسرعة In Psalm cxiv. 1. עַם לֹעֵז = ܥܡܐ ܠܥܘܙܐ.

Bishop Màran-zĕkhâ fell down before him and affirming with oaths, said, "I will not rise up until thou dost promise me that thou wilt not hide from me who thou art;" and straightway the pasturer of camels said angrily to him in Arabic, "Rise up, master, what hast thou to do with me? depart in peace from my place."[1] And Màr Màran-zĕkhâ protested to him with an oath, saying, "If thou shouldst kill me I will not rise up until thou tellest me thy history. If thou art an Arab[2] as thou sayest [by thy speech], where didst thou learn this hymn of the Resurrection of our Lord which very few men are found to have ability enough to sing? and why were thy arms and face turned towards the east?" And when that holy man heard these things, and saw that he had been snared by his singing the hymn and the oath which that holy man had laid upon himself, he answered and said to him, "Swear to me, yea or nay, that if I do this I shall not be honoured in thine eyes, and that thou wilt not come to me continually, [p. 132] and that thou wilt send nothing to me." Now this he said knowing that he should speedily depart from this world as soon as any man perceived him. And he answered, saying, "Behold, Master, forty years ago I was appointed Bishop of the Scattered who were in the land of Egypt.[3] And when I had ministered in

[1] *I. e.*, قوم يا راهب ما لى ولك مُرّ بسلام من مكانى.

[2] ܥܘܪܒܝܐ = عُرْب "an Arab". Compare Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. 95, line 6, and see Thomas of Margà, p. 133, l. 17 (text).

[3] All the MSS. read ܒܐܪܥܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ, but it is very doubtful if Thomas of Margà refers to Egypt, where rain is not expected to fall regularly. Hoffmann thinks it more probable that the ܟܘܪܐ ܕܕܪܡܣܘܩ or country round about Damascus is referred to.

this office a short time, a scarcity of rain took place there, and I gathered together the believers, and I went forth [with them] to the desert to make supplication and entreaty to God. And those Arabs who dwell in tents came and surrounded me, and while every one else escaped, I remained because I thought that they would do me no harm; and they took me captive and brought me to their tents, and appointed me to be the shepherd of these camels which thou seest. And since I have determined[1] that this [work] is the will of our Lord, and also that it does not in anything separate me from a life of purity, and I am not brought in contact with them [*i. e.*, the Arabs], but am alone by myself in the desert, I praise God continually, and I remember that many of the saints were shepherds, and I am comforted. And as for this hymn which thou didst hear to-day, behold I am accustomed each day to perform the service of one festival of the Lord, and to watch, and to-day I performed the service of the Resurrection of our Lord, and I lifted up my voice in the hymn as if I had been standing in the temple before the altar of our Lord. And now, behold, for forty years I have been as thou

for we know that the Nestorians who were scattered about there had a bishop. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 107, col. 1; and iii. ii. p. CCCCXXXI. Or ܕܥܪܒܝܐ ܕܡܨܪܝܢ may be a corruption of ܕܡܥܪܬܐ ܡܨܪܝܢ = مَعَرَّةُ مَصْرِينَ, five farsaḥ south-west of Aleppo, to the west of Ḳinneshrîn and north of Idlib. See Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, fol. 126*b*; and Nöldeke, *Zur Topographie und Geschichte des Damascenischen Gebietes und der Haurângegend*, (in *Z.D.M.G.*, Bd. XXIX, p. 420ff.) where the list of places mentioned in Add. 14,602 is discussed.

[1] Literally, "I have set it down."

seest me, and our Lord hath protected me from all evil, and [the Arabs] have accounted me as one of their elders and as one of their brethren, because they found me upright and obedient. And I have received from them no compulsion to sin in any way; and I wait for the end of my life, which shall be completed according to the will of the Lord." Now when the holy Mâran-zĕkhâ heard these things, he wondered greatly and marvelled, [p. 133] and he was moved to tears, and that [other] holy man wept in company with him. And he answered and said to him, "Master, I will go back and bring money (*zûzê*)[1] and will give it [to thee] for thy deliverance, for I cannot leave thee in this ignominious and lowly condition." And that blessed man said to him, "Depart in peace to thy manner of life and to thy quietness, Mâr Bishop, and disturb not thyself with any of these things; for if during the whole period of the time which has gone by, I had wished either to escape or to sell myself, I could have done it. And moreover, this [work] in[2] which I am [occupied] is the will of God." And he urged the Bishop, saying, "Go in peace; and on Palm Sunday when thou goest down from the mountain to thy city, thou shalt come to me and shalt see me." And when the Bishop went again at dawn on the Sunday aforesaid, he saw a man in the place of that man, and thinking that it was he, he went up to him. And when he had seen him and saluted him, he asked him, "Where is the old man who pastured these camels

[1] For the Babylonian original of this word see Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy*, p. 88, London, 1893.

[2] Read [illegible]? Or instead of "work" we may understand "station" or "position in life."

a short time ago?" And he said to him, "He is dead." And the Bishop was grieved with a great and bitter grief, and said to him, "When?" and he said to him, "During these [last] days." And the Bishop took a turban cloth from his body and gave to the man, saying, "Take this, and go and shew me his grave, for I am his friend." And when he had gone with him and saw the grave afar off, the Bishop made the Arab leave him, saying, "Go now to thy camels," so that he might have the opportunity to weep. And he sat down upon the grave, and wept bitterly, like the widow who had buried her only son,[1] and he said, "Alas, my brother; alas, my brother! Why didst thou hide thy departure from me, and why didst thou not permit me to enjoy the sight of thee, but didst send me away from thee as the blessed Paul sent away Abbâ Antonius?"[2] And the blessed Mâran-zĕkhâ rose up and went to Ḥadhattâ, and kept the festival of Palm Sunday according to custom.

[p. 134] And on the second day of the week he invited the assembly of the priests, and many believers, and said unto them, "Come, let us go to the desert and bring from there Elijah; come with me to the wilder-

[1] Luke vii. 12.

[2] The allusion here is to Saint Paul, the First Hermit, (see *supra*, p. 30) who, when he felt that the time of his death was drawing near, sent off Antony to fetch the cloak which Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, had given him, in order that his body might be wrapped therein for burial. Paul wished to be left alone in prayer with God when the summons came. While Antony was on his road to bring the cloak he saw the soul of the blessed Paul being carried up to heaven by angels. See Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, vol. I. p. 185, Jan. 15, London 1812.

ness that ye may see John the Baptist; come with me and I will give you a holy body more excellent than [those of] the prophets." Now when they had gone forth in fear with that holy man their Bishop, and had arrived at the place where the grave was, they began to say the prayers and the service for any dead person.[1] And when they had performed the service of the dead for a whole day and the night which followed it, they began to dig up and uncover the grave, but they did not find that holy body. Now they found two woollen cloths,[2] one which formed the clothing which he put on, and the other the covering with which he covered himself [at night], but he himself hath disappeared unto this day; and in all sorrow they took these garments and went away having put the earth of the grave back in its place. Hail to this pair of holy men, for behold [this] our history is sanctified by the account of them, and our simple speech by their

[1] For the use of ܦܘܢܝܐ in this sense see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 3292. And see Wright, *Catalogue of Syr. MSS.*, p. 257, col. 1, No. 49; and p. 275, col. 2, No. 4, "The Commemoration of any one Saint" ܕܟܠ ܚܕ ܩܕܝܫܐ.

[2] ܥܒ̈ܝܬܐ *i. e.*, two large pieces of plain or coloured cloth, one of which wrapped around him served for clothes by day, and the other formed the counterpane under which he slept at night. According to Dozy, (*Supplément*, ii. p. 90) عَبَاء, or عَبَاءَة is, properly speaking, the name of a kind of stuff. Compare كِسَاء, the name of a stuff woven by the Arabs, or a large piece of woollen stuff used both as a blanket and mantle. (Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. p. 468). I have often seen the shepherds in Mesopotamia wearing these large pieces of sheep's wool cloth, and I have often been glad to borrow one from a member of a caravan to sleep under during the night. For a couple of hours they are proof against heavy rain.

glory! [Hail to] this venerable yoke of holy men which beareth upon its two shoulders the history of the holy Mâr Aḥâ their fellow labourer; one of whom pastured and made his habitation with the wild goats, and the other pastured the camels and lived his life with them! The children of men were unworthy to have near them the bodies of these men who possessed neither bed, nor pillow,[1] nor seat, nor candlestick, nor table; the earth was their bed, their knees were their tables, and herbs were their food.[2] The belly did not overcome them by its greediness; lust did not set them on fire with its ticklings; the blanket[3] of sickness never weighed them down; [p. 135] they never needed the medicines of the children of Galen because of the weight of their luxurious and dainty food. No Eve ever visited them and used her blandishments upon them;[4] they never tasted the [fruit of the] forbidden fig tree[5] which is sweet to the palate of the children of Adam; they never sweated behind the plough in the toilsome labour which bringeth forth thorns; they never offered their offerings in the neighbourhood of a Cain to be envied and slain;[6] they never drank wine and exposed their shame[7] and became a mockery unto a Canaan which was [only to be] perceived by the mind,[8] for their

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[1] ܟܣܬܐ = ܟܣܬܐ. The plur. fem ܟܣܬܘܬܐ (Neo-Syr ܟܣܬܐ) = Heb. כְּסָתוֹת Ezek. xiii. 18.

[2] ܠܘܩܒܠܗܘܢ for ܠܘܩܒܠܗܘܢ.

[3] ܚܡܝܠܬܐ, Arab. خَمْلَة, a soft coverlet or rug with fringed edges. See Dozy, *Supplément*, p. 406, col. 2.

[4] Genesis iii. 12.

[5] Genesis iii. 3, 4.

[6] Genesis iv. 8.

[7] Genesis ix. 21.

[8] ܡܬܒܝܢܢܐ cf. Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1562.

drink was water; they never brought burnt brick[1] to the building of the Tower of Pride which was formed by the agreement of senseless builders; they never saw the scourge[2] of confusion;[3] and they who pastured with the gazelles upon the mountain top instead of upon the top of that haughty tower fled from before the punishment. All these things [did they not do] by reason of the hope which is to come, in which although they saw it not yet they believed, and although it was afar off yet they accounted it to be near. They have a righteous One Who will reward them, and Who will recompense them in His world, not according to their [merits], but according to Himself, and to Whose reward all sufferings and all pains are not to be [accounted] equal; may He make us to be partakers with them in His joy through their prayers. Amen.

CHAPTER XLII.

OF THE BLESSED MÂR SERGIUS, BISHOP OF ḤENÂITHÂ.[5]

Now when the holy Mâr Dîndowai,[6] Bishop of Ma'allthâ, who had been ordained Metropolitan by the holy Mâr John, departed this trouble-bearing life, the

[1] In allusion to נִלְבְּנָה לְבֵנִים Genesis xi. 3.

[2] ܠܒܝܟܐ = πεπλασμένος. Cf. Bernstein in *Z.D.M.G.*, Bd. iii, p. 407; and Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. ܕ, l. 21 (ܠܒܝܟܐ [illegible]).

[3] ܣܩܘܛܐ = σκῦτος, literally, the leather whip with which boys were chastised.

[4] In ܒܘܠܒܠܐ there is an etymological allusion to the name Babel.

[5] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 216.

[6] Or Dêndowai.

blessed Mâr Aḥâ appointed as his successor the venerable Sergius, [p. 136] a monk and ascetic from this congregation, who was trained in the Scriptures, and who was enlightened in the understanding of them. And he pastured his flock piously with all the humility which befits the governors of the flocks of Christ; and during some small disturbance which took place in his country through a raid of the inhabitants of Dêlom[1] who came to Salâkh and Ḥĕnâithâ, he took all his books and came here, hoping for the repose of peace and of refreshing of spirit; and thus being insufficient for that which was expected [from him], he ended his life, and was also laid in this monastery of the house of his fathers.

CHAPTER XLIII.

OF ḤÛGAIR[2] THE BELIEVING NOBLEMAN, AND OF THE MONASTERY WHICH HE BUILT.

There was a believing man, whose name was Ḥûgair who belonged to a noble family. And he built a monastery between the village of Bâshôsh and Shalmath,[3] not with a godly will and intention, but rather for boasting and pride. And wishing to emulate good and prosperous men, he named the monastery by the Persian name of "Ḥûgair-Àbâd," after the manner of the Magians from whose race he had sprung. Now when he had

[1] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 1640; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, pp. 167, 478, 484; and *infra*, Bk. v. chap. 4.

[2] The MSS. have ܚܘܓܝܪ Ḥûgîr.

[3] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 224.

made it ready with all things, he wished it to be consecrated by the holy Mâr Aḥâ, and he waited for the time of his coming to this country; and when he had come Ḥûgair entreated him to take the trouble to go up with the teachers and scholars, and to sanctify the monastery which he had built. But the holy Metropolitan Mâr Aḥâ saw with the eye of the spirit that the Lord desired not this any more than the sacrifices to idols, and he answered and said to all those who were near, [p. 137] "This Monastery of Ḥûgair-Àbâd is ruined while it is yet new;" and he left it in its unconsecrated condition, and departed. And it was not consecrated afterwards, neither did the praise of the glorious Trinity ascend in it, and the remains of its building are well known and stand to this day.

CHAPTER XLIV.

OF THE DEPARTURE OF THE BLESSED METROPOLITAN MÂR AḤÂ FROM [THIS] TEMPORARY LIFE.

Now I was preparing to add [to the history of] the noble deeds of the holy Mâr Aḥâ [some account] of the excellent work which he did in the Church of God in respect of the two Patriarchs who lived in his days, I mean the Catholicus Sûrîn,[1] and the Catholicus

[1] Sûrîn seized upon the patriarchate A. H. 1065 = A. D. 754 and held it for fifty-six days. "He sat after Mâr Abhâ, and came from Seleucia. He was not guarded in his manner of life. He was formerly Metropolitan of Nisibis, but was translated to Ḥalwan (*i. e.*, حُلْوَان = ܟܠܚ, Calah). He was deposed in the year in which a Catholicus was appointed". Bar-Hebraeus,

Jacob,[1] and of how he went down with his Bishops, and of how, by his firmness and the fair fame of his life, he abolished the blameworthy Sûrîn from being Catholicus, and confirmed Jacob, and of how he shewed his tact and skill in such a way that no man could stand before him. But inasmuch as these things concerning him are set down in the writings of others, and as, moreover,

Chron. Eccles., ii. col. 155, and see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 616. According to 'Abhd-Îshô' (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 168) he wrote ܥܒܕ ܕܪܫܐ ܕܩܬܘܠܝܩܘܣ܆ ܒܡܘܬܒܐ ܡܫܠܠܐ܆ ܗܘܕܝܐ܆ ܘܐܡܝܢܝܐ ܘܕܘܡܝܐ܆ The Catholics who were deposed were Mâr(î)-bôkht, Narsai, Elisha, Joseph and Sûrîn or Sôrên; see Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 120.

[1] "Then arose Jacob and was appointed Catholicus in Seleucia, after the bishops had received from him an undertaking in writing that he would neither trangress the law nor abrogate the canon. In his days a church for the Nestorians was built at Tagrith (Tekrit) by the care of Ṣĕlîbhâ-zĕkhâ, Bishop of Ṭirhân, who had been cast in prison with Jacob the Catholicus. And when he was set free he began to restore the churches in Ṭirhân, and he also went to Paul the Maphrian at Tekrit and persuaded him to give permission for the Nestorians to build themselves a church in Tekrit. The Maphrian said, 'As far as I myself am concerned I have no objection, but I am afraid of the Patriarch and of the people of Tekrit. I counsel thee, however, to go to Nisibis and to persuade the Nestorians there to give back to the Jacobites the churches which they have taken from them, for then will the people of Tekrit allow a church to be built for you here.' And when Ṣĕlîbhâ-zĕkhâ had gone to Nisibis, and had made supplication to the aged Metropolitan Cyprian and to the Nestorians of Nisibis, they gave back to our people the famous Church of Mâr Domitius. And ten Jacobite merchants who were in Nisibis went down to Tekrit, and persuaded the people to allow a church to be built for the Nestorians." Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. coll. 155, 157. Jacob sat nineteen years, and died A. D. 773. See *B. O.*, ii. p. 432; iii. 1, pp. 205, 616.

we had formerly the intention to speak briefly about him as about his companions, I have passed over all these [as] extraneous matters, and come therefore to speak of the mournful end of his days. Now when he had arrived at the village of Shalmath on his visitation, he knew and felt also that he had arrived at the limit of the silence of his life, and through a short illness to which corporeal beings are subject, [p. 138] he like the [other] children of Adam lay down and slept the sleep of death. And according to the revelation and visions which had been upon him in his youth and old age, his venerable body was laid in that holy temple which is in this village. And he was a haven of help to all those who took refuge therein, and may God the Lord of all, through his prayers order that we also like him may depart from this world with fair renown, while lifting up praise to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, now and always and for ever! Amen.

Here endeth the Second Book.

[P. 139] # BOOK III.

THE AUTHOR'S APOLOGY TO THE BELIEVING AND HONOURABLE ḤASÂN.

Now the blessed brethren of the monastery of Bêth 'Âbhê have completely set aside and made to slip from out of the fingers of our history the account of the holy Mâr Mâran-'ammeh,[1] the Metropolitan Bishop of Adiabene, and it hath not been embodied[2] in our feeble lines because they exhorted me to crown with my discourse only such holy men as have lived in that holy monastery, and to omit [all] others. But this is not pleasing in thy sight, and by thy divine command thou hast required of me that I should also compose a history of that blessed man, and set down in writing an account of him based upon that which is handed down by word of mouth, that it may be joined to the equipage[3] of the histories of the governors who lived

[1] See *infra*, p. 304 ff.

[2] ܠܡܬܓܫܡܘܬܐ *embodiment*, الجسمية Cf. ܠܡܬܓܫܡܘ ܡܠܐ and ܠܡܬܓܫܡܘ ܡܠܐ Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 794.

[3] ܘܢܓܕܐ. This very rare word is explained in Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. 96, l. 1 f. by ܣܕܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܡܐܢܐ ܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܕܒܗܘܢ ܢܩܦܝܢ ܡܪܟܒܬܐ ܠܚܕܕܐ ܘܡܫܡܥܝܢ ܩܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܙܓܐ ܟܕ ܪܕܝܢ "the arrangement in order of the furniture of chariots by means of which the chariots follow each other closely and give forth sounds like a bell as they move along." In Judges v. 28 ܘܢܓܕܐ ܕܡܪܟܒܬܗ (Neo-Syr.

before and after him, O most noble Mâr Ḥasân, beloved member[1] of Christ, ready adorer of His glorious cross, chosen freeman, son and heir of the mighty one of God, worthy of all praise, beautiful in his majesty and in his various acts, Mâr Sabhr-Îshô', Governor of Adiabene and Athôr, who, behold, exchanged his [earthly] wealth and possessions, for heavenly riches, that he might go and inherit the life of happiness in the kingdom[2] above with the true believers, and who measured the steps of his course of life that he might tread in their footprints. I have already praised you, and I will praise you again, O wise and understanding men, in that being completely involved with things of this world, and with wealth which is a stumbling-block to others [p. 140] and the cause and substance of all wickedness, ye made [your wealth] subject to none of these things, but ye humbled it and made it subject unto you, that it might not be a god to you as it is to the foolish and wicked, but that ye might be its master.[3] It is to be marvelled at, I repeat, that being as thou art in the prime[4] of early manhood, yet behold

ܪ̈ܩܘܫܐ ܕܡܪ̈ܟܒܬܗܘܢ = פַּעֲמֵי מַרְכְּבוֹתָיו. In addition to the native explanations of the word given in Payne Smith, *Thes.*, coll. 1140, 1141 Duval gives اجراس الخيل ويقال صرير المراكب اصطفاف المراكب والتزاقها بعض ببعض *Lexicon Bar-Bahlule*, col. 694.

[1] Lit., 'limb of Christ.'

[2] ܡܠܟܘܬܐ = βασιλεία = ܡܠܟܘܬܐ Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 408.

[3] ܐܠܗܘ̈ܗܝ "its gods." This custom of calling a man of rank "my gods" is as old as 1500 years before Christ for in the Tell el-Amarna tablets the writers of despatches frequently address Amenophis as "my gods" *ilâni-ya*. See Bezold and Budge, *The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum*, p. LXI, note 1.

[4] ܐܩܡܐ = ἀκμή = ܡܫܡܫܐ. In Bar-Bahlûl ܐܩܡܐ ܕܚ̈ܝܐ = قامة الحياة; see Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 276.

thou art standing on the highest point of the ladder of knowledge of the wise like an old man,[1] and art inciting me to collect the stories, and pieces of information, and the triumphs of holy men, that thy soul may pleasantly meditate upon them, and that thou mayest make it to possess a pattern and an example of spiritual things, and mayest enrich it with the understanding which is above this world. Now the abundant virtues and the good and glorious qualities which are stored up and which flourish in thy noble self compel[2] me, with great regard to thy distinguished command, to paint for thee in writing[3] a picture of the glorious acts and deeds of that man worthy of all good things, the Metropolitan Bishop Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh. At the same time also, according to thy wish I will write briefly concerning the coming of the blessed and enlightened teacher, Mâr Bâbhai, to this country, and of the schools which he founded. And I will set down in consecutive order what I have learned from the Elders whom I have met, and from[4] these things which are already written down, and I entreat and supplicate God the Lord of all to manifest His working in me the ignorant and unlearned,[5] and may the praise of His Godhead increase in the mouth of the reader, and in the ears of the listeners, through those things which are about to be written! And may the help and blessings of His grace cling to thee, as the cause of, and as the one who encouraged the writing of the

[1] Read ܣܳܒ݂ܳܐ?   [2] All the MSS. read ܐܰܠܨܽܘ̈ܢܝ.

[3] Literally, "that I should make thy glorious command in writing, and that I should paint for thee a picture."

[4] Read ܗܳܘ ܕܗܳܠܶܝܢ.   [5] Read ܒܠܳܐ ܝܳܕ̈ܥܶܐ.

histories of those who loved Him, and who did His will. First of all, however, as thy wisdom requireth, we will speak concerning the blessed Rabban Bâbhai, and of the schools which he founded, and of his restoration of those which had fallen into decay for want of teachers and of people to care for them. [p. 141] And afterwards I will rehearse in plain language my history of the noble acts of his disciple, the chief priest, Mâr Mâran-'ammeh, and though omitting to introduce the proofs which the chapters require, so that I may not make the history too heavy, I will glorify them by brief accounts, even as I have praised their companions in short narratives.

Here endeth the Apology.

CHAPTER I.[1]

OF THE BLESSED TEACHER RABBAN BÂBHAI.

The holy teacher Rabban Bâbhai was a very enlightened man, and through the healthy constitution of his body, and the knitting together of his limbs, he was a powerful man, and according to what is said of him, had a high, sweet voice like a trumpet. And there clave to him chastity, purity, love, graciousness, humility and exceeding lowliness, and he excelled in [these] last times by reason of these his glorious qualities like the teachers who lived[2] in the former generations. And the multitude of his virtues magnified his name, and

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 177, col. 1f.
[2] Read ܕܗܘܘ.

all the rules and arrangements of the schools which through laxity and neglect had been destroyed, were restored by him, and through him [the schools] regained their former glory. He came from a family in the town of Gĕbhîltâ[1] in the country of Ṭirhân,[2] where first of all he laboured in spiritual work, and he begat prosperous children who followed in the footsteps of their parent, and who showed themselves noble heirs of a wise father. It is found that the period in which he lived was in the days of Ṣĕlîbhâ-zĕkhâ, Catholicus and Patriarch, [p. 142] and the "Questions"[3] of Rabban Bâbhai testify that he made enquiries of Ṣĕlibhâ-zĕkhâ[4] concerning various matters. And just as among the people of Israel who were in Babylon the Divine praises had fallen into oblivion[5] and were forgotten,[6] because according to what is written, they did not know how to perform the praises of the Lord in a strange land,[7]

[1] ܓܒܝܠܬܐ, جَبِلّتا, a town in Ṭîrhàn, was situated on the east bank of the Tigris, about eighteen miles from Karḥ Sàmarrà on the road to Môṣul. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 188.

[2] Read ܛܝܪܗܢ, *i. e.*, طيرهان Ṭîrhân was a district which is represented to-day by the country round about Sàmarrà, ܣܘܡܪܐ. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 188—191; and *B. O.*, iii. 11, p. 785.

[3] In the list of his works given in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 181, no mention is made of these ܫܘܐܠܐ.

[4] According to Elias bar-Shînàyâ he sat from A. D. 713—729; Assemânî gives (*B. O.*, ii. 430) 714—728. Ṣĕlîbhâ-zĕkhà came from Karkhâ dhe Pêrôz, "which is called to-day Karkhânê (Karkhênê), from the country of Ṭîrhàn". See Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. col. 149.

[5] ܡܬܛܥܝܢܝܬܐ, "things fallen into oblivion." A rare word.

[6] ܛܥܝܬܐ = ܛܥܝܬܐ.

[7] The allusion appears to be to Psalm cxxxvii. 4, "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?"

even so[1] in the days of the holy Rabban Bâbhai were confounded[2] all the tunes,[3] and melodies,[4] and

[1] The following difficult passage is thus rendered by Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 180, col. 1:—"ita pariter temporibus Sancti Magistri nostri Babaei confusi fuisse videbantur ritus Ecclesiastici sacrarum processionum, et Cantus, modi, et hirmi, et psalmodia universa ea, quae ad Psalmum, Domine clamavi ad te, peragi solet; necnon et clausulae precum, et psalmorum modulationes, et stationes, et cantiones, et hymni, qui alta voce recitantur; ita ut unaquaeque regio, urbs, coenobium, et schola suos haberet canendi modos, et sacrarum supplicationum ritus. Quamobrem factum fuerat, ut externus quisque, literis licet excultus et in scholis exercitatus, extra propriam Scholam manere velut imperitus et rudis cogeretur. Et quemadmodum quum Judaei in urbem Hierusalem postliminio rediissent, universa psalmodia restituta est, et pristinam gloriam recuperavit: et quemadmodum ante Mar Jesujabum Catholicum Adjabenum sacrarum ordinationum ritus confusi fuerant, illius autem operà et auctoritate conveniens omnibus Ecclesiis ritus et communis factus est: similiter Spiritus sanctus beatum hunc necessariâ sapientià instruxit, docuitque modos suaves, et compositiones jucundas Ecclesiasticae musicae, suisque charismatibus implevit, et suis thesauris locupletatum, suae doctrinae organum et spiritualem citharam fecit." As in the early Christian Church the musical portion of the service consisted of ψαλμοὶ, ὕμνοι, ᾠδαὶ πνευματικαὶ (Ephesians v. 19, Colossians iii. 16), but I am unable to give exact renderings of the Syriac technical words. See the articles ἀκροστίχια, ἀνατρίχισμα, εἱρμὸς, κανόνες, προψάλματα, φωνὴ, τροπάριον, ᾠδὴ in Du Cange, *Glossarium*, coll. 45, 73, 356, 582, 1262, 1714, 1617, 1789.

[2] In the text p. 142, note 1, referring to this is the observation, "See the confusions in the musical system which the much enlightened Rabban Bâbhai corrected."

[3] ܩܘܕܪ̈ܐ. Assemânî generally considers that these were connected with *processions*, but they seem rather to have been tunes with an oft repeated refrain; cf. ܩܘܕܪ̈ܐ لحن مضاعف مردّد دوران Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1827; and see Bk. IV. chap. 20 (text, p. 237, l. 17).

[4] ܩܘܢܕ̈ܐ according to Castell p. 812, is *concentus*, *melodia*,

airs,[1] and the signs and accents(?)[2] and all the songs which are sung [with the psalm which begins], "Lord, I have called upon Thee,"[3] and the final clauses of the prayers,[4] and the psalms[5] which are dispersed throughout the services, and the "stations",[6] and the antiphonal

and is rendered by Assemâni *Cantus*. Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 2441, fol 330*a*, col. 2, explains it by "song" ܡܘܫܚܬܐ ܗ̄. ܕܟܬܐ ܘܡܫ ܩܝܢܬܐ ܥܡܝܕ الالحان, and in Rich 7205, fol. 152*a*, col. 1 ܡܘܫܚܬܐ = التفتفة, الالحان.

[1] ܡܒܢ̈ܐ rendered *modi* by Assemânî, and *metra* by Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2367.

[2] All the MSS. have ܗܘܒܟ̈ܐ. Assemânî (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 178, l. 17) and Payne Smith (*Thes.*, col. 2280) give ܗܘܦ̈ܟܐ, the former rendering the word by *hirmi*, and the latter by *hymni species*. In Cardahi, *Al-Lobab*, Beyrut, 1891, vol. ii. p. 97, col. 2. ܗܘܒ̈ܟܐ اتّفاق الاصوات في الغنا.

[3] Psalm CXLI.

[4] ܩܘܢ̈ܝܐ, *i. e.*, the airs which are sung at the end of the prayer for the night السيّاخين التى تقال في اخر صلاة الليل Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2551. ܩܘܢ̈ܝܐ = ܫܘܡܠ̈ܝܐ.

[5] ܡܙܡܘܪ̈ܐ, strictly speaking, the psalms which are sung before the reading of the Epistles. cf. προψάλματα (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1262) and the ܫܘܪ̈ܝܐ of Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 20. The reader should consult the sections Hirmos, Hauptformen, Refrain, Akrostichis Reim, Gleichzeilige rythmische Gedichte, in Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur*, Munich, 1891, pp. 334—344.

[6] The Psalter in the Greek Church was divided into twenty sections called καθίσματα, each of which was divided into three Στάσεις, or ܐܣܛܐܣܝ̈ܣ, "sic dictae, quod *Stationes* stantes recitent Graeci, vel quod Lectionem finientes stent et quasi respirant." Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1429. The Psalms were thus divided among the twenty καθίσματα:—

καθ' 1.	Psalms 1—8.	καθ' 3.	Psalms 18—24.
,, 2.	,, 9—17.	,, 4.	,, 25—32.

responses[1] and the anthems,[2] and everything which is recited by the voice. Each country, and town, and monastery, and school had its own hymns and songs of praise and tunes, and sang them in its own way, and if a teacher or a scholar happened to be away from his own school he was obliged to stand [silent] like an ignorant man. And as when the Hebrews had gone up to Jerusalem all their hymns and songs of praise which had become corrupt acquired [new] glory and splendour, or if thou wishest, as before the time of Mâr Îshô'-yahbh of Adiabene[3] the Catholicus, the orders of the services were performed in a confused[4] manner in every place, and by means of this man the services of all the churches acquired connected order, so also the Holy Spirit made wise this blessed man, and taught[5] him beautiful airs, and sweet blendings of melody,[6] and filled him with His gift, and enriched him with His treasures, and made him a musical instru-

καθ′	5.	Psalms	33—37.	καθ′	13.	Psalms	92—101.
,,	6.	,,	38—46.	,,	14.	,,	102—105.
,,	7.	,,	47—55.	,,	15.	,,	106—109.
,,	8.	,,	56—64.	,,	16.	,,	110—118.
,,	9.	,,	65—70.	,,	17.	,,	119.
,,	10.	,,	71—77.	,,	18.	,,	120—132.
,,	11.	,,	78—85.	,,	19.	,,	133—143.
,,	12.	,,	86—91.	,,	20.	,,	144—150.

[1] ܥܘܢܝܬܐ, *i. e.*, antiphonal responses of all kinds sung by clergy and laity.

[2] ܥܘܢܝ̈ܬܐ, *i. e.*, small ᾠδαὶ sung as anthems, or ὕμνοι.

[3] He sat from A. D. 647—658.

[4] ܒܠܒܠܝܐܝܬ, confusedly, indistinctly.

[5] Read ܘܐܠܦܗ.

[6] ܣܘܣܛܡܐ ܩܠܐ = σύστημα, *i. e.*, the art of singing in tune and in unison.

ment of His doctrine, and a spiritual harp.[1] And he became a father of teachers and a master of the wise, and the Lord stirred up his heart like that of Zerubbabel,[2] and he placed Gĕbhîltâ, and the schools which were therein, in the hands of the prosperous disciples whom he left there, and he went up and came to this

[1] Notwithstanding the labours of Gregory Nazianzenus (born 329, died 390), of Romanos (VIth century), of Sergios and Sophronios (VIIth century), and of Andrew, Archbishop of Crete (650—720), John of Damascus (died before 754), and his friend Kosmas of Jerusalem (he became Bishop of Maiuma in Palestine about A. D. 743), "vir ingeniosissimus, omnino musicam harmoniam spirans," must be regarded as the founders of Greek church music, from which the Nestorians must have borrowed largely. A dissertation on this subject, even if I possessed the knowledge necessary for writing it, would be out of place here, but the following works should be consulted by the reader who wishes to work out a comparison of the Greek and Syriac technical names:—Vincent, Ἁγιοπολίτης, (in *Notices et Extraits*), Paris, 1847; Wallis, *Manuel Bryennios*; Christ, *Beiträge zur kirchlichen Literatur der Byzantiner*, (in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Cl. 1870); Christ, *Ueber die Bedeutung von Hirmos, Troparion und Kanon in der Griechischen Poesie*, (in *Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akad.*, phil.-hist. Cl. 1870); Westphal, *Metrik der Griechen*: Tzetzes, *Ueber die altgriechische Musik in der griechischen Kirche*, Munich 1874; Reimann, *Zur Geschichte und Theorie der Byzantinischen Musik*; Χρύσανθος, Θεωρητικὸν μέγα τῆς μουσικῆς, Trieste, 1832; Μαργαρίτης, Θεωρητικὴ καὶ πρακτικὴ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ μουσική, Constantinople, 1851; Φιλόξενος, Δεξικὸν and Θεωρητικὸν στοιχειῶδες τῆς μουσικῆς, Constantinople, 1859; Sathas, Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τοῦ Θεάτρου καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς τῶν Βυζαντίνων, Venice, 1878; Bouvy, Etude sur les origines du rhyme tonique dans l'hymnographie de l'église grecque, Nîmes, 1886, Hatherly, *A Treatise on Byzantine Music*, London, 1892, p. 152.

[2] Haggai i. 14.

country of Adiabene. First of all he founded a large and famous school in Kĕphar-'Uzzêl,[1] a village of rich and noble people. [p. 143] And the blessed Rabban Bâbhai tarried in this school for many years during the lifetime of the honourable Zadhnaphrôkh,[2] the father of the noble Prôkhzâdh,[3] the father of the gentle-natured Lûhrâsâph[4] and Maslĕmah,[5] and by his encouragement, while the holy Mâr John was Metropolitan Bishop, he afterwards passed over to the country of Margâ. And he founded there twenty-four schools, some of them being founded for the first time, and others being decayed schools which he restored. And since, perchance, there may be some who coming across these lines will consider us to be boasters[6] and liars, I will mention these schools by their names, even though our discourse should assume at this point an exceedingly vain and foolish[7] character.

[1] *I. e.*, the 'village of the Gazelle', *'uzzêl* being stat. abs. of *'uzzailâ*. Kephar-'Uzzêl, *i. e.*, كَفَرْعَزَّى lay on the east side of the Upper or Great Zâb. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 236, 296.

[2] Read ܙܕܢܦܪܘܚ Zâdhân-parrûḥ, زَادَانْ فَرُّخ. See Nöldeke. *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 356, note 1.

[3] Read ܦܪܘܚܙܕ Parrûḥ-zadh, فَرُّخ زَاد.

[4] *I. e.*, لُهْرَاسْپ

[5] *I. e.*, مَسْلَمَة.

[6] ܗܦܘܕܪܐ, a rare word. ܗܦܘܕܐ = a speaker of vain things, a garrulous person = ܠܓܠܓܐ, ܟܕܘܡܐ, ܟܠܘܡܐ, ܗܡܪܐ, ܦܩܩܐ, ܟܕܘܠܐ, ܦܩܦܩܐ, all of which synonyms are explained by ܗܘ ܕܡܡܠܠ ܦܚܝܚܬܐ "a man who speaketh vain and foolish things." See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 446.

[7] ܦܚܝܚܘܬܐ, emptiness, foolishness, insipidity.

CHAPTER II.[1]

OF THE SCHOOLS WHICH RABBAN [BÂBHAI] FOUNDED, AND THEIR NAMES.

When [this] blessed man had come to the country of Margâ, he first of all gathered together the scholars and founded the Ḥudhrâ,[2] and revised and corrected the codices.[3] [He next built a school] in Bâshôsh,[4] a village of Saphsâphâ,[5] and after this [another] in the Monastery of Barṣîl (?) in the province of Gârîn,[6] another in the Monastery of Shâmirâ,[7] another in the Monastery of Ḳôri, another in Eḳrâ, another in Ḥardes, another in Shalmath, another in Bêth-Edrê, another in Ḥĕtârâ,[8] another in Maḳḳabtâ, another in Ṣâwrâ dhĕ Nîram dhĕ Râʿâwâthâ,[9] another in Ḳôph,[10] [p. 144] another in Nêrabh Barzi,[11] another in Gûbê, another in the Monastery of Mâr Ephraim, another in the Monastery of Mâr Aḥâ, another in Mayâ Ḳarîrê.[12]

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 178, col. 2.

[2] Literally "he built the Ḥudhrâ," *i. e.*, the service-book for the Sundays of the whole year. See *supra*, pp. 153, 189.

[3] Or "he corrected the sections," for ܦܪ̈ܫܐ = פָּרָשָׁה = περικοπή, "section", "chapter".

[4] See *supra*, p. 217, note 1.

[5] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 223.

[6] Compare ܦܘܣܩܢܐ ܕܓܪܡܝ, Syriac text p. 346, line 8.

[7] Assemânî (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 178, col. 2, l. 18) omits this name.

[8] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 223.

[9] *I. e.*, "the neck of Nîram of the shepherds."

[10] A village near Akra. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 225.

[11] The account of the fortifying of this place is given in Book VI. chap. 12; see Syriac text p. 368 ff.

[12] See *infra*, Book iii. chap. 8.

another in Bêth Âsâ,[1] another in Bêth Sâṭi,[2] another in Bêth Ḳardagh, another in Ḥennes,[3] another in Bêth Râstaḳ,[4] another in Bêth Narḳôs, and another in Bêth Ṭarshêmâyê;[5] these are the schools which this wise gardener[6] planted and restored in the country of Margâ. Now some say that he had sixty disciples [who were] teachers, and that he founded sixty schools, and appointed a master to each one of them, and that through the zeal of believing and God-loving men, who made the instruction [of children] in divine things their care, he set apart for them property and funds for their maintenance. And he came back to Kêphar 'Uzzêl, and twice a year he visited all the schools, in order that laxity of discipline might not enter [into them], and that the musical training[7] and canons[8] and orders of services which he had made his disciples acquire might not be destroyed; and thus this manner of singing was called the "musical system of Rabban Bâbhai."

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[1] Perhaps the same as ܒܝܬ ܐܣܐ. Cf. *B.O.*, ii. p. 221, col. 2, l. 33.

[2] *I. e.*, ܒܝܬ ܣܐܛܝ; see Syriac text p. 329. line 17.

[3] The modern Bavian, situated on the right bank of the Gômel river, about twenty-five miles nearly north of Môṣûl. For an account of the Assyrian sculptures at this place see Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, London, 1853, p. 208 ff.

[4] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 97, note 867.

[5] Assemânî (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 178, col. 2, l. 28) has ܒܝܬ ܛܪܫܡܝܐ.

[6] ܦܪܕܝܣܒܢܐ, formed with the Persian termination بان *keeping, guarding*. The word is explained by ܓܢܢܐ *gardener*. ܢܛܪ ܦܪܕܝܣܐ *keeper of a garden*, = بستنباني.

[7] ܡܘܣܝܩܝ ܕܩܠܐ *i. e.*, the knowledge of singing in unison and in tune.

[8] See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 582; Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 251 ff.

CHAPTER III.[1]

OF THE BOOKS WHICH THIS RABBAN BÂBHAI COMPOSED,[2] AND OF THE END OF HIS LIFE.

Let no man think[3] that because [Rabban Bâbhai] was exceedingly learned in the training and culture of the voice he was ignorant of the knowledge which is in books, or that because he was thoroughly instructed in the Holy Scriptures he was remote from other knowledge, for he has left us works on various subjects; and he wrote many discourses and treatises on doctrine into which if any man shall enter he will find that he was much skilled [p. 145] and fertile in philosophic reasoning.[4] And he wrote twenty-two funeral orations[5] arranged alphabetically, which are recited by boys on the festival of Palm Sunday;[6] and "Consolations" and "Blessings", according to the letters [of the alphabet]; and many "Epistles" to divers persons; and

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 179.

[2] According to 'Abhd-Îshô' he wrote "Orations, Epistles, Hymns of Praise, Histories, Admonitions and Homilies" ܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ ܘܐܓܪ̈ܬܐ ܘܬܫܒ̈ܚܬܐ ܘܬܫ̈ܥܝܬܐ ܘܡܪ̈ܬܝܢܘܬܐ ܘܡܬܪ̈ܓܡܢܘܬܐ *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 181.

[3] Better ܢܣܒܪ.

[4] ܬܐܘܪܝܐ = θεωρία = spiritual vision, intellectual and divine sight or understanding. Cf. ܬܐܘܪܝܐ العلم ويقال البصر العقلى ܗ̄. ܣܘܟܠܐ ܕܠܗܘܢܐ ܗ̄. ܘܚܙܘܐ ܘܕܝܢܐ ܘܚܟܡܬܐ ܘܝܕܥܬܐ ܕܚܝܢܐ علم مقدار وراى ومعرفة النظر العقلى والتميّا بالعقل والتميا الصحيح Orient. 2441, fol. 384*a*, col. 2. So also Rich 7203, fol. 192*b*, col. 1.

[5] ܡܬܪ̈ܓܡܢܐ, literally "interpretations". See Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 19, ܡܬܪ̈ܓܡܢܐ = تفسير شرح تعبير ترجمة Orient. 2441, fol. 389*a*, col. 1, and Rich 7203, fol. 198*b*, col. 2.

[6] ܐܘܫܥܢܐ = הוֹשִׁיעָה נָּא Cf. Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1639.

lengthy "Blessings[1] upon brides and bridegrooms." And because he was accustomed to go to the Commemoration of the holy Mâr Jacob of Bêth 'Âbhê, he composed on that person twenty-two hymns in the "great mystery",[2] in the order of the letters [of the alphabet]. And he wrote the composition, "Behold, my days have flown, behold, to the dead", consisting of twelve different parts,[3] and the hymn[4] on Mâr Nestorius [beginning], "In the path of the just"; and the other works on sundry and divers matters written by that blessed teacher which, if any man wisheth, he may find in our holy monastery of Bêth 'Âbhê. And after all these his excellent deeds, his planting and watering, and begetting, and rearing, and making to bud, and to wax strong and to grow old, he left this country and went to his own city, and was there crowned with all the excellent virtues of a divine life which pleased his Master, and at a great old age he rested from his labours and troubles, and slept in the dust of his fathers. And his venerable and holy body was laid in the church in which he had learned and taught, and a glorious recompense is laid up for

[1] Cf. the Blessings in the Marriage service quoted by Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 254ff.

[2] Assemânî renders, "De eodem sancto Jacobo cantiones magnis mysteriis refertas."

[3] Assemânî renders, "Ecce avolarunt dies mei. Et ad hymnum, qui incipit, Ecce mortuis, cantiones duodecim." See Bickell, *Carmina Nisibena*, Leipzig, 1866, De re metrica, pp. 31—35.

[4] For a list of the hymns of Bâbhai extant, see Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 844, col. 1. The following hymn for the night of Sunday in Epiphany week edited from Add. 14,675, fol. 171*a*, and Rich 7156, fol. 163, will serve as a specimen of the metrical compositions of this eminent writer.

him in the day of the revelation of our Lord, together with Ḳiôrâ (Cyrus),[1] and Narsai,[2] and

[illegible]

ܠܥܠܡܝܢ ܐܡܝܢ ܘܐܡܝܢ ✡

[1] *I. e.*, Cyrus of al-Ḥîrah, surnamed the Doctor, a disciple of Mâr Abhâ; he flourished about A. D. 550. According to 'Abhd-Îshô' he wrote "Expositions and Funeral Orations," ܬܘܪܓܡܐ ܘܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ ܕܥܢܝܕ̈ܐ. See *B. O.*, ii. p. 412, col. 1; iii. 1, p. 170, chap. XCV.

[2] *I. e.*, Narsai, called the "Harp of the Spirit" ܟܢܪܐ ܕܪܘܚܐ by 'Abhd-Îshô', and surnamed ܓܪܒܐ, the "Leper." Narsai sprang from Ma'allthâ; he laboured in the school of Nisibis for fifty years, where he was a companion of Bar-Ṣaumâ, and at Edessa for twenty years; he fled from this latter town to escape the wrath of Cyrus the Bishop (A. D. 471—498), and died at Nisibis early in the next century. He was famous as a writer of hymns and other metrical compositions, his favourite metre being that of six syllables. According to 'Abhd-Îshô' he wrote commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges, Ecclesiastes, Isaiah, the twelve Minor Prophets,

* Add. 14,675 ܕܐܝܬܘܗܝ. ** Add. 14,675 omits this clause.

John,[1] and Abraham[2] by whose doctrine he was himself enlightened, and enlightened [others], and from the manner of whose lives he was inflamed with the desire[3] to emulate them in the holy life.

Now they say concerning him that when he was a teacher in Kĕphar 'Uzzêl the mother of Mâr Abraham[4]

Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, twelve volumes of metrical discourses (360 in number), a liturgy, expositions of the Eucharist and of Baptism, consolatory epistles and funeral orations, hymns and sermons and exhortations, and a book entitled *On the Corruption of Morals*, ܥܠ. ܚܒܠܐ ܕܥܝܕ̈ܐ. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 65f.; Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 830; and Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. col. 77.

[1] *I. e.*, John, surnamed Adhramah, ܐܕܪܡܗ (see Bk. 1. chap. 14, *supra*, p. 67), formerly a monk in the Monastery of Mount Izlâ when Mâr Bâbhai was the abbot. He left that monastery with Zĕkhâ-Îshô' and Abraham and went with them to Dâsen, and built a monastery; he is usually described as "John of Bêth Rabban." According to 'Abhd-Îshô' he wrote commentaries upon Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Job, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Proverbs; controversial treatises against the Magians, Jews and heretics; discourses, prayers, a Discourse upon the death of Khusrau, a Discourse upon the plague at Nisibis, Consolations, Questions upon the Old and New Testaments, hymns of various kinds, and a work upon the "tones of hymns", ܩܠ̈ܐ ܕܡܕܪ̈ܫܐ. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 72, 631, 708.

[2] *I. e.*, Abraham of Mount Îzlâ, the friend of John Adhramah, (see *supra*, p. 37, note 1). He wrote commentaries upon Joshua, Judges, the Books of Kings, Ecclesiasticus, Isaiah, the twelve Minor Prophets, Daniel, and the Song of Songs; he wrote also upon the 'Cause of the Sessions' ܥܠܬ̈ܐ ܕܡܘܬܒ̈ܐ, and composed hymns. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 71.

[3] ܡܬܚܪܝܢܘܬܐ, *the desire to rival some one.*

[4] *I. e.*, Abraham bar-Dâshandâd who flourished about A. D. 720, and who was the teacher of the Catholicus Timothy I., and of his successor Îshô' bar-Nôn, and of Abû Nûḥ al-Anbârî in

the Lame of Bêth Ṣayyâdhê,[1] [p. 146] carried and brought her son to him, and weeping before him, said, "Master, pray for this half of a man[2] to whom I have given birth." And when he had examined and felt him he answered and said, "This is no half of a man, and he shall become a father of fathers and a chief of teachers, and his name and his doctrine shall be proclaimed in all the East;" and this actually happened as is manifest to every man. And in the time of his old age, when he had gone to his own city, he asked the numerous disciples that were before him a question unknown to us, and to which none of them were able to give him an answer.[3] And he began to weep and to beat his face, and to pluck out the hair of his head and to cry out and say, "O woe is me, the blinded of sin, for while thinking that I should leave behind me in the Church wise and understanding heirs, it hath befallen me, the wretched and stupid man, to be like unto a man who hath sown but hath not reaped, and who hath not been made glad in his labour." Now there was there before the holy man, a much enlightened

the school of Bâshôsh in Saphsâphâ. According to ʿAbhd-Ishôʿ he wrote a book of admonition, a commentary on the discourse of Mark the monk (see Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.*, p. 482, col. 1), a disputation with the Jews, the Book of the king's way, discourses on repentance, and letters upon various subjects. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 194; and Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 844. For the writings of Ìshôʿ bar-Nôn and Abû Nûḥ al-Anbârî see *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 165, 212.

[1] A village in the country of Arbêl or Arbela. See *B. O.*, ii. p. 251, col. 2, l. 12; iii. 1, pp. 179, 343; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. col. 437.

[2] ܦܠܓܘܬ ܓܒܪܐ. See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2140.

[3] Literally, *solution*.

young man whose name was Gûryâ, and because the Divine grace is accustomed to set apart aforetime those who belong to it, and to set apart those who seek[1] after spiritual wisdom, this young man was stirred up by grace and said to Rabban, "Peradventure the question which thou hast asked, Master, is thus." And the old man being stirred up with joy, answered and said, "Who is this then?"[2] and they said to him "Gûryâ". And he commanded that he should be brought near to him, and he laid his hands and his mouth upon the young man's head, and answered joyfully and said, "Pray for this Gûryâ, for he shall become a mighty hound;"[3] and this actually came to pass to this young man according to the word of the blessed old man. For after the death of Rabban, [p. 147] Gûryâ became a teacher[4] after him, and he emulated his master in his teaching and manner of life, and behold both of them are laid in that holy church: may their memories be for blessing, and may we be aided by their prayers. Amen.

Here endeth the History of Rabban Bâbhai the teacher.

[1] Read ܠܚܟܡܬܗ.

[2] ܐܘܗ = אֲהָהּ 2 Kings iii. 10.

[3] There is a play here upon the name ܓܘܪܝܐ *Gûryâ* which means both a "lion's whelp", and a "puppy".

[4] In Bk. IV. chap. 16 (Syriac text p. 217, l. 11) he is called, "the much enlightened and famous teacher, the disciple of the master of masters, Rabban Bâbhai, the teacher and founder of schools".

THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY MÂR MÂRAN-ʿAMMEH THE METROPOLITAN BISHOP [OF SALÂKH].

CHAPTER I.

THE APOLOGY.

The triumphs of holy men are the boast of the Holy Church, and the beloved rehearsings of them are a lifting up of the head to her children. Abundant helps for us descend from them, and they confirm in us the love of their Lord. The glorious festivals which we make to them, with whom we expect to receive participation in the kingdom above, and their yearly commemorations, proclaim the praise of that power Who aided them here, Who led them far into His mysteries, and Who entrusted to them the pasturing of His flocks, and with Whom they are there [in heaven] enjoying happiness in the glory which He prepared for them. And, moreover, to those men who here [upon earth] became an altar of prayer, which continually breathed forth the incense of Life, who rejoiced all who were round about them, and who were angels clothed with bodies here [upon earth] it belongeth to speak to God. "And as for me, thou upholdest me in mine integrity, and settest me before thy face for ever."[1] And because I, the wretched sinner, have in my lack of wisdom[2] made ready to rehearse the triumphs and histories of one of these holy men, I entreat their prayers that I may be near to be helped by them, and that our Lord may grant that I may speak according to the power of my

[1] Psalm xli. 12. [2] See *supra*, p. 295, note 7.

poverty,[1] although it be not that which befitteth the occasion. And moreover He willeth that, according to his power, [p. 148] each one of us should cast his offering before Him, like the two mites[2] of the widow.[3] And by the prayers of the friend of His love, the chosen and holy man concerning whom my discourse dareth to recount the history, may my drawing near to the rehearsal of matters concerning him be a propitiation and not a condemnation for me.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE ORIGIN OF MÂR MÂRAN-ʿAMMEH, AND OF HOW, AND BY WHOM, HE WAS DIRECTED IN INSTRUCTION IN DIVINE THINGS.

Now the blessed Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh sprang from a family in the country of Ṭîrhân,[4] and his city, which is now in ruins, was called Ḥĕṭârâ;[5] here he was born and brought up by believing parents. And he was named by them 'Mâran-ʿammeh',[6] a name which was full of prayer and supplication for him that Christ our

[1] *I. e.*, "my poor power."

[2] ܡ̈ܥܐ. For the weight and value of these pieces of money see under ܡܥܐ. Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2164.

[3] St. Mark xii. 42.

[4] Read always ܛܝܪܗܢ, *i. e.*, طيرهان. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 191, note 1508; Lagarde, *Armenische Studien*, Nr. 2245, p. 152; *B. O.*, iii. 11. p. 931.

[5] Read ܚܛܪܐ, *i. e.*, الحضر, חטרי, Ἄτραι ܗܘ ܚܛܪܐ. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 184, note 1440. Ḥaṭrâ of Ṭîrhân must be distinguished from Ḥaṭrâ of Mârgâ, Ḥaṭrâ in Âthôr, etc.

[6] *I. e.*, "our Lord [is] with him."

Lord might be with him and might dwell in him. Now in his youth he learned doctrine in the church of his native city. And because at that time Rabban Bâbhai excelled above all others in teaching in the city of Gĕbhîltâ, Mâran-'ammeh left his parents and their possessions and departed to that teacher. And he was trained and directed in all the knowledge of divine things before him, and he became learned and wise. And when the blessed Rabban Bâbhai went up to this country, the blessed Mâran-'ammeh was the one man out of all his sixty famous disciples and teachers who went up with him; and when he had built schools in the village of Kephar'Uzzêl, [p. 149] he established Mâran-'ammeh as the teacher of this village. And the fame of his glorious acts went forth in all this country, because his learning shone with the purity of his manner of life, and he made his body to abstain from every kind of delicate food; now he used to feed himself on bread and a few onions, just sufficient to maintain life. And he lived in this manner from his youth up so that he might not become an object of reproach in his old age, for he had learned that "he who liveth delicately in his youth shall be a servant, and in his latter end shall groan."[1] When he was a young man the monks his contemporaries held his manner of life to be marvellous, because that in addition to that great labour of the weight of the toil of teaching which was laid upon him, he was able to embrace the laborious life of voluntary abstinence coupled with great strictness of life. And he was a teacher for many years, while the

[1] Proverbs xxix. 21. The Hebrew is מְפַנֵּק מִנֹּעַר עַבְדּוֹ וְאַחֲרִיתוֹ יִהְיֶה מָנוֹן׃ and the Greek Ὃς κατασπαταλᾷ ἐκ παιδὸς, οἰκέτης ἔσται, ἔσχατον δὲ ὀδυνηθήσεται ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ.

blessed Mâr Aḥâ was Metropolitan, and the ship of his soul travelled on in a divine and noble manner by reason of the abundance of the beautiful things which were therein.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE EPISCOPATE OF THE COUNTRY OF SALÂKH WHICH THE BLESSED MÂR MÂRAN-ʿAMMEH RECEIVED, AND OF THE MIRACLES WHICH TOOK PLACE THERE BY HIS HANDS.

Now there was in the country of Salâkh a holy and venerable Bishop called Mâr Îshôʿ-zĕkhâ,[1] the history concerning whom I have already written, by whose hands mighty deeds and miracles were wrought in that country, and when he departed this life of troubles and trials for the rest of those who sleep in Christ,—inasmuch as that country abounded in Magianism,[2] [p. 150] and not only in the worship of the sun, moon and stars, but [the people] in their stupidity offered worship also to trees of beautiful foliage, and this worship of trees existed even in the days of the old man from whom I learned [this],—the blessed Metropolitan Mâr Aḥâ[3] was obliged to appoint and send the holy Mâran-ʿammeh to that place, for he was a teacher and a

[1] See Book ii. chap. 32, *supra*, p. 239

[2] ܡܓܘܫܘܬܐ, "a heresy composed of paganism and Chaldeeism. It adoreth the powers of nature, (lit. elements) like the heathen, worshippeth the stars, and erreth in the computation and knowledge of the planets and Signs of the Zodiac, and in the ruling of the stars, like the Chaldeans". See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2009.

[3] See *supra*, p. 249ff.

righteous man, that by his knowledge and manner of life he might root up the tares from that country. Thus he was appointed, and he set out for that country, having received from the Holy Spirit with [his] consecration [the power] to work mighty deeds and to show forth miracles, while the Divine love which was in his soul, and the great purity of life which he had cultivated from his youth, exalted him in the chief-priesthood and in spiritual workings. Now when he had gone forth to visit [his] districts, he came to a village called Bêth Nĕwâ,[1] and there was in it a man who had brought into [his house] another wife besides his lawful wife. And he called for him to come before him, but he came not, and he required of him to expel the whore from his house, but he did it not. And Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh cursed him, saying, "I trust in our Lord that the Divine wrath may come upon thee, and that both thy wives may be widows;" and it came to pass on the morrow that the man lifted up a large butcher's knife[2] to cut meat, and by the agency of God he smote his left hand, and it fell from him, and all his blood ran out from him and he died, according to the word of the holy man to him; and fear fell upon all those who heard [of it].

And from this village he set out for another called

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[1] A village in the diocese of Salàkh, which must be sought for in the territory occupied by the Bâlik Kurds near Rawandiz; it was one of the seats of the Shahrîghàn sect. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 245.

[2] ܣܛܘܪܐ, Arab. سَاطُور, plur. سَوَاطِير, "a cook's large knife with a long, thin blade". Compare ساطر "butcher", تسطير *couper en longues lignes*, Dozy, *Supplément*, i. p. 652.

Bêth Wark,[1] which is in the province of Ḥâthr, and in it there was a widow who had a little only son; and it fell out that he died as the blessed man entered the village, and many people were gathered together, and were weeping. [p. 151] And when he learned concerning the lonely condition of that old woman, he was exceedingly sorry, and he commanded that they should bring the body to the church; and he put every one outside, and began to entreat God for the life of the boy. And God, to Whose power all things are easy, Who by the hands of Elijah[2] and Elisha[3] brought the dead back to life, granted to the blessed man his petition for the resuscitation of the boy, and he came to life, and Mâran-ʿammeh gave him to his mother; and all the people were stirred up to gladness and to praise.

And there were in the country certain Shahrighân,[4] who although they were nominally Christians, made

[1] A village in the diocese of Salâkh, and a seat of the Shahrîghân sect. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 245.

[2] 1 Kings xvii. 22. [3] 2 Kings iv. 35.

[4] The ܫܗܪ̈ܝܓܢܐ, or ܫܗܪ̈ܝܓܐ were the *landed proprietors* of the country, and took a higher rank than the *Dihkânê* (see *supra*, p. 256). According to Nöldeke (quoted by Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 239) رئيس الكورة=سهريج. The explanation of the word given in Orient. 2441, fol. 367*b*, col. 1, agrees with that quoted by Hoffmann from the Socin MS. of Bar-Bahlûl; but Rich 7203, fol. 176*b*, col. 2, gives ܫܗܪ̈ܝܓܢܐ=اصحاب الملك القدم. See also Theophylact Simocatta, ed. Bonn v. 9; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 446f; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 236–239. The Shahrîghân, الشهارجة, are said to have formed a noble class which ranked next to the three great castes of Sawâd. See Masʿûdî, *Murûg al-Dhahab* (Les Prairies d'Or), ed. Barbier de Meynard, tom. ii. p. 240, Paris 1863.

confession that Christ was an ordinary man, and said that "He was as one of the Prophets," and the Bishops who lived in the country laboured among them, but they did not accept the true and orthodox doctrine.[1] Now when Mâran-ʿammeh had learned concerning them, he went to them on a Sabbath day, that he might keep the first day of the week with them, and pray for them; and he lifted them up with him in the service, while he prayed in his heart to our Lord on their behalf, that He would make His light to shine into their hearts. Now when all the people of the village were in that church, and they had begun [to say], "Light hath dawned for the righteous, and joy for the upright of heart,"[2] the church and its court were filled with light which surpassed the light of the sun, and all men wondered and were amazed. And the holy man answered and said to them, "Now that Christ our Lord hath shewed you His light, and hath kindled His truth in your hearts, confess ye with us that He is the Lord and God,[3] Jesus Christ; or do ye, peradventure, need to see other things [before ye will believe]?" They answered and said to him, "We believe, O our father, we believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, and that He is God;" and at the time of the Holy Mysteries he absolved them, and they became beloved sons of the Church their mother,[4] through the wonderful thing which Christ had wrought before them by the hand of His saint Mâran-ʿammeh. [p. 152] And one of the con-

[1] This sentence is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 482, col. 2.

[2] Psalm xcvii. 11.

[3] Compare ܡܪܝ ܘܐܠܗܝ Book ii. chap. 34, *supra*, p. 249, note 2.

[4] This sentence is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 483, col. 1.

gregation had a mule[1] for riding upon, which had never been subservient to him, and this was very grievous to her owner, for she was a fine and beautiful animal; and he spake concerning her to the blessed man who commanded him to bring her to the church together with her bridle. And the holy man took the bridle, and signed it with the sign of the Cross, and he spake to the mule as to a rational being, and said, "For the sake of our Lord open thy mouth, and take the bit;" and she opened her mouth and took it in all quietness; and every man was moved to the praise of God.

Now there was in the church of our native village Nehshôn[3], a large ant's nest built in the wall, and it was not easy for the believers to root it out, because it occupied the whole wall up to the roof; and, because that church was roofed over and made strong with painted boards and beams, this thing was very grievous unto them, and when the holy man came to them they spake to him concerning this matter. And he washed the cross which he wore upon him in water, and he told them to sprinkle the water on the nest, and on the morrow not a single [ant] was to be found.

Now in those days the Shahrighân[4] used to take from the Dahkânê[5] one half of the corn, and wine, and nuts, and poll-tax, and their oppression was very

[1] Vat. has ܡܘܠܐ ܪܟܘܒܐ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܐ, where ܡܘܠܐ is the Latin *mula*, بغلة

[2] ܠܓܡܐ, Arab. لِجَام, plur. لُجُم, and أَلْجِمَة, and أَلْجُم (Dozy, *Supplément*, ii. p. 517, col. 2), *i. e.*, Pers. لِگَام.

[3] A seat of the Shahrighân in the diocese of Salâkh. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 245, and *B. O.*, i. p. 194.

[4] See *supra*, p. 309, note 4.

[5] See *supra*, p. 256, note 2.

severe, and their exactions were unlimited,[1] and the Dahkânê made complaints to their pious Bishop concerning their taxes and their tribute. And he answered, and said to them, "My children, the time is at hand when all these villages and towns will be taken by the Arabs, and all these Shahrîghân shall go up out of the country, and a man whose name is Ḥitm bar-Ṣâlâḥ[2] shall persecute them and root them up, and ye all shall be subservient to him, because, as it is said, "the iniquitous man shall take vengeance on the iniquitous man, and the Lord upon them both." [p. 153] And this actually came to pass to that country after many years. Now it appears that at that time Ḥitm bar-Ṣâlâḥ was not yet born, but because the spirit of the prophets is submissive to the prophets, Mâran-ʿammeh, by the eye of the Spirit, made known aforetime what was about to happen.

CHAPTER IV.

WHICH SHOWETH HOW THE HOLY MÂR MÂRAN-ʿAMMEH WAS APPOINTED METROPOLITAN BISHOP OF ADIABENE,[3] AND [DESCRIBETH] THE FIRST MIRACLE WHICH HE WROUGHT IN THAT COUNTRY.

Now the blessed and truly venerable and holy Metropolitan Mâr Aḥâ, being crowned with a diadem

[1] ܥܡܝܩܬܐ literally *deep*.

[2] *I. e.*, Hâtim (حاتِم) bar-Ṣâlih (صَالِح).

[3] In the list of chapters at the beginning of the work Mâran-ʿammeh is said to have been appointed Metropolitan of Arbela.

of light, ended his life in the country of Margâ, and his chaste body was laid in the village of Shalmath; and the choice of the whole country, but particularly of Lôharsaph (Lohrâsp)[1] and Maslĕmah,[2] and of the rest of their brethren, fell upon the holy Bishop Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh, and he was appointed [Bishop of Arbela] by the blessed Catholicus and Patriarch Mâr Jacob.[3] And when he had come and had been received with much pomp and with the honour which befitted his holiness, he went up and sat on the throne of the fathers.[4] Now certain insolent and thievish Arabs who were in that country had seized upon a mill called Bêth Wardâ,[5] which formed part of the possessions of the house of the Patriarch, and because the holy Mâr Ahâ died some way off, those Arabs rose up quickly, and with little resistance[6] called it their own property. And when the holy Mâran-ʿammeh had been appointed, he and all the honourable nobles with him worked with every possible means to take it back from those wrongful possessors, but were unable to do so; and when he said, [p. 154] "The mill belongs to the house of the Metropolitan, and is [therefore] my right," they dis-

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[1] *I. e.*, لُهْرَاسْپ, Λροοασπο, see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 150. Lohrâsp stands for the old *Arwatâspa* (see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 2, note 1), but the Arabic form of the name is Bohrâsp بهراسف (See Masʿûdi, *Les Praires d'Or*, tom ii. p. 121

[2] *I. e.*, ܡܣܠܡܗ.

[3] He sat from 753—772. See Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. coll. 156—158.

[4] *I. e.*, on the patriarchal throne in Arbela.

[5] *I. e.*, "the place of roses".

[6] ܚܘ ܠܩܕܐ = ܬܟܬܘܫܐ, ܡܬܚܪܝܢܘܬܐ, ܡܨܘܬܐ, ܚܪܝܢܐ, *contention*, *resistance*, *strife*, *dispute*.

puted the matter with him, saying that they would not give it up at all. Then Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh answered and said to them, "Since ye thus dispute the matter, and will not put yourselves away from this iniquity, come, let us go to the mill, that we may learn from it to whom it belongs." And those Arabs, although they made a mock at the difficulty of these words, and neither trusted nor believed in the power which was united to the blessed man, agreed to this condition, and went forth with him; and with them there were many Shahrighân[1] and Dahḳânê[2] [who went] to see what would come of his ordering. And [when] they had gone into [the mill], Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh answered and said to his opponents, "Since the mill is yours, command it to shew us that it is yours, and then we will leave it in your hands and go away." And they answered and said to him, "Thou must order it to shew us to whom it belongs". He said to them, "If I command it, and it doeth what I have commanded, will ye leave it, and take yourselves away?" And they said to him, "If we see this stone obedient to thy command, then we have no portion in it, and we will depart immediately, and the mill shall be thine." Then Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh having knelt down and prayed to God, turned towards the mill, and said, "O stone without feeling, by the great and Divine power of the word of the Lord which is mighty in the height and in the depth, if thou belongest to these Arabs, then according to thy custom, grind flour; but if, on the other hand, thou art not the property of these men, but art the inheritance of the Metropolitan of this country, let what thou grindest

[1] See *supra*, p. 309. [2] See *supra*, p. 256.

be changed to ashes." And when he had said this, ashes began to come forth from under the mill, and the flour disappeared; and every man was made afraid and brought to the confession of God. And Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh answered and said to those Arabs, "Now although [it hath happened] thus, if the mill be yours, [p. 155] command it to change the ashes into flour;" but they marvelled and were put to shame, and they emptied their hands of the mill in great disgrace. And Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh having given permission the mill changed its grinding of ashes into its usual grinding of flour,[1] and this report flew throughout all countries. Praise be to that merciful God Who worketh for His Church at all times, and among all peoples, and Who hath never left, nor will leave, Himself without a witness,[2] but Who establisheth in His churches the chosen doers of mighty deeds, and maketh them fathers from being His sons, and Who restoreth by their hands the miracles, and wonderful acts and mighty deeds of the Apostles their fathers!

CHAPTER V.[3]

OF THOSE PROVINCES WHICH MÂR MÂRAN-ʿAMMEH TOOK OVER TO THE JURISDICTION OF THE THRONE OF ADIABENE FROM THE [OTHER] THRONES OF THE DIOCESE, AND OF THOSE WHICH HE GAVE IN THEIR STEAD.

Now from the country of Salâkh he took the pro-

[1] Read ܠܛܚܘܢܗ. [2] Acts xiv. 17.

[3] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 483, col. 1.

vince of Dêbhûr,[1] and he wrote an order[2] and placed it in his episcopal house[3] to the end that from now and henceforth the Bishop of Salâkh should have no power over it, and also that his name should not be proclaimed in any one of the churches thereof. From Àdhôrbâîghân he took Inner Salâkh,[4] and gave it to the Bishop of Salâkh in the place of the province of Dêbhûr. To Stephen, Bishop of Dâsen, he gave the Great Monastery, and all the province of Naḥlâ and Ṭalânâ,[5] which belonged to the diocese[6] of Margâ; and he wrote for him an order that any Metropolitan who should succeed him should have no power to dispute [the matter] or to take it away from the throne of the country of Dâsen. [p. 156] From the pious and holy Mâr Shlêmôn (Solomon), Bishop of Ḥadhattâ, he

[1] Assemâni has ܕܐܒܘܪ. Hoffmann transcribes Dêbhwâr (*Auszüge*, p. 244 and note 1936). This place is mentioned with Dâsen داسن in De Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.*, pars vi. p. 245, l. 13. For سا Hoffmann would read والسلق.

[2] ܬܫܥܒܕܬܐ = الصّك *a written document*, *an order*, and الوثيقة, *an agreement*, *treaty*. Bar-Bahlûl says that the difference between ܬܫܥܒܕܬܐ and ܩܝܡܐ (covenant) is this: ܬܫܥܒܕܬܐ is that which a man takes upon himself by the submission of love (ܒܫܘܥܒܕܐ ܕܚܘܒܐ), but ܩܝܡܐ is that which he is bound to do under a penalty. See Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 307. Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 12*a*, col. 2, explains the word by كِتاب.

[3] ܒܝܬ ܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܝܘܢ = τὸ ἐπισκοπεῖον.

[4] From this it is clear that Salâkh Gawâithâ lay on the border of Àdhôrbâîghân, and it is probable that it is the same place as Salaḳ al-Audî. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 245.

[5] See Bk. ii. chap. 34, *supra*, p. 250, note 2.

[6] ܐܘܬܢܛܝܐ = αὐθεντία. See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 103; and Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 97.

took the Monastery of Bârḳâ,[1] and he gave him two districts from the dominion of Adiabene, Gamlâwlôhè and Merdè; and because of the holiness and the excellence of the manner of life of Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh, no man disputed or murmured against these [arrangements], but everything which he commanded and did was received with gladness as from an angel of the Lord,[2] and behold the divisions which he made stand to this day.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE REVELATION WHICH MÂR MÂRAN-ʿAMMEH RECEIVED IN A VISION OF THE ANGEL OF THE LORD, TO DESTROY WITH HIS HANDS THE SEED THAT WORKED EVIL AND THE CORRUPT CHILDREN WHO WERE IN THE COUNTRY OF MARGÂ.

Among the sins which are committed by man there is none more abominable and filthy than that of the lust of the body, for it draweth him that indulgeth in it into all error, and driveth him out in disgrace from every thing which is seemly; and the lawful gratification[3] of the desire of the body which is full[4] of shamefacedness and modesty testifieth to this, for it is performed[5] in the night season and in the darkness.

[1] This monastery was situated on the Tigris, probably near some sulphur spring. Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh went thither to drink the waters of the Tigris; see Bk. iii. chap. X.

[2] Compare כְּמַלְאַךְ אֱלֹהִים 1 Samuel xxix. 9; מַלְאַךְ הָאֱלֹהִים 2 Samuel xiv. 17; ὡς ἄγγελον θεοῦ Galatians iv. 14.

[3] Literally, "the legal performance." Read ܡܫܡܠܝܘܬܗ.

[4] Read ܡܠܝܐ.

[5] Read ܡܫܡܠܝܐ.

And thus the working of impurity cast to destruction the whole generation that lived in the days of Noah[1]; it burned the Sodomites with fire;[2] it threw Judah into disgrace;[3] it drove Samson forth from the Divine care which accompanied him;[4] and it laid a blemish upon David.[5] And from this [thing] the blessed and divine Paul hath commanded us to keep at a distance, saying, "Flee fornication",[6] and "Whosoever destroyeth the [p. 157] temple of God, him will God destroy, for the temple of God is holy, which [temple] ye are."[7] Now certain men who were members of religious houses in various places in the country of Margâ, through this gratification of corrupt and destructive lust, and by toiling in other habits of life which provoke our Lord, put themselves away from what is seemly through the counsel of the Evil One,[8] and others who were not deserving of the penalty of evil were made participators with them.

[1] Genesis vi. 12. The state of society before the Flood is thus described in the *Cave of Treasures.* ܘܒܗ ܫܢ̈ܝܐ ܐܬܚܝܠܬ ܙܢܝܘܬܐ ܒܒܢ̈ܝ ܩܐܝܢ. ܘܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܦܘܠܚܢܐ ܐܚܪܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܙܢܝܘܬܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ. ܘܠܐ ܡܬܚܫܒܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܠܡܬܦܢܝܘ. ܘܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܪܫܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܡܪܕܘܬܐ. ܘܡܫܬܝܐ. ܘܠܒܣܘܡܐ. ܘܪܘܝܘܬܐ. ܘܙܡܪܐ. ܘܪ̈ܩܕܐ ܘܓܚܟܐ ܕܫܐܕܐ. ܘܠܡܘܡܐ ܗܘ ܕܡܫܟܚ ܢܫ̈ܐ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܘܗܠܟ ܦܘܪܢܣܐ ܕܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ. ܟܕ ܡܬܚܠܛܝܢ ܒܗܕܐ ܢܫ̈ܐ. ܘܓܒܪ̈ܐ ܡܬܚܠܛܝܢ ܒܗܕܐ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ. . . . ܘܒܗ ܙܒܢܐ ܕܝܘܡܝ ܒܢ̈ܝ ܩܐܝܢ. ܟܠ ܕܡܚܙܝܐ ܐܢܫ ܗܘܐ ܢܫ̈ܐ ܒܗܕܐ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܐ. ܘܡܬܚܙܐ ܗܘܘ ܡܢ ܒܬܪ ܐܝܟ ܕܡܠܝܐ ܒܙܢܝܘܬܐ. ܘܐܟܠܘ ܘܐܫܬܝܘ ܠܓܒܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܢܫ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܗܘܘ ܥܠ ܚܕܐ ܙܢܝܘܬܐ. ܘܥܒܕܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܐܝܟ ܕܚܝܘܬܐ ܕܠܐ ܡܠܬܐ. ܘܫܒܩܘ ܐܦ ܠܕܚܠܬ ܐܠܗܐ ܘܐܬܦܩܕܘ ܠܡ ܠܡܠܟܐ ܦܫܝܛܐ ܗܘܘ ܡܢ ܡܬܪܥܝܢܘܬܗܘܢ. ܙܢܝܘ ܘܡܬܥܝܢܘܬܗܘܢ ܡܚܒܠܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܒܙܢܝܘܬܗܘܢ ܘܒܛܢܦܘܬܗܘܢ. See Bezold, *Die Schatzhöhle*, p. 60f.

[2] Genesis xix. 24. 25.

[3] Genesis xxxviii. 18.

[4] Judges xiv. 1.

[5] 2 Samuel xi. 2.

[6] 1 Corinthians vi. 18.

[7] 1 Corinthians iii. 17.

[8] We must follow the reading of A.

just as in the case of the famines which took place in the days of Abraham,[1] Isaac,[2] and Jacob,[3] those holy men also were participators with the wicked men on whose account the famines arose. What then? Now it came to pass one night that when the holy man was engaged in prayer in the cell in which he lived, that the Angel of the Lord appeared to him face to face, in a glorious and exceedingly sublime vision, and the temple of the blessed man was filled with a beautiful odour. And he was greatly moved, and answered and said to the spiritual being, "Who art thou, Master?" And the angel answered and said to him, "I am the Angel of the Lord who ministereth to this apostolic throne of Arbêl." And the holy man answered and said to him, "What doth my lord command his servant [to do]?" And the angel answered and said to him, "A command hath gone forth from before the Lord to waste and destroy by thy hands a sinful people and a people mighty in iniquity, which is in the country of Margâ, for their iniquity, like that of the people of Sodom,[4] hath gone up before the Lord, and like them they shall receive punishment in divers ways according to thy command." The blessed man answered and said, "The Lord God is able to destroy them in a moment as He destroyed the hosts of the Assyrians,[5] [p. 158] how then can my feeble intervention be required by Him by Whose nod the worlds stand, to whom if He appeareth they shriek violently, and at the sight of Whom the mountains reel,[6] and the earth trem-

[1] Genesis xii. 10.
[2] Genesis xxvi. 1.
[3] Genesis xliii. 1.
[4] Genesis xviii. 21.
[5] 2 Kings xix. 35.
[6] Psalm xviii. 7; Psalm xcvii. 5; Isaiah v. 25.

bleth?"[1] The spiritual being said to him, "I am the angel who hath accompanied thee in all thy administration, and all those who have been before thee, and I shall accompany all those who shall come after thee until the end, and until time shall cease and be annihilated; I will be a participator with thee in their destruction." The blessed man answered and said to him, "It is neither just nor seemly that I should be the executioner[2] of my own children, and the slayer of those who have been sanctified by me with baptism and the laying on of hands, and whom I have made to drink of the living water of the doctine of Christ; spare me, a sinful man from doing this. The destruction of the Assyrians,[3] and the destruction of the people of Israel which took place in the days of David,[4] the many cities which were overthrown,[5] and the great and mighty deeds which God hath worked from generation to generation, were not wrought by the hands of men but by angels; go thou thyself then and do that which thou commandest me to do." The angel said to him, "Dispute not with the Divine command, lest thou appear pertinacious[6] and obstinate; if vengeance is not taken upon them by means of thee, it will

[1] Psalm civ. 32; Isaiah xxiv. 20.

[2] ܩܣܛܘܢܪܐ = quaestionarius *i. e.*, carnifex, qui reos cruciat, examinat, Βασάνων ὑπηρέτης. Du Cange, Glossarium, *Script. Med. Inf. Latinitatis*, col., 1025.

[3] 2 Kings xix. 35.

[4] 2 Samuel xxiv. 15; 1 Chronicles xxi. 14.

[5] Genesis xix. 25.

[6] ܦܗܠܘܢܐ. Compare ܦܗܠܘܢܐ ܗܢܝ. ܗ. ܡܣܟܣܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܒܥܠ ܡܚܘܠܬܗ ܥܡ ܥܡܣܢܐ ✲ ܘܡܠܟܢܐ ܠܘܩ ܗܘ ܕܡܣܬܪܗܛ ܡܣܬܪܚ ܘܡܣܬܪܚܐ ܘܠܗ ܥܡ ܡܚܘܠܐ. Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 2441, fol. 325*b*, col. 2.

not be known that they have justly been destroyed and have perished, and also they will [not] be a warning to others not to be like unto them;" and when the angel had spoken these things with him, he disappeared from him, and Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh saw him no more.

CHAPTER VII.

OF HOW THE BLESSED MAN LEFT HIS EPISCOPAL HOUSE AND FLED, AND OF THE ANGELIC AGENCY WHICH PREVENTED HIS FLIGHT.

Now when it appeared to the holy man thus, [p. 159] and he knew that the word had gone forth from before the Lord, with tears and great grief he secretly left his cell, and went out by night to go forth into solitude[1] remote from all mankind, that he might not be the means by which the matter which the angel required of him [should be accomplished]; and he turned the impetuosity of his course with very rapid steps to a mountain eastwards, having his eyes filled with tears, and prayer and supplication in his mouth. But just as the Lord turned back the fugitive prophet in the belly of the whale[2] unto the preaching of Nineveh,[3] and completed by him that which was required of him, so also

[1] ܒܠܚܘܕܝܘܬܐ, a rare word.

[2] ܩܝܛܐ = κῆτος. This word is explained by سمك "fish", ܢܘܢܐ ܪܒܐ "great fish", ܬܢܝܢܐ "dragon," تمساح "crocodile." Brit. Mus. MSS. Rich 7203, fol. 148*a*, col. 2; and Orient. 2441, fol. 321*a*, col. 2. See also Ahrens, *Buch der Naturgegenstande*, (text) p. 55.

[3] Jonah ii. 10.

did He turn back this fugitive priest, not by means of a fish, but by means of the element[1] of fire did He make him afraid;[2] and he returned to His service. Now when he had gone on the whole day, without food and without water, he came to a valley in which was a pool[3] of water, and there were reeds[4] round about it, and he went into the place where the reeds were dense[5] that he might satisfy his hunger with the plants[6] and herbs which were round about him. Then that guardian angel stood above him as before, and answered and said to him, "Whither canst thou flee from before the Lord? Behold the heavens and the earth are filled with Him; thou appearest to be acting like

[1] ܐܣܛܘܟܣܐ, *i. e.*, στοιχεῖον.

[2] ܕܚܠܗ for ܕܚܠܗ. [3] ܐܓܡܬܐ for ܐܓܡܬܐ.

[4] ܓܡܐ or ܓܡܐ is the name given by the Syrians to the long, slender reed which grows in marshy places in Mesopotamia from four to eight feet high; the Arabs call it قَصَب. Large patches of the reed are found in the soft ground between hills and mountains. A fine example of such a reedy swamp is that which extends from the Khabûr to Buḥairet Khatûnîyyeh, to the west of the Sinjâr Mountains; it affords excellent cover for wild animals of all kinds. I passed it in the late autumn of 1890, and the ride occupied more than two hours. Sir Henry Layard saw a leopard stealing from the high grass at this place. See *Nineveh and Babylon,* p. 324.

[5] ܟܒܘܫܬܐ. A rare word.

[6] All the MSS. have ܢܢܚܐ *Nânḥê,* and according to Stoddard (quoted in Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2387) ܢܢܚܐ means "a kind of hot grass." The word ܢܢܚܐ, or ܢܢܚܐ may be a corruption of ܢܢܢܝܐ, Pers. نينيا = ܐܡܝ or ܐܡܡܘܣ, Gr. ἄμμι = نانخواة. See Dozy, *Supplément*, tom. ii. p. 632, col. 1; Payne Smith, *Thes.*, coll. 223, 229, 2362. Loew in his *Aramäische Pflanzennamen,* No. 200, p. 259, gives the form ܢܢܥܐ, נַנְעָא *Mentha.*

a stupid and ignorant man." Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh said to him, "Even if I perish like a child of perdition I will neither become a wicked shepherd, and break the ankles of my sheep, nor the slayer of innocent lambs over whom the Holy Spirit has set me in a place of trust." The angel said to him, "I could take thee now and place thee, like Habakkuk,[1] in thy cell, O simple old man, I do not, however, wish thy service to be forced but voluntary." [p. 160] And while he was yet disputing, by means of the spiritual being fire came round about him, and the thicket began to burn, and the angel said to him, "Wilt thou go now, or shall I consume thee with these reeds?" And when the body of the old man began to wax hot, he promised with tears to go according to his command, and the angel took him, and in one moment placed him in the cell where he lived.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE DEPARTURE OF THE BLESSED MÂR MÂRAN-ʿAMMEH TO THE COUNTRY OF MARGÂ, AND OF THE MIRACLES WHICH TOOK PLACE THERE BY HIS HANDS.

Now when the holy man had returned from his flight, and had tarried a little he prepared himself to go forth to the mournful and sorrowful work which had been sent to him; and he crossed the Zâb, and made his way direct to the province beyond the Zâb[2]

[1] See *Bel and the Dragon*, verse 39.

[2] Read ܕܥܒܪ ܙܒܐ and see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 227; and *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 485, col. 1 (*Birtha . . . . . quae ultra Zabam fluvium*).

which lay to the east of Margâ, and went up to a great village, situated in the mountain, the name of which was Bîrtâ. And he passed the night in the church [there] according to [his] custom, and it appeared to him in a dream that [one said to him], "This village is one of those which have provoked thy Lord, cast into it one of the arrows of thy curses, and get thee forth from it early." And with the falling of the sun upon the earth, he mounted his ass and went forth from it, and he turned his face towards it, and said, "O village full of iniquity, nevermore shall the cock, the harbinger of peace, crow in thee, nevermore shall his voice be heard in thee; thy inhabitants shall go forth from thee, and be scattered, and moreover thou shalt nevermore be inhabited." And with the word of the righteous man there went forth fire from the four ends of the village, [p. 161] and burnt up all the houses in a moment, and behold to this day no man dwelleth therein.

From this [village] he came to Bêth Ṭĕḥûnâi[1] in which dwelt certain Shahrîghân who possessed many estates in the country. And one of these men whose name was Armenâzwâi,[2] had a wife, who was from the village Kĕphar 'Uzzêl,[3] and she was well acquainted with

[1] Assemânî has ܒܝܬ ܛܚܘܢܝ which Hoffmann compares doubtfully with Taḫwânî (*Auszüge*, p. 238). In the metrical description of the destruction of this village (Syriac text p. 181, l. 7) Bêth Ṭâhônâi is said to have been situated by the side of a river ܥܠ ܓܒ ܢܗܪܐ.

[2] This is a ὑποκοριστικόν name composed of ארמן + zâd, زاد; compare ארמנדותא Horn and Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, p. 35, Ἀριάμνης, Ἀριαμένης? *etc.*

[3] Read ܟܦܪ ܥܘܙܝܠ ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.

the holy man; now she was a lady of noble birth. And there was in the village of Bêth Ṭĕḥûnâi a convent of holy women,[1] and the husband of this woman used to commit fornication with one of those nuns. And when the blessed man went into the church, the wife came[2] to him as to her father and as to the one who had reared her, and began to make an accusation against her husband concerning the secret unchastity which he wrought, and that he had forsaken her and was working fornication. And he called the man before him, and began to rebuke and to reprove him, saying, "Thou art not acting rightly, for instead of [the] lawful union, thou makest Satan to rejoice through [thy] corrupt union with strangers; moreover thou hast condemned thine own soul, and wilt be cast[3] forth from being a member of His household." Now Arménâzwâi, instead of receiving the rebuke, and confessing his sin, and asking [pardon] with prayers, and promising repentance, abused the holy man with foul names, and also lifted[4] up his hand to strike him. And the holy man answered and said to him, "I trust in our Lord that thou and all thy village shall go down alive[5] into Sheol, like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram."[6] And when

[1] Literally "a convent of daughters of the covenant." See Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 892 (De Monialibus); and Kayser, *Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa*, Leipzig, 1886, pp. 110—112. Among the modern Nestorians nunneries seem not to exist. See Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 170.

[2] ܐܬܬ for ܐܬܬ. [3] Strike out the point after ܘܡܫܬܕܐ.

[4] Read ܐܪܝܡ.

[5] For examples of ܚܝܐ used as an adverb see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1256.

[6] Numbers xvi. 32.

the wife saw the cursing of the holy old man, and it fell upon her ears, she knew that straightway his command would be carried out, and she answered and said to him, "Father, what shall I and these my two sons do?" He said to her, "Get thee forth quickly, and flee to the Monastery of Ḳûrâi,[1] and tarry not here for an instant, that ye perish not." [p. 162] And it came to pass in the morning season, when the reapers were in the fields, that a sound like unto mighty peals of thunder was heard, and like that of the earth being rent asunder[2] under the village, and the mountain which was above it gave forth a sound as of falling upon it; and while the reapers of millet[3] were looking on at a distance, they saw two horsemen mounted on horses of fire holding swords of fire in their hands; and they stood, one above the mountain, and one below it.[4] And the horseman that was above answered and said to him that was below, "Do thou destroy from below, and I will destroy from above;" and thus the village of Bêth Ṭĕḥûnâi sank into the earth with its inhabitants unto this day. Now those who remember these things told us that for quite two months before this happened, smoke and stinking vapours were ascending from the village; and [its destruction] became a proverb and a saying for ever.

[1] See *supra*, Book iii. chap. 2, p. 296.

[2] All the MSS. have ܕܡܬܦܚܬܬܐ, but we must read either ܕܡܬܦܚܬܐ or ܕܡܬܦܚܬܬ (compare ܘܡܬܦܚܬܬ Syriac text p. 182, l. 5, and Brit. Mus. MS. No. 17, 153, fol. 69*b*, col. 1, l. 19), for the roots ܦܚܬ and ܦܬܬ are unknown.

[3] ܕܘܚܢܐ, ܕܘܚܢ, דֹּחַן, דוחינא. See Loew, *Pflanzennamen*, No. 72, p. 101.

[4] Read, with BC, ܡܚܬܗ.

And from this [village] he departed and came to Bêth ʿAinâthâ,[1] a village in the neighbourhood of the village of Bâshôsh,[2] and Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh had a vision concerning it. And as he was riding along he stood upon a hill above the village, and lifting up his hand against it, he cursed it, saying, "The Lord shall make mighty winds to blow upon thee, and all thy houses shall be swept away, all thine inhabitants shall perish, and thou shalt never [again] be inhabited to the end of time, and all thy lands shall the village Bâshôsh inherit." And it came to pass in the night which followed that day that a mighty south wind came upon it, and destroyed it and wasted it, and it became an inheritance for the people of Bâshôsh to this day.

And he was also commanded by the spiritual being to destroy another village in the neighbourhood of Bâshôsh, which was called Ḥabbûshtâ,[3] and this he did with words of wrath and destruction.

And he left this village also, and it appeared to him in a vision that he should go to the village of Bêth Edrê.[4] [p. 163] Now this was the [native] village

[1] For Bêth ʿAinâthâ of Bêth Zabhdai see Bk. i. chap. 7, *supra*, p. 46.

[2] See *supra*, p. 217.

[3] Assemânî gives (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 485, col. 1) ܚܒܫܘܫܬܐ *Ḥebhshûshtâ*, *i. e.*, "scarab", but both here, and in the Syriac text p. 182, l. 9, the other MSS have ܚܒܘܫܬܐ. The reading given by Assemânî is probably the more correct. For the "Beetle Monastery," ܕܝܪܐ ܕܚܒܫܘܫܬܐ, see Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronicon*, ed. Bedjan, p. 517, l. 16.

[4] A school was founded here by Mâr Bâbhai: see Book iii. chap. 2, p. 296.

of the father of the holy Mâr Abraham, the Catholicus[1] in our days, and the name of his father was Shâbhôr, and that of his brother was Ḳenârgh.[2] And concerning this man, a certain priest whose name was Emmanuel, from the village of Bâshôsh, told me that, "during the whole course of his life he worshipped the sun, and that he bowed down to the east, in the morning when it rose, to the south at mid-day, and to the west in the evening; finally he became a heathen and [afterwards] a preacher." And the blessed Mâran-ʿammeh came to the village of these men. Now there was in it a small school,[3] and twelve scholars and their teacher, and he went into it when the teacher was making ready to have a passage[4] read from the Bible, and the passage was from Isaiah. And the blessed man asked him what passage he was going to read, and [when he had told him] Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh said, "Leave this passage to-day, and begin from where I will shew thee." And he opened out[5] the Book and shewed him [the passage], "Howl, O village;[6] cry out and complain, O

[1] He was appointed Catholicus A. H. 222 = A. D. 836 and sat for nearly thirteen years. According to Bar-Hebraeus, (*Chron. Eccles.*, ii. col 189) "he was a pure and venerable man, but on account of his lack of knowledge failed to govern the Church;" before he ascended the patriarchal throne he was Bishop of al-Ḥadîtha. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 508.

[2] ܩܢܪܓ seems to be the title of a high office; compare Pers. کنارنگ *Kanârang* = χαναράγγης. See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 442, note 5.

[3] Probably the school founded by Mâr Babhai; see *supra*, p. 296.

[4] ܦܪܫܬܐ = פָּרָשָׁה.

[5] ܦܪܓ literally, *to open out a way*.

[6] Isaiah xiv. 31.

village; all Philistia is troubled; for smoke cometh forth from the north, and there is in thee no one person of his who striveth,"[1] and he added the passage which cometh after it. And when he had finished, he answered and said to the teacher and to the scholars, "Get ye forth from this village, and go to Shalmath which is above you, for the ruin of the lords of the village is nigh." And on the following day men came from the north as they had read, and slew Shâbhôr, the lord of the village, and it became a ruin, and to this day no man dwelleth therein.

And from this village he came to Mayâ Ḳarîrê,[2] the village of the honourable Zâdhai,[3] [p. 164] and there was in it a famous school, and he possessed seventy and two estates in Margâ, Gôghmal[4] and Nineveh; now for what sin Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh cursed this man is hidden from us. And he answered and said to him, "Thou shalt fall from all this glory in which thou art, thy estates[5] shall be taken from thee,

[1] The Peshîṭtâ has ܘܠܝܬ ܕܢܫܒܩ ܒܗܘܢ ܒܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗܘܢ.

[2] A place between Mardîn and Àmid. Concerning its pleasant situation compare "cum ad nemorosum quendam locum vineis arbustisque pomiferis consitum Meiacarire nomine venissemus, cui fontes dedere vocabulum gelidi". Ammianus Marcellinus, xviii. 6. 16.

[3] *I. e.*, زادويه.

[4] ܓܘܓܡܠ. or ܓܘܡܠ. a place situated on Tell Gômel, about 40 or 50 miles east of Môṣul; here, however, Thomas of Margâ means the whole district of the Gômel valley. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 1534, p. 194; the map in Sachau's *Reise*, in which Kiepert has fixed the exact position of this town; and *B. O.*, ii. p. LXXXIV, and p. 419.

[5] Read ܘܩܘܪ̈ܝܟ.

and finally thou shalt perish of hunger;" which [thing] actually took place, to the great astonishment [of all], for his riches and glory departed, and all his estates became the property of strangers, and that during his lifetime and while his eyes could see it. And Shâbhôrân,[1] the *Shahrigh*,[2] from the village of Ḳôph,[3] related to me concerning this man, that in his old age he came to such absolute poverty that he must have brought in the beginning of the fast[4] without bread, if a certain man of his household had not brought him a handful of wheat, which he roasted on hot coals, and thus brought in the fast of forty days.[5]

Now there was in the village which was called Bêth Ḳârdâgh,[6] a certain heretic[7] who dwelt upon a pillar of limestone; now this man had dwelt for many years on this pillar, but from the swift punishment which

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[1] *I. e.,* Shâhpuhrân.

[2] ܫܗܪܝܓ, the first example of the use of the singular of ܫܗܪ̈ܝܓܐ in Thomas of Margâ. The Pehlevi is *shahrîg*, or *shahrik*, in Neo-Persian *shahrî*; see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 446.

[3] *I. e.,* "Kôb near Akra;" see Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. 1, p. 101; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, notes 1775, 1793.

[4] *I. e.,* when the first Sunday of Lent came he had not even bread to begin the fast ܚܕ ܒܫܒܐ ܕܡܥܠܝ ܨܘܡܐ = ܡܥܠܝ ܨܘܡܐ "the first day of the week (*i. e.*, Sunday) of the beginning of the fast."

[5] *I. e.,* Lent. For the seven fasts of the Nestorians, 1. ܨܘܡܐ ܕܪ̈ܒܢܢ, 2. ܨܘܡܐ ܕܫ̈ܠܝܚܐ, 3. ܨܘܡܐ ܕܡܘܫܐ, 4. ܨܘܡܐ ܕܐܠܝܐ, 5. ܨܘܡܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ, 6. ܨܘܡܐ ܕܒܣܘܡܐ (or ܣܘܒܪܐ), 7. ܨܘܡܐ ܕܢܝܢܘ̈ܝܐ, see Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. CCCLXXXVII.

[6] Or Bêth Ḳardagh in Margâ; see Book iii. chap. 2, *supra*, p. 297. This district is also called ܦܪܕܓܐ; see the Syriac text p. 183, l. 5.

[7] *I. e.,* a Jacobite.

came upon him by the hands of the holy man it was known that he performed all his labour and his dwelling thereon by the wish of devils. And when he saw the blessed man, and the multitudes that were with him, from afar off—now they followed close after him by reason of the wonderful deeds which he wrought, and it is said that seventy nobles[1] of the *Shahrighân* and of the *Dihkân* accompanied him,—he understood[2] that it was the Metropolitan. And he called quickly to his disciple and said to him, "Run[3] fast and quickly before the Metropolitan of the Nestorians (for behold he cometh from Mayâ Ḳarîrê), and salute him for me, saying, 'Thou knowest, my lord, the obligation by which I am bound and that it is not easy for me to come to salute thee; but I entreat thee by the love of our Lord, [p. 165] to draw near to me that I may see thee and be blessed by thee'." Now when his disciple met Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh at some distance away, he bowed down before him, and repeated to him everything which his master had said. And the holy old man answered and said, "He who withholds a salutation from his companion forsaketh the fear of the Highest." Then the man in the pillar-shaped tower, seeing that the Metropolitan had turned aside into the road which went to his village, and being confident that he was coming to visit him, thrust his head through the window and said to the people of his village, "Behold how excellent is my manner of life before God! for behold the head of the wicked Nes-

[1] All the MSS. have ܐܚܫ̈ܠܐ, but we should probably read ܐܚܫ̈ܢܐ.

[2] Read, with BC. ܐܣܬܟܠ.

[3] ܪܗܛ, imperative of ܪܗܛ.

torians cometh to be blessed by me while ye despise me, and make a mock of my wishes." Now Shârzâdh,[1] who was afterwards, when he became a monk, called George, and who became Catholicus,[2] with his servants had gone out to the chase; and when he saw the Metropolitan he alighted from his horse, and was blessed by him. And Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh asked him, "Whose son art thou, my son?" and he said, "I am the son of Mîhrôi,[3] from the village of Ḥennes;"[4] and Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh said, "Mount thy horse, and come with us, for we are going to thy village." And when he had come and stood beneath the man in the tower he answered and said to the dweller [therein], "Why didst thou send after me?" and the man said to him, "That I might salute thee and ask for thy prayers, O Mâr Metropolitan." The blessed man said to him, "I have confidence in the mercy of our Lord, that if, as thou

[1] *I. e.*, شيرزاد, "lion's son". In *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 485, col. 1, he is said to have been the "son of Maihrûk ܫܝܪܙܕ ܒܪ ܡܝܗܪܘܟ. See Horn and Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, p. 41.

[2] *I. e.*, George II. He is said to have been born in Karkhâ and surnamed ابن الصياح *Ibn-Eṣṣîâḥ*. He became a monk in the Monastery of Bêth ʿÂbhê, and rose to the dignity of abbot. He was ordained Metropolitan of Gundêshâbhôr by Timothy the Patriarch, and was elected Patriarch A. H. 210 = A. D. 825, and sat for seven years (See *B. O.*, ii. p. 435, col. 2). He died aged one hundred years, and was buried in the Monastery of Kelîl-Îshôʿ. Bar-Hebraeus (*Chron. Eccles.*, ii. col. 187) says that he sat for forty years, but this is a mistake, as we see from the marginal note in Codex L.

[3] In the *Book of the Bee*, (ed. Budge, p. 93 text, l. 6), the form ܡܝܗܪܘܟ Mîhârôḳ occurs. Compare ܕܕܗܘܟ Dâdhûḳ, Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 278; and Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 11.

[4] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 223, and *supra*, p. 297, note 3.

sayest, thou didst call me for the sake of greeting and love, our Lord will cleanse thy heart from [thy] blasphemy concerning His manhood, so that thou mayest understand Him [as] God and Man in one person of holy sonship; that He will make thee a member of the household of the true faith which we hold; that for all thy labour up to this day propitiation may be made, and that it may be acceptable before Him; and that He may hold thee worthy of the enjoyment of His kingdom with His saints. But if, on the other hand, thou hast, [p. 166] in the scorn of thy boasting, acted in a scoffing manner,[1] may the Lord smite with hail-stones this tower upon which thou dwellest outside the doctrine of orthodoxy, and may it fall and be destroyed; and may fire go forth from the hail and consume thy body, and mayest thou be a reproach and a byword for all generations which shall come after." And those who were spectators tell me that with the word of the blessed[2] old man, there appeared a little black cloud rising up and coming from Mount Matthew,[3] and mighty thunders roared, and blazing lightnings played round about it, and it came on and rested over that pillar. And the stones of which it was built were rent asunder and scattered abroad by mighty and violent hail-stones, and fire went forth from the hail, and set fire to the body of that wretched man and consumed it;[4] and

[1] ܡܒܙܚܢܐܝܬ *scoffingly*. There is no example of this word in Payne Smith's *Thesaurus*.

[2] Read ܕܒܪܝܟܐ

[3] *I.e.*, Gebel Maḳlûb. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 175, note 1371.

[4] On the margin of the MSS. is written a verse in dodecasyllabic metre which reads:—"The most pious Metropolitan Mâran-ʿammeh, who excelled in mighty deeds, who was fertile in

thus he became a mockery and a byword according to the curse [laid] upon him by the old man. Then Shârzâdh, that is [to say] George, when he saw the storm, and the things which had taken place, answered and said to the Metropolitan, "Is the power which cleaveth to the saints so mighty as this?" and the Metropolitan said, "My son, what hast thou seen yet of the deeds of the Apostles?"[1] And George said to him, "If it be thus, as the Lord liveth, I will become a monk, and I will renounce the world, and everything that I have." The holy man said to him, "If now thou wilt do as thou sayest, and wilt make thyself a monk, our Lord will make thee the head of all His church;" [p. 167] and the prophecy of the holy man actually happened to the blessed Shârzâdh. For he went and became a disciple in the monastery of Bêth ʿÀbhê, and when he had become the head of the monastery he said to the monks who were in his monastery, "My foot hath begun to tread the ladder of preferment according to the word of the blessed Mâran-ʿammeh;" and when he had been Metropolitan of Elam for twenty-five years, he sent to the sons of his monastery, saying, "Another step is reserved for me, according to the word of the holy man." And when Rabban Îshôʿ bar-Nôn[2] died, this George became Patriarch after him,

marvellous acts of strength, who spake and burned up him that dwelt insolently in a tower, avenged the blood of the righteous Mâr Nestorius."

[1] *I. e.*, "How very little of this power of the Apostles hast thou seen even now!"

[2] Îshôʿ bar-Nôn was a native of Bêth Gabbârê, a village in the district of Nineveh, and lived for thirty-eight years in the Monastery of Saʿîd near Môṣul. He maintained a controversy

and he sent to his monastery, saying, "See, my brethren, the prophecy of Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh concerning me has, in very deed, been fulfilled."

Now therefore the blessed Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh went forth from Ḥennes, and he went up in anger to the province of Bîrtâ,[1] against the village of Ḥeṭrê, and against it he also cast the arrow of his curses, saying, "There shall never be bread in thee, and the life of everyone who shall dare to dwell in thee shall perish by famine and sickness;" and this village also was clothed with the curse, and it became a ruin for ever. And from these [deeds] the blessed man returned to his habitation like a valiant soldier, who had destroyed the enemies of his lord, and who had overthrown their lands for ever, and who had scattered to every wind those that were left.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE DROUGHT AND FAMINE WHICH TOOK PLACE IN THE DAYS OF THE HOLY MÂR MÂRAN-ʿAMMEH, AND OF THE WONDER WHICH HE SHEWED BY HIS STAFF.

Now in the time of the extreme[2] old age of the holy man there took place in the countries of his

against the Catholicus Timothy whom, playing upon his name, he called *Tâlêmathêôs* or "God-reviler," and when Timothy died he was elected Catholicus A. D. 820. He sat four years, and died aged eighty-four years; he was buried in the Monastery of Kelîl-Ìshôʿ (See *B. O.*, ii. pp. 434, 435; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. col. 181). For ʿAbhd-Ìshô's list of his works see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 165.

[1] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 227.

[2] All the MSS. have ܣܘܒܠܐ, but read ܣܘܒܠܐ.

dominion the great drought[1] which is called by the Elders the "first drought", since this took place following

[1] The ܫܘܒܐ is a hot, dry wind which dries up every pool and watercourse, and parches the ground, and destroys all vegetable life; in Deuteronomy xxviii. 22 it is mentioned with fever, fiery heat and mildew. Its effect upon the wheat crops may be gathered from Joshua the Stylite, who says that "in the month of Îyâr (May, A. D. 501) there blew a hot wind for three days, and all the corn of our land was dried up save in a few places," ܢܫܒ ܕܝܢ ܪܘܚܐ ܕܫܘܒܐ ܝܘܡܬܐ ܬܠܬܐ. ܘܝܒܫ ܟܠܗ ܥܒܘܪܐ ܕܐܪܥܢ. ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܕܘܟܝܬܐ ܙܥܘܪܝܬܐ (ed. Wright, text p. 41, translation, p. 35). The country round about Môṣul has always been, and is still, peculiarly liable to great famines. The ܫܘܒܐ wind first dries up everything, then the locusts appear, and after them the cholera. The terrible famine which took place there a few years ago, when the British Vice-Consul Mr. Russell acted so nobly, is so recent that it scarcely needs to be mentioned; those who are interested in the subject may, however, find details in Sachau, *Reise in Mesopotamien*, p. 344.

According to Bar-Hebraeus, (*Chronicle*, text, ed. Bruns, p. 123) in the year 721 the water supply failed, and the villagers were obliged to go a distance of seven miles to fetch water. In the same year wheat and grain were very scarce, and in the following year the locusts came in great numbers. Two years later there was a great pestilence in Mesopotamia. In the year 784 flying locusts came and destroyed the crops, and made their way up the walls and through doors and windows into the houses which were filled with them. They filled all the water vessels, and having entered the houses from the south side they left them from the north side; having eaten up the grass and trees, they even devoured woollen garments and clothes. Three years after this plague a mighty famine took place. (B. H., *Chronicle*, text, p. 134) About the year 842 there was a "mighty famine and terrible pestilence and suffering by reason of the heavy taxes and exactions of the rebels" (B. H., *Chronicle*, text, p. 160). In A. H. 234 there blew over the whole of Mesopotamia "a mighty, hot wind the like of

the two hundred and fourth year of the Arabs;[1] [p. 168] and the famine waxed very great during the drought, and slew many by its severity. And when the blessed man saw the orphans and widows that were dying of hunger, he rose up and went to Ḥesnâ ʿEbhrâyâ,[2] and he began to go round and to ask alms of the believers, wherewith he might feed the orphans and poor people

which none remembered ever to have blown before," ريح شديدة وسَمُوم لم يعهد قبلها مثلها; see Gottwaldt, *Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium*, Leipzig, 1844, vol. 1, p. 188; Abû-'l-Mahâsin, ed. Juynboll, vol. 1, p. 801; and Bar-Hebraeus, *Historia Dynastiarum*, Oxford 1663, pp. 92, 93, 94, 98.

[1] *I. e.*, A. D. 819, Hoffmann thinks we should read ܫܢܬ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܘܬܠܬܝܢ ܘܐܪܒܥ "two hundred and thirty-fourth year (*i. e.*, A. D. 848)." See the preceding note.

[2] *I. e.*, the "Hebrew Fortress." Thomas of Margâ may refer to the Jewish community living round about Nebi Yûnus. This mound is called تلّ التَّوْبَة, or in Syriac ܬܠܐ ܕܬܝܒܘܬܐ "the mound of repentance," because the prophet Jonah is said to have gathered the Ninevites together, and to have preached to them there, after which they repented. The position of the Monastery of Yûnus ibn-Mattai, دير يونس بن متّى is described in Yâḳût, ii. p. 810. The fountain of Yûnus is about one mile distant from the mound; see *Voyages d'ibn Batoutah*, ed. Defremery, tom. ii. p. 137. Nebi Yûnus is within the walls which mark the site of the ancient Nineveh, and is opposite Kouyunjik (Koyunshik) and Môṣul. The excavations which have been made there have brought to light inscriptions of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. For a description of the plaee see Tuch, *De Nino Urbe*, p. 50; Rich, *Narrative of a Residence*, vol. ii. p. 44; Sandreczki, *Reise nach Mosul*, part ii. p. 48; Sachau, *Reise in Mesopotamien*, p. 343. It is also possible that the words "Hebrew Fortress" may refer to the mound of Kouyunjik, upon which stood the قلعة نينوى or "Nineveh Castle;" the mound was called ܬܠܐ ܕܚܨܢܐ ܕܢܝܢܘܐ the "hill of the Nineveh Fortress," or حصن نينوى, or تلّ نينوى. See Rich, *Narrative*, vol. ii. p. 55; Bar-Hebraeus, *Historia*

of his country. And because they were well acquainted with his greatness, and with the Apostolic wonders and mighty deeds which he wrought, the believing lovers of God gave to him abundantly.[1] And when he had collected much money, and went forth to come [to his own country], certain thieves who had watched him from Môṣul to Bêth Tartar[2] of the Ninevites, went before him on the road, and lay hidden in a mountain hollow[3] and watched for him to pass by. And when he passed by singing a psalm, they knew that he had none of his property with him; but when his disciples entered that hollow, the thieves rose up and laid hold upon the possessions which were under them. And his disciples cried out to him, and he turned back and saw the thieves making ready to carry off everything that he had with him. And he said to his disciples, "Give me my staff;" and when they had given it to him, he tied his turban cloth around the top of it, and threw it towards heaven in anger. And he began to weep, saying, "My soul abhorreth that which troubleth it;[4] how many are they increased who trouble me;[5] how many are my days[6] in which thou dost not depart[7] from me, and in which I do not see evil days?[8]

Dynastiarum, pp. 404, 441; and Tuch, *De Nino Urbe*, p. 49. In Bk. iv. chap. 5 ܚܨܢܐ ܥܒܪܝܐ is said to be in "Nineveh" and in Bk. v. chap. 2 it is said to be a "town" ܡܕܝܢܬܐ.

[1] ܡܫܡܠܝܐܝܬ.

[2] Compare الثرثار.

[3] ܕܓܠܘܬܐ, in Neo-Syriac ܕܘܘܬܐ. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 1794, p. 225; and Nöldeke, *Grammatik der Neusyrischen Sprache*, p. 39.

[4] Job. vi. 7.

[5] Psalm iii. 1.

[6] Psalm cxix. 84.

[7] Compare Job vii. 19.

[8] Compare Proverbs xv. 15; Ecclesiastes xii. 1.

for behold now thou hast delivered the alms[1] which I have begged for the poor into the hands of the spoilers." Now the rod stood between earth and heaven, and a gentle wind was blowing towards the holy man, but sparks of fire came forth from the knotted[2] fringes of the turban cloth, and smote[3] the thieves in their faces. And when they saw this wonder they were in great fear, and they let go their hands from the mules, and asked for alms from him like wretched beggars, saying, [p. 169] "Consider us also, O blessed man, like those poor people to whom thou art carrying this money, and give us alms from it, for it is through hunger that we have done this." And he commanded his disciples, and they gave money to them, and thus those thieves turned back, and travelled on their way rejoicing; and when they came to their habitation they proclaimed continually throughout the whole country the wonderful thing which the blessed man had wrought. These are [some of] the glorious things of the holy Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh, and these are the miracles which

[1] ܚܝܕܪ̈ܐ *i. e.*, what is obtained by begging. Payne Smith prefers the form ܚܘܕܪ̈ܐ (*Thes.*, col. 1205).

[2] ܦܘܦ̈ܐ ܡܥܩܕ̈ܐ, "the knotted fringe or tassels of the *Kaffiyyeh* كَفِّيَّة or turban cloth." ܦܘܦ̈ܐ = ܦܘܦ̈ܐ from the singular ܦܘܦܐ or ܦܦܐ. Compare פִּיפִין, פִּיפְיָא, *glomi filorum*, (Buxtorf, ed. Fischer, p. 737, col. 2; Levy, *Chald. Wörterbuch*, p. 159, col. 2), and ܦܦܐ = القبّة Payne Smith, *Thesaurus*, col. 2682. In the east to this day *kaffiyyehs* are woven with long fringes, and when the purchaser has made his selection, the merchant hands it over to a man or woman who plaits the fringe into thin cords, each of which he knots at the end, or works it into a little round ball which is often sewn over with coloured silks and thread of gold.

[3] ܡܒܚ̈ܢ for ܡܚܝ̈ܢ.

he wrought; it is evident that we have only written down some few of them, for the complete accounts have been blotted out through the lapse of time, and through the remissness of scribes who have neglected to set down in writing for us [all] the noble acts of the blessed man.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE SICKNESS WHICH SMOTE THE HOLY MAN, AND OF HIS DEPARTURE FROM THIS LIFE OF TIME TO THAT OF ETERNITY.

Now when the blessed man had arrived at infirm old age, after he had laboured prosperously in the vineyard of his Lord from the breasts and from tender childhood[1] to the evening of advanced old age, the glorious end of his contests drew near and arrived. And he perceived the beginning of his fatal sickness, and commanded and they prepared an animal for him to ride upon,[2] and he went to the Monastery of Bârkâ[3] with the hope that he would gain benefit from drinking the waters of the Tigris. Now when he had tarried there ten days, and saw that every day he was going backwards, he rose up to come to his country, and

[1] ܛܦܪ̈ܐ ܪܟܝܟ̈ܐ literally "soft nails," *i. e.*, from babyhood and tenderest childhood. The expression also occurs in Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, I. col. 729, l. 14, and is applied to one whom Dionysius had taught from his earliest childhood in his cell.

[2] Literally, "a mount." ܪܟܘܒܐ — ܪܟܒܐ.

[3] See Book iii. chap 5, *supra*, p. 317. This monastery was probably situated near some sulphur spring close to the Tigris. Between Môṣul and Tekrît are many such, and a daily draught of the water or bath is most beneficial in many diseases.

when he arrived at the village of Bêth Rêwâi,[1] he went in to lie there for the night. And when the inhabitants of Rêwâi saw that his departure from [this] life was at hand, [p. 170] they would not allow him to depart from them; and with all manner of reasons and deeds they worked that he might finish his course with them, and that his holy body might be laid in their church. And Mâr Mâran-'ammeh sent secretly to Lôhrâsâph,[2] and he came to him; and while Lôhrâsâph was weeping in his presence, because he saw that he was already laid in the chamber of the tomb, the holy man quieted him, and whispered to him, saying, "I desire and very much wish to lie in thy church, and it is also the will of our Lord that I should be laid there, for thy village is about to become a very rich and much inhabited place; but these villagers are scheming[3] and planning all manner of devices so as not to allow me to depart from here. Do thou then ask for thy ten thousand *zûzê*[4] from me, and demand from them either that they shall give thee ten thousand *zûzê*, and that thou shalt leave me here to them, or that they shall allow thee to carry me with thee to thy village." And Lôhrâsâph began to speak to the Metropolitan in an audible voice, saying, "Master, give[5] me that money, ten thousand *zûzê*, which thou didst borrow from me before thy departure, give it to me.

[1] Rêwâi appears to be a diminutive formed from some name; compare Rêw-Ardâshîr.

[2] *I. e.*, *Luhrâsp*, لهراسب; for this name see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 150; and Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 2.

[3] Read ܡܬܛܟܣܝܢ.

[4] ܙܘܙܐ, drachmas or dirhams.

[5] ܗܘܒ = ܗܒ.

for it is my children's means of subsistence;" and the Metropolitan promised, saying, "I am in debt to thee, carry me away that I may go and give thee the money." And when the inhabitants of Rêwâi began to prevent him, the holy man said to them, "If ye wish to keep me back give this nobleman the ten thousand *zûzê* which I owe him, or depart from me that I may go and give them to him while I am alive." Now the inhabitants of Rêwâi were poor and were wholly unable to do this, and he commanded that they should prepare [p. 171] an animal for him to ride on,[1] and when he had come half way on the road, the soul of the blessed man departed, and went by the hands of holy angels with spiritual hymns of praise to Paradise, and rested with the spirits and souls of the righteous who have been made perfect. And the nobles and the dahkânê of the village, together with the multitudes who came from the estates round about, paid honour to his holy body, and bore it with the ceremony which befitted the greatness of his person, and laid it in the church close by the ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ (κατάστρωμα)[2] of the ܩܢܟܐ

[1] Read ܪܟܘܒܐ.

[2] According to Bar-Bahlûl (Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 343*b*, col. 1) ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ is the name given to the "two balustrades (or banisters), between which the steps were built" ܬܪܬܝܢ ܩܣܛܪ̈ܘܢ ܗܘ ܕܒܝܢܬ ܡܣܩ̈ܬܐ ܒܢܝ̈ܢ (sic) ܒܝܬ ܠ. Another lexicon, Brit. Mus. Add. 7203, fol. 15 *a*, col. 2, says that ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ is "the raised platform (or dais) which is before the door of the altar," المَصْطَبَة التى قُدّامَ بابِ المَذْبَح; and India Office Lexicon, fol. 11 *b*, col. 2, explains both ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ and ܩܢܟܐ by المَذْبَح "the altar." ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ = אוּלָם in Ezechiel viii. 16; Joel ii. 17. ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ is the whole area of the church before the ܒܡܐ, (*not* the place where the seats of the clergy stand), and was the raised or built up floor of the choir upon which the

(κόγχη),[1] on the right hand side, that it might be in this

altar of sacrifice, ܡܕܒܚܐ. stood. (Compare Σωλέας. Pars templi quae Bemati observatur, quae uno aut altero gradu aedis sacrae pavimento eductior est. Βῆμα *Sacrarium*, Locus in templo ubi consistant sacerdotes, et quem nulli Laïco ingredi fas erat. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, coll. 195, 1513). The ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ also included the ܒܝܬ ܩܢܟܐ, and its pavement was three steps above the pavement of the rest of the church. (See *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 802, note 1). ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ seems to mean primarily a "tiled pavement" (compare Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, Tom. 1. p. 269, l. 27, where καλαμίδας is explained by ἡ τοὺς θηλυκοὺς καλάμους τοὺς πρὸς σύνδεσμον τῶν πλινθίνων καταστρωμάτων της οικοδομίας), and cannot be older than the ἔδαφος πλινθοις καταστρωμένον which was laid on the ground before the temple where the altar of burnt sacrifice was placed. ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ is also the "deck of a vessel;" compare καταστρώματα, της νεὼς μέρος, εν ῳ ἑστῶτες ναυμαχοῦσιν, Hesychius, *Lexicon*, ed. Schmidt, Jena, 1857, p. 435. On men-of-war the κατάστρωμα must have been the uppermost deck of all, as the combatants were posted on it when the ship went into action: see Thucydides, i. 49. 1,3; Polybios, i. 44. 3; Plutarch, Themistocles, 14, Antonius, 67. On merchantmen the κατάστρωμα must also have been the uppermost deck, for the depth of the ship was reckoned from the κατάστρωμα to the bottom of the hold: see Lucian, navigium, V. See also Kraus, *Real-Encyklopädie der Christlichen Alterthümer*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1880, articles ΑΜΒΩΝ, ΒΗΜΑ (vol. 1, pp. 43—46), and *Basilica* (vol. 1, pp. 109—143); De Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale*, Planches 119, 126, 138; *L'Eglise de Saint-Jérémie à Abou-Gosch* (Emmaus), with plans, by C. Mauss in *Revue Archéologique*, 3ième Série, Tom. xix. p. 223 ff. and Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 537, capp. 3 and 5; iii. ii. pp. 795, 821, 835. In Assemânî, *Codex Liturgicus*, tom. ix. Appendix, p. 281, note 2, we have ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ explained by *Cancellos* "qui Ecclesiae Sanctuariam a Navi, seu loco fidelium separant." From ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ comes the Arabic مَقْصُورَة *balustrade en bois ou en bronze autour du cenotaphe d'un saint.* Dozy, *Supplément*, tom. ii. p. 358, col. 2.

[1] The ܩܢܟܐ was included in the ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ, and strictly speak-

world before the face of the Lord in His holy temple as long as the world endureth, even as he will be on the right hand of the King of Kings, Jesus Christ, for everlasting,[1] in that world where there is no space of time to be divided into seasons and years; and his holy body is a fountain of help for the afflicted and diseased, and a strong wall to the whole village. Let us praise God, the Lord of all, Who made the holy man victorious, and the honourable Ḥasân who zealously encouraged setting down his history in writing, that his glorious acts and deeds might not flee into oblivion, but that they might all be brought to light. May we be preserved from every harmful thing in this world by his prayers, and in the next may we be neighbours in the happiness which God hath prepared for the holy man; and may we all together praise and glorify our Lord Jesus Christ, and may His grace and mercy be with us all, now and always, for ever and ever! Amen.

Here endeth the history of the similitude of the manner of life of the holy and pious Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh, Metropolitan Bishop of Adiabene: to God be glory, and upon us His mercy, Amen!

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ing, meant the *beginning* of the ܡܥܠܢܘܬܐ; compare ܡܥܠܬܐ, Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2727; and ܣܩ̈ܘܦܐ ܕܩܢܟܠܐ "*limina Cancellorum*," *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 821, l. 28. In Brit. Mus. Or. 2441, fol. 342*b*, col. 2, we have ܩܢܟܠܐ: ܗ̄. ܒܝܬ ܡܕܒܚܐ: بيت المذبح وهو البيت المقدس المحترم الذي لا يلجه الا الكهنه وارباب الراب وهو سميا من جيره.

[1] ܠܥܠܡܝܢܐܝܬ *everlastingly*. A rare word.

[P. 172] A METRICAL HOMILY[1] ALSO UPON THE HOLY MÂRAN-ʿAMMEH WHICH WAS COMPOSED BY MÂR THOMAS, BISHOP OF MARGÂ.

RESPONSE.[2] MAY WE FIND MERCY THROUGH THE PRAYERS OF THE PRIEST WHOSE COMMEMORATION IS CELEBRATED WITH GREAT HONOUR IN OUR CONGREGATION.

MY BRETHREN, BLESS YE THE LORD!

O lovers of truth, bring near to my wretchedness the entreaty of truth,
That I may weave with my words a crown of the praises of the pious man.
The children of the nobility of this world,[3] and of that of Christ,
Have asked from me a petition wholly full of the love of the righteous man.
5 The guests of light, and those who enjoy the Living Mystery
Have made me the means [of recounting] the glorious praises of the noble labourer.
The children of the right hand have urged my uninstructed right hand
To paint a picture of his perfection full of beauty.
The chief of pastors, and the father of priests, Mâran-ʿammeh,
10 The man who was pre-eminent in the Holy Church, they wish to praise.
The watchful shepherd, and steward[4] of the treasures of the Spirit,

[1] In dodecasyllabic metre.

[2] ܥܘܢܝ̈ܬܐ *cantus responsorius*, sic dictus "quod uno canente chorus consonando respondeat." Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2927.

[3] Read ܪ̈ܒܪܒܢܐ.

[4] ܐܦܛܪܘܦܐ = ἐπίτροπος.

Their command seeketh to crown by means of our speech.

To the angel of light, to the pure and entirely holy man,

May they and I devote our words on the day of his commemoration.

15 And with the offering and sacrifice of truth, [p. 173] which his vigil requireth,

We will compose a discourse in which [his] contests shall be sung.

And while with my mouth and understanding I take refuge in his prayer,

May my tongue well up with a pleasing discourse on his glorious deeds.

May my feeble speech travel on with his history,

20 And may it repeat the stories concerning him, in order, even as they were performed.

The holy man sprang from Ḥaṭre[2] a city in Ṭîrhân,[3]

From a family[4] and holy race of righteous men.

Mâran-ʿammeh was he named by his parents,

And as in prophecy [he was named] with a noble name [so also] his person was distinguished.

25 Our Lord Jesus was with him, and chose him for Himself,

And from his youth up He set him aside and sanctified him for His household.

To be a member of His heavenly household was the holy man worthy.

[1] ܐܬܠܝܣܝܣ = ἄθλησις.

[2] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 1440, p. 184; and *supra*, p. 305.

[3] *I. e.*, طيرهان. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 1508, p. 191; De Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arabicorum*, pars vi. p. 245, l. 6.

[4] Read ܫܘܪܒܐ. A reads "from a beautiful root."

And as he grew in bodily stature he increased in the doctrine of Life.
And when the beloved youth had arrived at early manhood,
30 He forsook his parents, and friends, and relations,[1] and kinsmen.
He despised and contemned the love of the world which passeth away,
And he fastened his love upon Him that had chosen him, as upon an anchor.[2]
The love of his Lord inflamed the mind of the noble labourer,
And he began to walk on the way of life as to heaven.
35 Now at that time the much enlightened Rabban Bâbhai[3]
Was praised by many on account of his teaching.
In his city Gĕbhîltâ [p. 174] the teacher of truth founded a school,[4]
And like the Tigris a fountain of learning flowed from his belly.
By the theory and practice of his teaching
40 He made the truth of his enlightenment shine upon many.
Towards this man did [Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh] direct the impetus of his steps at the beginning of his way,
That he might be his disciple as was Joshua[5] of Moses the Great.

[1] ܩܪ̈ܝܒܐ = ܐܢܫ̈ܐ.

[2] Read ܕܒܐܘܩܝܢܐ. ܐܘܩܝܢܐ, Talm. אוקינוס = ὄγκινος. For the forms of the word see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 88.

[3] See Book iii. chaps. 1—3, *supra*, pp. 289—298.

[4] Read ܐܣܟܘܠܐ.

[5] Deut. xxxiv. 9.

Before this [man] he was instructed in the writings of the Spirit,
And in the expositions of Theodore,[1] the scribe of truth.

[1] Theodore was born at Antioch, and was the son of wealthy parents. He succeeded Olympius as Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia about A. D. 394, and died A. D. 429, having filled the office of bishop for thirty-six years. In Nestorian writings he is usually called the "Expositor" (see Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 140), on account of his having written expositions or commentaries on the greater number of the books of the Bible. Whatever were his exact opinions upon the Natures of Christ, it is certain that the Nestorians began at a very early date to quote them in support of their own views. Ma'nâ, a Persian by race, from the town of Bêth Hardashêr, who was resident at Edessa in the earlier part of the fifth century, and is mentioned by Simeon of Bêth Arshâm among the distinguished Nestorian scholars whom he holds up to ridicule, devoted himself to the task of translating into Syriac the commentaries of Theodore of Mopsuestia during the lifetime of that great theologian (Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 830.). According to 'Abhd-Îshô', Theodore composed in all forty-one volumes. He wrote a commentary on Genesis in three volumes; a metaphysical work for the noble Alphaeus entitled ܦܠܚܝܢ ܒܘܕܪ ܘܡܬܪܘܕܢܐ; a commentary on the Psalms in five volumes for Ḳerdûn and his brother; a commentary on the twelve Minor Prophets in two volumes for Mâr Ṭûrîs; a commentary on Samuel in one volume for Mamarianus; a commentary on Job in two volumes for Cyril of Alexandria; a commentary on Ecclesiastes in one volume for Porphyry; and a commentary on Isaiah, Ezekiel, Jeremiah and Daniel. On St. Matthew he wrote a commentary for Julius in one volume; on Luke and John for Eusebius; on the Acts of the Apostles for Basil; on the Romans for Eusebius; on the two books of the Corinthians for Theodore; on four letters for Eustratius, and on Galatians and Ephesians; on Philippians, Colossians and the two books of the Thessalonians for Jacob; on Timothy for

45 By the vigilance of his mind[1] was he directed in a straight line,[2]

And he received fully the doctrine of the Holy Church.

Now when the Lord stirred up the heart of Rabban Bâbhai,

To go up to our country, and to sow in it the teaching of Life,

He associated Mâran-ʿammeh with him in that going up,

50 Like Jesus, the son of Jozadak and Zerubbabel.[3]

They two arrived with many [people] at the country of Arbela,[4]

And first of all planted a great school in Kêphar ʿUzzêl.

Peter; on Titus, and Philemon, and Hebrews for Cyrinus; and five volumes on the works of the other apostles. He wrote a book on the "Sacraments;" another on "Faith;" two volumes on the "Priesthood;" two volumes on the "Holy Spirit;" one volume on the "Incarnation;" two volumes against "Eunomius;" two volumes against those who would say, "Sin is ingrained in our] nature;" two volumes "against Magianism;" one volume "to Monks;" one on "obscure speech" ܕܡܡܠܠܐ ܥܡܘܩܐ; one volume on "Perfection of manner of life;" five volumes against "Allegorists," ܐܠܠܓܘܪܝܣܛܐ; one volume "on behalf of Basil;" one volume on "the taker and that which is taken," ܢܣܘܒܐ ܘܡܬܢܣܒܢܐ; "the Book of the Pearl," in which his letters are collected; and a "discourse on the laying down of the Law", ܣܝܡ ܢܡܘܣܐ. See Assemânî, *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 30—35; iii. ii. pp. 190, 203, 227, 228; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, i. col. 124; ii. coll. 58, 64, 74; Fabricius, *Bibl. Graec.*, vol. x. p. 346ff.; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. vi. p. 219 (ed. Brussels 1732); and Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, p. 1329, col. 1.

[1] Read ܗܘܢܗ. [2] ܚܘܛܪܐ, an uncommon word.

[3] Ezra iii. 2; 1 Esdras v. 8.

[4] Arbêl, Irbîl, or Erbil إِرْبِل. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 231, 233.

And when it flourished with scholars and doctors,[1]
He left it in the hands of Mâran-ʿammeh and went away from it,
55 That he might go and plant other schools like unto it,
And place in them teachers from among his disciples.
The holy Rabban Bâbhai planted sixty schools,
And established sixty men, teachers of the truth, in them.
He ordained that Mâran-ʿammeh [p. 175] should be established in this our [school],[2]
60 And he departed to Gĕbhîltâ,[3] and there he died.
Mâran-ʿammeh became a teacher in this church,
In which his venerable body was laid at the end of his life.
By the glorious rays of his teaching and manner of life
Every one round about him shone by the power of the grace which clave to him.
65 He became a teacher and a preacher of the Spirit,
And he preached and taught the doctrine of his Lord like Paul.
He planted spiritual cuttings in the courtyards of the Church,
And he reared them upon the rain and dew which [fell] from his lips.

[1] ܒܕܘܩܐ is explained by اقول البحّاث المفتّش العلوم Duval, *Lexicon,* col. 358. See also Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana,* pp. XX. XXI.

[2] From this we may perhaps conclude that the village or town of Kĕphar ʿUzzêl was the seat of the Bishop of Margâ: see Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* pp. 237, 296.

[3] Here we must follow the reading of BC.

He weaned his body from the dainty things of all manner of pleasant foods,

70 And by voluntary abstinence from a life of softness he emaciated his body.

The mind which is devoted to the flesh is wont to beget a thick belly,

When it remaineth barren[1] of the mind devoted to spiritual things.

He sanctified himself to be an offering to the name of the Creator,

And he cleansed his heart from all the passions of the body and soul.

75 His thoughts shone like incorporeal light,

He made his feelings[2] to possess a chaste demeanour, and a pure report.

At every moment he made his eyes to be occupied with the writings of the Spirit,

He also sanctified his hands by means of almsgiving.

His feet had for a firm standing-place truth and rectitude,

80 As it is written concerning his fellows in the writings of the Spirit.

He became a temple [p. 176] and a pure shrine according to the command,

And was a dwellingplace for the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit,

As our Lord Jesus promised[3] to the friends of His love,

[1] BC read ܥܩܪ̈. The metre requires that we should adopt this reading.

[2] All the MSS. have ܠܒ̈ ܠܠܗܘܢ, but we should probably read ܠܒ̈ ܠܒܗܘܢ.

[3] St. John xiv. 23.

That they should be a dwelling for His Godhood in the manner of their lives.

85 Moreover his Lord gave him the [power] of healing all sicknesses,

And He blessed by his hand also the signs of the Cross which he made.

From his right hand sicknesses of all kinds fled,

And by his blessings he made the sterile fruitful, and dried up wombs he made fertile.

And although he excelled in all divine beauties,

90 Praise to his Lord was attributed by all mouths.

And from the labour of teaching the Spirit raised him up,

To the great glory of the headship of the Holy Church,

To the throne of Salâkh, the country of Yânes (Jannes) mentioned by the Apostles.[1]

His Lord distinguished him [as] a good servant to lead His sheep.

95 The good shepherd received five talents[2] from the Spirit,

And like that wise steward he made use of them with skill and care.

The provisions of time he made use of in an excellent manner, [being] truly wise,

And there accrued to him the blessing of our Lord [which is] in the Gospel.[3]

He went to his country and began to visit the flocks of his Lord,

[1] 2 Timothy iii. 8.

[2] St. Matthew xxv. 15.

[3] "Well done, good and faithful servant:" *etc.* St. Matthew xxv. 21.

100 And to rear them, and to make them increase according to the command.

He set out for a village which was called Bêth Nâwâ,[1] and he heard and learned

That one tare had taken root and begun to grow among the wheat.

He tore up this tare by its root, [p. 177] and gave it to the fire,

And it became its own murderer, like Saul.[2]

105 He passed over to another [village], and there was a young man, the son of a widow,

Being carried out to the grave of the dead, with great sorrow.

He saw the poor [mother] tearing out her hair unsparingly,

And crying out upon her only son with tears of suffering.

"Woe is me, woe is me, my beloved son," she cried out,[3]

110 "For after thee I have no other to open or to shut for me.

"Let the old woman thy mother die with thee, and not survive thee,

"That her life may not be days full of death."

The tears streamed from the eyes of the watchful shepherd for the sake of his ewe,

And he commanded them to take the body back to the church that he might pray over it.

115 He put out all men and remained alone with the dead,

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[1] Read ܒܶܝܬ ܢܰܘܳܐ. See Bk. iii. chap. 3, *supra*, p. 308.

[2] 1 Samuel, xxxi. 4.

[3] Read, with BC ܩܳܥܝܳܐ ܗܘܳܬ ܠܗ.

And began [to pray] with tears and fervent prostrations.[1]
His Lord Who saw the prayer and the tears which were offered to Him,
Restored the soul of the young man to its body, and rejoiced His servant.
With sorrow the earnest master prayed for him that was lying there,
120 And like Simon [Peter] he made the young man to stand up like Tabitha.[2]
He took him by his hand, and gave him to his mother, like Elijah,[3]
And all men were turned to the glory of his Lord with gladness of heart.
He heard concerning certain Paulonians[4] who were in the country,
That they did not confess the Godhead of our Lord Jesus.
125 He went forth to them, [p. 178] and gathered them together in their church,
And he made a special prayer and service on behalf of them.

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[1] ܠܒܘܪ̈ܟܐ. [2] Acts ix. 40. [3] 1 Kings xvii. 23.

[4] ܦܘܠܘܢܝ̈ܐ, *i. e.*, the followers of Παυλωνᾶς or Παυλῖνος, a pupil of Ephraim Syrus (died A. D. 373). Paulonas or Paulinus is probably the same who is mentioned by 'Abhd-Îshô' as having written "metrical homilies, discourses against inquirers, disputations against Marcion, and a treatise concerning believers and the creed." ܥܒܕ ܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ. ܘܡܠܐ ܕܠܘܩܒܠ ܒܨܘ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܐܡܪܐ ܕܠܘܩܒܠ ܡܪܩܝܘܢ. ܘܥܠ ܡܗܝܡ̈ܢܐ ܘܗܝܡܢܘܬܐ. See Wright, *Syr. Lit.*, p. 828; *B. O.*, iii. 1. pp. 170, 171, note 4; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. iv. p. 126; Epiphanius, *Haeres.*, LXXVII; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 6. 9; Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.*, v. 12. 13, etc. Compare also ܦܘܠܘܢܝ̈ܐ ܘܡܕܒ̈ܪܢܐ ܕܝܪ̈ܐ, *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 120, col. 2, l. 9.

And our Lord made His glorious light to shine [on them] as on Paul,
When he went forth to persecute the apostles who were in Damascus.[1]
They also returned to what was seemly, like Paul,
130 And they confessed Jesus [to be] the God of all, and the Son of God.

He subdued the untamed mule, and it received the bridle
With quietness and tranquillity, according to his command.

He drove away from the wall of the holy temple a nest of ants,
And in a moment they all departed through his prayers.

135 And while the tried priest was excelling in such-like things,
The Spirit lifted him up another step higher than this.
Metropolitan of all[2] Adiabene, and Margâ, and Ḥephtôn,[3]
The Spirit entrusted to him to hold the oars[4] of the elect Church.
And with the advancement from grade to grade of the pious man, our father

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[1] Read ܫܠܝܚ̈ܐ ܕܒܕܪܡܣܘܩ.

[2] The metre requires us to read ܠܟܠ.

[3] Read, with Vat. ܚܦܬܘܢ. Ḥephtôn belonged to the district of Môṣul, and the Upper or Great Zâb flowed through it. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 233, 234; and Feige, *Die Geschichte des Mâr Abhdîshô und seines Jüngers Mâr Qardagh.* Kiel, 1889, p. 31, note 11.

[4] المجاديف = ܡܩܦ̈ܐ.

140 Was also exalted by miracles which were exceedingly sublime.

Before the coming of the mighty man to this country

Certain men dared to seize the mill belonging to the episcopal house.

And when he saw their avariciousness and obstinate strife [concerning it]

He carried them to the mill that he might shew them the truth of what he said.

145 "Let us all go to the mill, and it shall teach us

To whom it belongeth and who hath a right to it, whether you or I".

The believing nobles [p. 179] and also the assembly of the priests[1] went with him

That they might see how and what would come to pass from that which should be wrought.

He adjured the mill, and instead of wheat it ground out ashes.

150 He commanded it again, and it changed the ashes to pure flour.

The large assembly of spectators who were with him marvelled.

And the avaricious men were put to shame, and left the mill in the hands of the righteous man.

As unto Moses[2] dumb things of nature were submissive unto him,

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[1] ܩܘܒܠܢܐ *crowd, assembly, gathering of priests.* Compare ܩܘܒܠܢܐ جُمْهُور النّاس جميع ܗ. ܟܢܫܐ ܕܡܗܝܡܢܐ عولم الناس مَحْفِل ⊚ ܩܘܒܠܢܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ ܕܟܗܢܐ . . . . ܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܡܬܘܡ. مَحْفِل جمع الكهنة. See Brit. Mus. MSS. Rich, 7203, fol. 150*b*, col. 2; and Orient. 2441, fol. 327*b*, col. 1. The words ܩܘܒܠܢܐ ܕܡܗܝܡܢܐ, which Assemâni renders by "fidelis plebs", occur in *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 97, l. 28.

[2] Exodus vii. 20; viii. 17; Numbers xx. 11; Psalm lxxviii. 20; etc.

And he brought forth from them the power of wonder and marvel.

In the country of Margâ there were men of evil life,

The Lord was stirred up to reward them twofold into their bosom.

He sent one of the Watchers[1] to the soldier of the Spirit,

That he might arm himself, and make an end of them by his curses.

The spiritual being came, and manifested himself to the noble labourer,

When he was standing in prayer and vigil according to his custom.

The holy man saw the spiritual Watcher and marvelled and was astonished,

And he asked for what cause he had come to him.

"I[2] am," said he, "the guardian angel

Who ministereth to the throne of this country by the command of my Lord.

And the Nod which ruleth creation and maketh times to pass away hath sent me,

That thou mayest go and destroy the blind people who have trodden His laws under foot,

A foolishly wicked and godless people in the country of Margâ

Who by thy hands shall suffer death and destruction.

Take hold of the sword of the Word [p. 180] of our Lord without pity,[3]

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[1] *I. e.*, angels.

[2] Read ܐܢܐ; compare ܐܢܐ above line 159.

[3] ܕܠܐܚܘܣܢܐܝܬ *pitilessly;* a rare word.

170 And cast down and destroy good and evil men without sparing."

He made answer to the Watcher, "I cannot do this deed,

Because the Creator needeth not for power the help of man.

By the hand of angels He overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah,[1]

And now by the hand of the Watchers on high let Him do this."

175 The Watcher answered, "Do not dispute my words,

For whether thou wilt, or whether thou wilt not, perforce thou must go".

And when the Watcher had disappeared from him, he departed and fled,

That he might live the life of an anchorite in the wilderness far away from men,

Like Jonah when he fled by sea to Tarshîsh,[2]

180 That he might not go at his Lord's command to the city of Nineveh.

The Watcher overtook the blessed old man, and surrounded him with fire,

Threatening him that if he would not return he would consume him.

The Lord brought Jonah in the belly of the fish back to land,

And He terrified our father with fire and he turned back.

185 The mighty man arose, the charioteer mounted, the athlete made ready,

[1] Genesis xix. 24. [2] Jonah i. 3.

And he took in his quiver[1] eight arrows breathing
death,
That he might make them devour the flesh and
blood of evil men,
And perform by them the vengeance of wrath ac-
cording to what they deserved.
Like Joshua,[2] holding the spear after the manner
of a warrior,
190 And being wrathful and full of fighting zeal against
the iniquitous,
He went up to the village, [p. 181] the name of
which was Bîrtâ, and the Watcher showed him,
[Saying,] "Curse this village and its inhabitants by
the wrath of thy words."
He stood upon a hill and waved his hand like
David,[3]
He took one arrow from his quiver,[4] and cursed
the village, and passed on,
195 And at once from every side fire went forth,
And licked it up like stubble, and it came to an
end and perished suddenly.
He came to the village of Bêth Ṭêḥûnâi, which
is situated on the bank of a river,

[1] ܡܓܕܪܬܐ = אַשְׁפָּה in Psalm cxxii. 5; Isaiah xxii. 6; xlix. 2, = الجَعْبَة "*quiver*." See Brit. Mus. MSS. Rich, fol. 154*b*, col. 1; Orient. 2441, fol. 334*b*, col. 2.

[2] Joshua viii. 18. [3] 1 Samuel xvii. 50.

[4] ܬܠܬܐ "quiver" = שֶׁלֶט in 2 Samuel viii. 7; 2 Kings xi. 10; 1 Chronicles xviii. 7. Compare ܬܠܬܐ ܕܓܫܢܐ ܗܘ ܡܓܕܪܬܐ ܕܓܫܢܐ جَعْبَة النُّشَّاب وأُخَر القناديل التى تكون فيها النشبان ܘܐܝܟ ܕܐ ܡܕܘܢܝܐ ܡܓܕܪܬܐ ܕܓܫܢܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܕܒܪܬܐ الجعبان Brit. Mus MS. Orient. 2441, fol. 375*a*, col. 2.

In this village was a whoremonger who was exceedingly cruel.
The holy man called him and began to rebuke him, as he would his sons,[1]
200 "What I hear thou art doing is not right,
Cease from the way that leadeth to Gehenna, and return
To that which is proper, and the hatefulness of thy [past] life shall be forgiven thee."
The wretched man who was worthy of the death of the Sodomites, turned,
And as Shimei cast dirt at the just man David,[2]
205 He sent forth his hand like Shimei (?) against the holy man,
And answered the master and good shepherd with words of mocking scorn.
[Mâran-ʿammeh] rose up, and went forth and took a spiritual arrow,
And shot it into him, and cursed him and his village in great anger,
"Be thou swallowed up in the earth like Abiram[4] and the wicked men his companions;
210 Thy village shall be overthrown, and the earth shall cover it and its inhabitants."
Suddenly there appeared Watchers of fire like horsemen,
One on the plain, one on the mountain, each facing each.

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[1] Hoffmann suggests that we should read ܕܠܒܢܝ̈ܗ.

[2] 2 Samuel xvi. 6.

[3] ܫܡܘܥ, probably a mistake for ܫܡܥܝ.

[4] Numbers xvi. 32.

The Watcher above answered, [p. 182] "Thou below, and I above,

Let us make the village sink into the earth, and consume its inhabitants within it."

215 The earth reeled, and gave forth a sound like the sea.

The mountain which was above the village thundered with violent thunders.

And the earth was opened[1] below it, and it was swallowed up,

And the smoke of it began to go up like that of Sodom.[2]

Darkness remained above it for sixty days,

220 The report flew abroad, like a bird, into all countries.

[Mâran-ᶜammeh] came and arrived at Bêth ᶜAinâthâ and Ḥabûshtâ,[3]

And he sent two arrows flying into them[4] and destroyed them.

A violent wind like that of Job[5] blew suddenly,

And they fell and were destroyed [and remained] without inhabitants for ever.

225 He passed on from these villages to the little village of Bêth Edhrê,[6]

And with a sharp arrow he rent it asunder, saying,

"Howl, O village,[7] complain, O village, for thine inhabitants.

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[1] ܘܐܬܦܬܚܬ. See *supra*, p. 326, note 2.

[2] Genesis xix. 28.

[3] Read ܦܠܢܒܘܫܬܐ (?) See *supra*, p. 327, note 3.

[4] Hoffmann would read ܒܗܕܡ.

[5] Job. i. 19.

[6] See Bk. iii. chap. 8, *supra*, p. 327, note 4.

[7] Isaiah xiv. 31.

For thou shalt put on mourning by the reasón of the nearness of complete desolation".
Like Bêlṭéshâṣar[1] by Darius[2] on the last[3] night,
230 Was slain Shâbhôr, the Lord of the village, and all who were therein fled.
He went forth from these villages and in his quiver [were] three arrows,
Five had been emptied on the villages which he had passed and they hâd destroyed them.
He came to the village of Zâdhôi the nobleman,
He took an arrow and drew it out from himself for his bitterness,
235 He shot it at Zâdhôi, [p. 183] and prophesied to him what was about to come to pass,
"All the glory with which thou art clothed thou shalt be made to put away,
And thou shalt live a life of hunger and misery."[4]
And this happened to the old man Zâdhôi even as [Mâran-ʿammeh] had said to him.

[1] Daniel v. 30. בֵּלְשַׁאצַּר is the Chaldee form of the Babylonian name *Bêl-shar-uṣur*, "Bêl, protect the King." See Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, p. 433; Bevan, *A Short Commentary on the Book of Daniel*, p. 99; and for other Babylonian names containing the name of the god Bêl see Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Nabonidus, König von Babylon*, Heft iv. p. 52.

[2] ܕܪܝܘܣ *Dârîôs, i. e.*, Δαρεῖος. Other forms of the name are ܕܪܝܘܫ and ܕܪܘܫ; see Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. Bedjan, p. 29; and Budge, *History of Alexander*, p. 55.

[3] Read ܐܚܪܝܐ. Another example of the mistake of ܐܚܪܢܐ for ܐܚܪܝܐ occurs in Budge, *History of Alexander*, p. 1. line 6, and note 6.

[4] Read, with Vat. ܘܡܘܘܕܐ. For the explanation of the word by Bar-ʿAlî see Hoffmann, *Syr. Arabische Glossen*, no. 3067, p. 109; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 539; Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 829.

In Ḳârdhâghîâ[1] there was a man who lived on a pillar,
240 Like a vulture[2] and an unclean carrion crow seated on a hill.
He distinguished from afar the star of dawn by his clear light,
And the son of darkness thought and decided that he would make a mock of him.
He cried out to his disciple to go out quickly to meet him,
And to ask him to turn aside to him that he might be blessed [by him].
245 He saw that the blessed old man had turned aside to pass by his way,
And he put on boasting, and he laid out his tongue for blaspheming.
He answered and said to the dwellers in the village below him,
"Behold, even the head of the Nestorians hath need of my salutation,
While in your opinion, I am of little worth, and despicable, and of small account,
250 And ye do not confess the hidden power in which I dwell."

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[1] *I. e.*, قَرْدَاغِيَّة=ܒܝܬ ܡܪܕܐ; see *supra*, p. 330.

[2] ܟܘܒܕܐ. This bird, according to Physiologus, lives "in high rocks and lofty mountain peaks" ܒܟܐܦܐ̈ ܪ̈ܡܐ ܘܒܪ̈ܝܫܝ ܛܘܪ̈ܐ ܪ̈ܡܐ, or as the Ethiopic runs ይነብር ፡ ውስተ ፡ አድባር ፡ ነዋኃት ፡ ወየዐይል ፡ ውስተ ፡ ዐበይት ፡ ወኖመ ፡ ውስተ ፡ ይንጋግ ፡ ይብር ፡፡ "dwells on high mountains, and flies about lofty places, and sleeps in the rock;" see Land, *Anecdota*, vol. iv. p. 61; Hommel, *Die Aeth. Uebersetzung des Physiologus*, p. 18; and Ahrens, *Das Buch der Naturgegenstände*, Kiel, 1892, p. 49.

The strenuous soldier turned aside to the son of destruction,
And he came to the crafty one,[1] and asked him in love for what reason he had called him.
That man answered him falsely,[2] "That I might be blessed [by thee]
Did I send that thou shouldst come to me, and that I might see thy face."
255 "I have confidence in that God Whom I serve,"
The holy man with righteous mouth made answer to the wicked one,
"If, according to this thy word, [p. 184] thou hast called me to be blessed[3] [by me],
May our Lord draw off the veil of darkness from thy understanding,
May He make the light of His belief to shine in thy mind,
260 That thou mayest confess Him and know Him [to be] God [and] Man, in one Sonship."
He took from his quiver a poisoned and fire-scattering arrow,
And he added to it that which was meet from that of Zâdhôi[4],
He placed it in the bow, and directed its aim towards the pillar,
He stretched the string and shot the arrow, and it smote him and passed on.
265 [Saying], "If, O servant of devils, thou hast called me to disgrace and mock me,

[1] All the MSS. have ܦܕܪܣ, but read ܦܕܪܣ = ܦܕܪܣܐ = ܦܘܪܣܕܢܐ *astutus, callidus.*

[2] ܕܓܠܝܬ "*lyingly*". [3] Read ܠܡܬܒܪܟܘ.

[4] See *supra*, p. 362, l. 235.

May the Lord smite this thy tower with hailstones,
And mayest thou fall among the stones thereof into an evil death,
May fire go forth from within the hail and devour thy bones,
Mayest thou be a mocking and a byword to all generations.
270 And all those who pass by the way shall make a mock of thee for ever!"
At the words of the mighty old man, which were filled with death,
A cloud of darkness filled with hail, and [having] fire inside it,
Suddenly surrounded the whole tower like a garment,
To take vengeance upon the despicable scoffer who had acted insolently.
275 And the coming down of the [hail-]stones upon the pillar was [a sight] to see!
[They were] like the [hail-]stones which the Lord brought down by Joshua the son of Nun.[1]
Every man stood at a distance looking at that which was done,
And fear and wonder filled the hearts of the multitudes that were with him.
The wretched man was beaten to pieces, [p. 185] and fire went forth and consumed his body,
280 And the old man avenged our father Mâr Nestorius.
The despicable offspring of bats, the lover of darkness,
Threatened to make war, forsooth, with an eagle of mighty wings.

[1] Joshua x. 11.

His claw smote him on the head, and ripped him open, and cast him into the darkness of his nest,
The stone crushed him, the fire devoured him, and he remained for perdition.
285 He became a reproach for the wayfarers, and a proverb for generations,
According to what the sanctified mouth of our pious father said.
The head of the Holy Church was exalted by reason of that which was wrought,
And the heretics, the followers of Severus[1] were made a mockery.
The report flew like a bird into all countries,
290 And the hidden power which is in holy men was glorified.
And to George, by the spirit of revelation, he prophesied,[2] [saying],
"Our Lord Jesus will exalt thee to be the head of all His Church",
And also to this man was this thing wrought in a sublime[3] manner,
And he was appointed Catholicus and Patriarch of the Church.
295 He went forth from these [villages], being led by the hand of the angel,
To the village of Ḥeṭrê which is situated at the ends of the earth.
And the arrow which was left he threw and cast at it, and it remained a ruin,

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[1] *I. e.*, the Jacobites. [2] Read ܐܬܢܒܝ ܠܗ.

[3] ܡܪܘܡܪܡܐܝܬ.

Its inhabitants forsook it, and they were scattered about to all countries.
The Lord made to disappear and scattered from village to village
300 Those who went forth, like brands from the fire.
Their mighty villages he left in ruin. [p. 186.]
And the stones of their buildings he piled up in heaps like hills.

The strenuous soldier passed on and came to his throne,
His garments were red with the blood of men like a treader of grapes,[1]
305 Like a treader of grapes in the winepress had he trodden their bodies,
And he had pierced them with sharp arrows and had destroyed them.
May our Lord Jesus have mercy upon them through his prayers,
And may He hold to be sufficient for them the judgment with which they were judged in this world.
His Nod beareth all sinners graciously,
310 And by means of them He spreadeth out His righteousness without sparing.
His dispensation is hidden from us, namely, why
He made an end of the good and evil together.

A mighty famine took place in the days of the good shepherd,
Want, in which there was no solace, spread over every thing.
315 Starving men and languishing beggars and orphans increased,

[1] Isaiah lxiii. 1—3.

The blessed man saw their afflictions and was pained and was grieved.
He went to the city of the Âthôrâyê[1] on their behalf,
To collect from them a sack[2] full of alms and oblations for them.
Every man gave to him with a full and ever flowing hand,
320 For they held him to be like unto a prophet and an Apostle.
The things which he wrought shone brightly in their sight,
For he was established as a mighty man in their opinion.
He took the money which [p. 187] had been given to him with diligent zeal,
And he went forth from thence like Abraham from Egypt.[3]
325 There met him on the way six wicked men who were thieves,
And they dared to plunder him, and likewise to take the money which he had with him.

[1] In Bk. iii. chap. 9, *supra*, p. 337, it is said that Mâran-ʿammeh went to the "Hebrew Fortress" ܚܨܢܐ ܥܒܪܝܐ to beg for money; from this passage and line 317 above it is clear that he went to Môṣul or to some part of it. Compare "Mosul ..... von vielen angesehenen Juden bewohnt, deren Synagogen eher Palästen als Gebethäusern glichen;" Albrecht, *Die in Taḥkemôni vorkommenden Angaben über Ḥarîzî's Leben*, Göttingen, 1890, p. 35.

[2] ܚܝܬܐ *bag*, *sack*; compare Talmudic חַיְיתָא (Buxtorf ed. Fisher p. 386, col. 1), and ܚܝܐ, or ܚܝܬܬܐ *saccus*, *pera*, Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1408.

[3] Genesis xiii. 1.

He took his rod, and tied his turban cloth upon the top of it, and threw it up into the air.
And what had been done was bitter, and painful and grievous to him.
He cried out with mournful sighs to our Redeemer concerning his injury,
330 And he called his days a life full of every affliction.
"Behold from the time that I came into the world I have lived an evil life,
And a little rest hath never appeared to me in the habitation of time".
His rod stood [in the air], and that spiritual being who accompanied him,
Surrounded it on all sides with arrows of fire.
335 He emitted and shot out sparks from the fringes[1] of the turban cloth,
And they came down and lighted upon the faces of those evil men.
They were overcome and brought low by the fiery darts of the burning,
They sought to escape and were no longer wishful to do harm to his holiness.
"Restrain from thy servants, O blessed old man, the sparks[2] of fire,
340 Let us depart as we have come in this matter.
Famine compelled us and through necessity have we done this thing,
Spare our lives which are come to an end and are extinguished by the suffering of hunger".

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[1] Or "tassels"; see *supra*, p. 339.

[2] See Brit. Mus. MSS. Orient. 2441, fol. 365*b*, col. 2, and Rich 2703, fol. 174b, col. 1. [illegible] الشرارات النار شرار النار

The holy man took a handful of his blessings (alms),
And made the men participators in his provisions, and went on his way,
345 [p. 188] The blessed man being by what he had done like unto
The mercy of the God of the universe in respect of our wickednesses.
He distributed the silver and gold which he had brought to the mouths of the starving,
And he wisely fed the orphans and the needy.
And while the glorious priest was excelling in such things,
350 He was advancing in years, and becoming old and grey.
He drew near, and had already come to the end of his days
And the end of his course began to appear, and the conclusion of his life.
Sickness came upon him, and the powers of his body began to be enfeebled,
And little by little his body melted away, and came to an end, and perished.
355 His ship came to rest in the harbour of peace away from storms,
And his rich cargo went forth uninjured from among the waves.
He forsook the dwelling of mortality, reserved for corruption,
And in the pure path of all the righteous he ended his journey.
His soul departed in the hands of the Watchers, borne with great honour,

360 And with the songs and hymns of praise of the spiritual beings,
His pious soul entered into Paradise,[1] and rested.
And the triumph of its labours and their rewards are preserved in silence,
Until the day in which our Lord shall be revealed in great glory,
And it shall return and put on glory in its temple.[2]
365 The multitudes and all ranks [of people] bore with honour his venerable body,
With hymns and songs of praise of the Holy Spirit.
They laid him in the temple [p. 189] to the right of the holy altar,[3]

[1] *I. e.*, the earthly Paradise. "As to where the souls abide from the time they leave their bodies until the resurrection, some say that they are taken up to heaven, that is, to the region of the spirit where the celestial hosts dwell. Others say that they go to Paradise, that is, to the place which is abundantly supplied with the good things of the mystery of the revelation of God; and that the souls of sinners lie in darkness in the abyss of Eden outside Paradise. (Compare Animas Sanctorum, statim atque corporibus solvuntur, in Paradisum terrestrem deferri: Damnatorum vero Animas in inferiori loco apud eundem Paradisum collocari; *B. O.*, iii. 11, p. 342, No. 4) Others say that they are buried with their bodies; that is to say, as the two were buried in God at baptism, so also will they now dwell in Him until the day of the resurrection. Others say that they stand at the mouth of the graves and await their Redeemer; that is to say, they possess the knowledge of the resurrection of their bodies." *Book of the Bee*, ed. Budge, p. 132. See also Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii., p. 419.

[2] *I. e.*, the temple of the flesh.

[3] The whole choir, as well as the sacred table, is often called ܡܕܒܚܐ. Thomas of Margâ wishes to say that just as the body of Mâran-ʿammeh was laid on the right hand side of the

A mystery [is] that position which is prepared for
    him in heaven above.

May our Lord guard our feebleness by his prayers,

370 And surround with the wall of Thy care the sheep
    of Thy flocks.

At his entreaty rain down Thy showers upon our
    fields.[1]

And drive away from them granary worms, and
    locusts, and hail, and the scorching wind.

May our crop become [increased] an hundredfold,
    like that of Isaac,[2]

That the offering of the humble as well as of the
    great man may come to Thy home.

375 Bless, O our Lord, the herds of our cattle, and the
    flocks of our sheep,

That orphans and the needy may be clothed from
    them like those of Job.[3]

Prosper and bless the rich like Jacob;[4]

That the needy may feed at their table [as at that of]
    Abraham.[5]

Enrich the poor with riches sufficient for sustaining
    their lives,

380 That by reason of their abundance they may con-
    fess Thy goodness at all times.

Support the old men with the strength of Thy
    power, and make them young men,

That they may teach early manhood chastity of life.

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choir, ܕܩܘܝܡܬܐ ܥܡ ܡܫܡܫܢܐ. ܕܡܠܐܟܐ ܒܩܠܐ ܕܫܘܒܚܐ (text. p. 171, l. 6), so he will one day stand at the right hand of the presence of God.

[1] The text of BC is corrupt; read ܠܬܠܡܝܢ "our furrows."

[2] Genesis xxvi. 12.

[3] Job xxix. 12.

[4] Genesis xxx. 43.

[5] Genesis xviii. 5.

Bless all young people, nourish the children, and cherish the ailing.
Satisfy the hungry, and feed the orphans that they may praise Thee.
385 Fill the garment of the widow with Thy food,
That she may not be left without the means of sustaining her life.
Magnify and honour the reverend priests who minister in Thy holy things,
And clothe with glory the deacons who bear Thy altar.[1]
Preserve, O our Lord, [p. 190] this our monastery from the spoilers,
390 And establish every thing belonging to it in Thy mercy and by Thy grace.
Hide our lives from all our affliction in the shadow of Thy wings,
And put away from us every sickness and every injury.
Drive away from Thy servants the evil oppression of those who hate us,
And may Thy compassion abound towards us at every moment to preserve our lives.
395 May faith spring up within us like a root,
And true righteousness like the fruit thereof.
Sustain our feebleness at every moment to stand before Thee,
As it is meet for good servants who love their lord.
May this church, in which is placed the body of the righteous man Thy servant,

[1] Cf. Numbers chaps iii. iv; Joshua iii. 17.

400 Pour out the truth of the doctrine of life for ever.
Protect our Father the Metropolitan, and increase by his hands
The flocks of Thy sheep and of Thy pasture like unto Paul.[1]
Bless the priests and the Levites who are round about him,
And according to Thy pleasure may they increase the talents[2] which they have taken from Thee.
405 [Bless] believing men and women also, and all ranks [of people]
Who go in before Thee to pray in this temple.
Make them worthy, that in the church which is in Heaven above,
They may praise Thy name together with the hosts of the righteous who have been made perfect.
Also upon the hands and mouth which wrote down the triumph of Thy servant
410 Let Thy tribunal shew compassion, according to the wont of Thy graciousness.
And him that was, [p. 191] by his entreaty, the cause of our history,
Protect in this world, and in the next make worthy of the festal chamber[3] of Thy light.
Pardon the offences of all the children of the Holy Church,

[1] Acts xv. 41.

[2] The reference here appears to be to the service for the Ordination of Deacons; ܘܡܥܒܕܝܢ ܐܘܪܒܝܗܘܢ ܠܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܘܗܒܬܗܘܢ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܡܫܠܡܐ ܘܢܫܡܥܘܢ ܕܡܠܬܐ ܕܒܪܟܬܐ ܡܘܠܐ. See *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 806, ll. 19—22; and St. Matthew xxv. 15.

[3] ܠܓܢܘܢ for ܠܓܢܘܢ, like ܟܡܘܪ̈ܐ for ܟܘܡܪ̈ܐ.

And let those who are written down by Thee, live through Thee, according to Thy will.

415 From the mouth of us all, may there be praise to Thee, and to Thy Father glory,

And to the Holy Spirit exaltation, for ever and ever, Amen.

By the help of our Lord [here] endeth the discourse which was composed and written by the command of the wise and learned nobleman Mâr Ḥasân, the son of Sabhr-Îshôʿ, the teacher of truth, upon the holy and blessed Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh, the Metropolitan Bishop.

[Here] endeth the Third Book.

[P. 192]

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

THE INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK.

Now as among the ancient people the priest, in that law which foreshadowed these things which we now have, seasoned the offerings of the Lord with salt which could be perceived[1] by the senses, even as it is said, "Upon all thy offerings thou shalt sprinkle salt, and thou shalt not neglect the salt of the covenant of the Lord thy God",[2] so also let us come and season these things which we have with the salt which can be perceived by the mind, and let us join to our histories, in every place where it is necessary, the words of the Holy Scriptures. And as the offerings of old received an additional sweetness from the salt, so also will these our histories acquire an additional flavour through the salt of the words from the writings of the Spirit. And first of all let the blessed Evagrius cast his contribution with us into this discourse which we are about to write upon his fellow-workers, and let us hearken unto his counsel and take heed unto his command, for he speaketh unto us, saying, "Look

[1] ܡܠܚܐ ܪܓܫܢܝܬܐ, the opposite of ܡܬܝܕܥܢܝܬܐ.

[2] Leviticus ii. 13.

into thine own self, lest for the sake of profit, or transient glory, or that it may be well with thee, thou darest to speak about that which is not seemly, and art cast forth from divine circles (assemblies), like that man who sold young doves[1] in the Temple". It is necessary then, that above all things we should cleave to the truth, and that we should carefully preserve the order of truth, so that we may not err from what is seemly, but that we may write [p. 193] and may make manifest those things which stir up in the hearts of the prudent glory to God, Who in the early, middle and latter [generations] shewed forth and still sheweth forth His power, and Who honoured and held to be worthy of the same reward of one *dînâr* those who had laboured in the vineyard of His commandments the whole day, and those who had laboured for some hours, and those who had laboured for one hour [only].[2]

CHAPTER II.

OF THE BLESSED RABBAN ÎSHÔ-ʿYAHBH, THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY, WHENCE HE CAME, OF WHAT PARENTS HE WAS BORN, AND OF HOW HE WAS BROUGHT UP.

In the three books which precede this, which is the fourth, the matter[3] of our discourse hath undertaken to relate the histories of holy men, some of which have been written down by skilled writers, and some of which have not been put on record.[4] Of those histories which exist in writing we have written such

[1] St. Matthew xxi. 12.

[2] St. Matthew xx. 1—16.

[3] ܡܬܠܦܢܘܬܐ.

[4] Read ܕܪܫܝܡܝܢ.

things as [their writers] omitted, and which we either found in the histories of others, or which were handed down[1] to us by hearsay; but those histories which do not exist in writing, and which are inscribed neither in works specially devoted to them, nor in other places, I have learned from the very old men who were to be found in this monastery, and according as Christ our Lord hath aided me I have made them to possess consecutive order,[2] and have laid them before thee [O ʿAbd-Îshôʿ]. And behold now, by the help of our Lord and by thy prayers, I will proceed with my rehearsing of them, and with my feeble ability will relate the histories of these holy men who a short time ago served our Lord in this holy monastery, [p. 194] and all the things concerning them which were luminously pointed out to me by the holy men who lived in their days, and who became also their disciples. At the beginning of their histories we will place the account of the triumphs of the holy Rabban Îshôʿ-yahbh. Now this Îshôʿ-yahbh of holy memory was by race from this country of Margâ; he sprang from an honourable and noble family, and was a kinsman of the Patriarch Îshôʿ-yahbh the Great.[3] The village in which he was born and brought up was Tellâ,[4] a village in the province of Bîrtâ,[5] and he became a disciple in this monastery from his youth at the hands of the Metropolitan Bish-

[1] Read ܐܫܬܠܡ.

[2] All the MSS. have ܪ̈ܫܝܡܐ, but we should have expected ܪ̈ܨܝܦܐ.

[3] *I. e.*, Îshôʿ-yahbh of Adiabene. See *supra*, p. 131 ff.

[4] Tellâ Bîrtâ was situated in the diocese of Margâ, beyond the river Zâb, reckoning from Arbela; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 227.

[5] To be distinguished from Bîrtâ in Saphsâphâ; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 227.

op Mâr John, when he was head of the monastery.[1] And when the holy Mâr Aḥâ,[2] the head of the monastery, was consecrated Metropolitan after Mâr John, this holy man was elected head of this monastery; and when the Bishop of Nineveh, Mâr Abraham, of blessed life, died, the people of Nineveh begged and entreated that he might be their bishop, and the blessed Mâr Aḥâ ordained Mâr Îshô'-yahbh bishop, and sent him to Nineveh; and he performed the episcopal office until he was crowned with old age. And when the pious Ḥĕnân-Îshô',[3] this other Catholicus, died, and a synod was assembled to appoint a Catholicus, the election to the patriarchate was ordered and prepared for the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh by all the Bishops and Metropolitans and heads of believers so that he became the Patriarch.[4]

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[1] See *supra*, p. 234ff. [2] See Bk. iii. chap. 4, *supra*, p. 248ff.

[3] *I. e.*, Ḥĕnân-Îshô' II., who succeeded Mâr Jacob as Nestorian Patriarch A. Gr., 1085 = A. D., 774 = A. H. 157; he died A. D. 780. For his writings see *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 155, 157. For the famous Chinese-Syriac monument of Singan-fu,* which was inscribed during the reign of this Patriarch, see *B. O.*, iii. 11, p. 538 ff.; Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, vol. ii. p. 13ff.; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. p. 166, note 1; *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 156. Copies of this interesting document have been published by Kircher, *China Monumentis*, Amsterdam, 1667; Pauthier, *L'inscription Syro-Chinoise de Si-ngan-fou*, Paris 1858; Yule, *Ser Marco Polo*, vol. ii. facing p. 16 (from a rubbing by Dr. Lockhart); and a new edition of these texts was promised by Heller, *Prolegomena zu einer neuen Ausgabe der Nestorianischen Inschriften von Singan-fu* (in *Verhandlungen des VII Orient. Congresses in Wien*, 1886).

[4] The last five lines of the text of this chapter and the first eight lines of the next are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 158, note 2.

* The capital of Shensi, originally called Changgan. It was the metropolis of Shi-Hoangti of the Thsin dynasty.

[P. 195] CHAPTER III.[1]

OF MÂR TIMOTHY, BISHOP OF BÊTH BĔGHÂSH, AND OF THE PROPHECY WHICH WAS MADE CONCERNING HIM BY ONE OF THE OLD MEN [IN THE MONASTERY].

Now there was in this monastery a certain solitary, who was an exceedingly old man, with whose name I am unacquainted. Now Timothy had an uncle whose name was George, who was Bishop of the country of Bêth Bĕghâsh,[1] and he sent the boy Timothy[2] from him to Rabban Mâr Abraham[3] the Expositor, when he was in Bâshôsh,[4] a village of Saphsâphâ, and the boy made his passage [thither by way of] this monastery. And when that holy old man came to this community, and saw the youth who was standing up, it was revealed to him that he was to be exalted above all who were there by Christ our Lord, and he knew that he was to be a chief in the Church of God. And when [the service in] the church was ended,[5] he took him with him to his cell, and made him sit down, and asked him, saying, "Whence comest thou, my son, and whither goest thou?" And the youth said to him, "I am a nephew of George, Bishop of Bêth Bĕghâsh, and he has

[1] See *supra*, p. 236.

[2] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 196, 197, note 2.

[3] *I. e.*, Abraham bar-Lîphê who flourished about A. D. 750. He wrote an "Exposition of the Offices" ܦܘܫܩܐ ܕܬܫܡ̈ܫܬܐ, for which reason he is called the "Expositor". He held the belief that souls are sentient things after they have left their bodies, and that after the general resurrection their memory of the Trinity would be blotted out. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 528, 530.

[4] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 223.

[5] Literally, "when the church was dismissed."

sent me that I might go to school to Rabban Abraham, in the village of Bâshôsh". Now at that time, according to what is said, a *gerîbhâ*[1] of wheat was sold for one zûzâ, and [the old man] took out one zûzâ and gave him, and admonished him, saying, "Go now and buy wheat, and eat, and work fully in the study of the Scriptures, and guard thyself from all ignoble things, for thou shalt become Patriarch of all the country of the East. And behold, our Lord will make thee triumphant so that like unto thee no one hath ever been, and before and after thee no one shall ever be. Forty [p. 196] and two years shalt thou stand at the head of all the pastures of Christ, and when by the hand of God thou hast been exalted to these things, let thy heart be disposed to honour this holy house, in which it was [made] known to thee that thou wert neither of no account nor despised before God; go now in peace, and keep those things which I have commanded thee". And when the youth had been sufficiently trained and had returned to his uncle,—now George was using every means he could to adjudge his throne to his brother's son—[Divine] grace, I say, wrought that which was beyond his intention, and he excused himself to Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh the Metropolitan on the ground of his old age, and resigned the priesthood. And the young man Timothy was appointed Bishop of the country of Bêth Bĕghâsh.

[1] ܓܪܝܒܐ, جَرِيب, *i. e.*, the thirtieth part of a ܟܘܪܐ; see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, coll. 780, 1713; and compare Armen. *griü*, σάτον in Lagarde, *Armenische Studien*, p. 39, no. 536 (*Abhandlungen König. Gesell. Wissen. zu Göttingen*, Histor.-Philolog. Classe Bd. XXII. No. 4).

CHAPTER IV.

OF HOW TIMOTHY OBTAINED POSSESSION OF THE PATRIARCHATE BY FRAUD,[1] LIKE JACOB WHO OBTAINED BY FRAUD THE BLESSINGS OF ISAAC HIS FATHER.[2]

There are times when matters concerning heaven and things above [this] world require human means and help, and we may learn and prove from many instances that such means and help are allowed by the Will of God, even though they progress by cunning.[3] When God the Lord of all made the blessed Isaac to bless his sons, He moved him with the desire for food of the chase in the desert, to such a degree that when Esau was away, there should be the opportunity for Jacob to carry away the blessing. And if it were not so would not that great and rich man have said to his son, "My son, slay me a kid of the goats, that I may eat, and that my soul may bless thee before I die"?[4] [p. 197] but no, he sent him off upon the troublesome labour of hunting after fleeing and inaccessible prey. Thus also was it when Samuel was commanded by the Lord to anoint David, and he feared the sword of Saul, he was commanded to take a heifer and to say, "I am come to sacrifice to the Lord".[5] Thus also was it when the blessed Paul received a revelation from God that not one of them should perish, but only the ship, and he said beforehand to all those who were with him, "Eat bread, and be not distressed, for our Lord hath revealed it to me that no soul of us

[1] ܒܢܟܠܐܝܬ "fraudulently."

[2] Genesis xxvii. 27—30.

[3] ܒܢܟܠܐܝܬ.

[4] Genesis xxvii. 3, 4.

[5] 1 Samuel xvi. 2.

shall perish, but only the ship"; and [when] he knew that the sailors were making ready to flee, he said to the Romans who were with him, "If these flee we shall all perish."[1] And [there are] many [other] instances which it is not necessary for us to collect.

And in this case also, since the Patriarchate was set apart for Timothy, truth acted with subtlety and performed its work. And[2] when Timothy saw the face of every man fixed upon our Mâr Îshô'-yahbh, he advised him secretly when they were alone together, and said to him, "Thou art an old man, and thou art notable to stand up and meet the attacks of the envious, Ephraim of Elam, Joseph the son of Marî, and other opponents; but do thou excuse thyself, and become one of my supporters, and I will make thee Metropolitan of Adiabene"; and to speak briefly, Timothy was appointed Catholicus and Patriarch, and was proclaimed among the heads of the fathers. And after a few days, because the holy Mâr Mâran-'ammeh, Metropolitan of Arbela, was dead, he appointed and proclaimed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh Bishop of the church of Adiabene, and Metropolitan of all his countries.[3]

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[1] Acts xxvii. 21—44.

[2] The text of the concluding portion of this chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 158, col. 2.

[3] Timothy I. was a native of Ḥazzâ in Adiabene, and a pupil of Abraham bar-Dàshandâdh at the school of Bâshosh in Saphsâphâ; he became Patriarch about A. D. 780 and died A. H., 204, or 205 = A. D. 819—820, or 820—821. The story of Timothy's accession is thus told by Bar-Hebraeus (*Chron. Eccles.*, ii. col. 165 f.):—After Ḥênân-Îshô' II. arose Timothy,

CHAPTER V.[1]

OF RÔSṬÂM BISHOP OF ḤĔNÂITHÂ.

Now when the *Shahrîghân* of Kĕphar ʿUzzêl, and the inhabitants of the province of Bêth Ârôʿê saw that

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 207.

Bishop of Bâghâsh, a diocese in the mountains of Arbela. Now when Ḥĕnân-Ìshôʿ was dead a schism fell among the Bishops and the people. Some of them wished Ephraim, Metropolitan of Gundê-Shâbhôr to be Patriarch, some wished for Thomas, Bishop of Kashkar, and some for this Timothy. Then Timothy acted craftily, and having filled bags (ܟܘ̈ܣܐ) with copper money (ܦܘܠ̈ܣܐ = ܦܠ̈ܣܐ), he sealed them, and took them with him. And he called the scholastics (ܣܟܘܠܣܛܝ̈ܩܘ) to him secretly by night, and said to them, "I have collected all this money, dînârs and dirhams, and I wish to spend it upon [your] school; help me then, and ye shall find good [for yourselves]". And they being led astray believed his words, and went forth and fought against all those who were opposed to [the election of] Timothy. And they brought the Bishops by force, and took Timothy and carried him to Seleucia and proclaimed him Patriarch. Meanwhile Thomas, Metropolitan of Kashkar, gathered together thirteen bishops, and they came to Bagdad and tarried in the Monastery of Mâr Pethiôn, and they deposed Timothy on the third Sunday of the forty days' fast; and Timothy gathered together other [bishops] and excommunicated Thomas. Thomas and his bishops then elected the monk George, but this rival died suddenly, and Timothy having succeeded in deceiving Bêrôë the archdeacon, بيروى الاركدياقون, and the heads of colleges (as stated above), by promising them large sums of money he caused himself to be elected Patriarch. Subsequently Ephraim of Gundê-Shâbhôr, Solomon of al-Ḥadîthah, Joseph of Merv, and Sergius of Maʿallthâ held a synod at the Monastery of Bêth Ḥâlê, in which they made Rôsṭâm, Bishop of Ḥĕnâithâ, Metropolitan of Adiabene in place of Ishôʿ-yahbh, and excommunicated Timothy, who, in return excommunicated Joseph of Merv. Joseph

a Metropolitan Bishop who had not been elected by them had been appointed over them, and that the Catholicus had considered them as if they did not exist, they decreed with oaths, saying, "We will never be obedient to Îshô'-yahbh who hath been set over us without being elected by us". And they went down to Ḥĕdhattâ[1] to Mâr Solomon,[2] bishop of that place, and there happened to be there also Joseph[3] the son of Marî, the wicked Metropolitan of Merv, who had come thither because the holy Mâr Solomon, on account of his old age, was not able to go down to the synod. And Joseph the son of Marî thought[4] that he (*i. e.*, Solomon) would stir up a commotion against Timothy when he should speak to Solomon, saying, "Behold,

[1] *I. e.*, al-Ḥadîthah; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 178.

[2] He flourished about A. D. 760—780. He wrote certain histories and a treatise upon the monastic life ܬܫ̈ܥܝܬܐ ܟܬܒ ܠܗ. ܘܡܠܟܐ ܘܦܘܪܣܐ ܕܕܝܪܝܘܬܐ. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 210.

[3] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, pp. 159, 208.

[4] Read ܘܪܗܒ.

laid the matter before the Khalif of Bagdad, al-Mahdî, but obtaining no support from him, he turned Muḥammedan, and is said by Bar-Hebraeus (*Chron. Eccles.*, ii. col. 171) to have been publicly convicted of sodomy. Timothy was excommunicated a second time by Ephraim of Gundê-Shâbhôr, and retorted by a counter-excommunication. On the whole subject see Wright, *Syriac Literature*, p. 845; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccles.*, ii. coll. 165—169; *B. O.*, ii. pp. 433, 434; iii. 1. 158—163. According to 'Abhd-Îshô', Timothy wrote the "Book of the Stars"; a "Disputation with al-Mahdî"; a work on "Ecclesiastical Judgments"; "Synodical Volumes", ܦܢܩ̈ܝܬܐ ܣܘܢܗܕܝܩܝ̈ܐ; two hundred "Letters" arranged in two volumes; a volume of "Questions"; a volume on "Chapters"; and a "history." See *B. O.*, iii. 1. pp. 162, 163.

Ephrahim of Elam wisheth also to gather together[1] the Bishops and Metropolitans who are not of the laying on of hands of Timothy, that he may cause Timothy to be deposed";[2] and when to this wish that of the *Shahrîghân* was added Joseph found the material for his wickedness. And he led astray the holy Mâr Solomon, as Ṣaibâ [Ziba] led David astray,[3] and as the lying prophet [deceived] the prophet of God who came from Judah to Bethel.[4] And they took Rôsṭâm, Bishop of Ḥĕnâithâ, and appointed him Metropolitan of Arbela in the Mud Convent, which is on the Tigris, below the Ḥesnâ ʿEbhrâyâ[5] in Nineveh, and the *Shahrîghân* took him and seated him on the Metropolitan throne of Bêth Mâr Ḳardâgh.[6] And he seized the Bishop's throne [p. 199] and all his income,[7] and the wretched man

[1] *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 207, col. 2, l. 11, reads ܢܓܕ.

[2] ܩܐܬܐܪܣܝܣ = κάθαρσις = المُبَاعد. According to Brit. Mus. MS. Orient 2441, fol. 351*b*, col. 2, the word means ܡܬܦܪܫܢܘܬܐ ܠܐ ܡܬܟܢܫܢܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܕܥܕܬܐ ܘܡܬܚܫܒܐ ܒܒܪܗܘܢ المباعدة الابعاد عن الجماعة.

[3] 2 Samuel, chap. xvi. 3, 4; xix. 29. [4] 1 Kings xiii. 18.

[5] *I. e.*, the "Hebrew Fortress"; see Bk. iii. chap. 9, *supra*, p. 337.

[6] ܩܪܕܓ in Turkish means "Black Mountain". Mâr Ḳardâgh was of noble birth, and is said to have been a descendant of Nimrod on his father's side, and of Sennacherib on his mother's; he was endowed with great physical beauty, and fine mental qualities, but he was originally a heathen. He was martyred in the forty-ninth year of the reign of Sapor II. *i. e.*, A. D. 358. For the life, history and acts of Mâr Ḳardagh see Feige, *Die Geschichte des Mâr Abhdîshô und seines Jüngers Mâr Qardagh*, Kiel, 1889; Abbeloos, *Acta Mar Kardaghi Assyriae Praefecti qui sub Sapore II martyr occubuit*, Bruxelles, 1890; Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum et Sanctorum*, tom. ii. pp. 442—506, Paris, 1891.

[7] Read ܬܘܠܠܗ.

began to eat and to make merry, not knowing that his stroke was at hand, and that there was none to deliver him.

CHAPTER VI.[1]

OF THE GOING UP OF OUR HOLY MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH TO ADIABENE.

And when Mâr Îshô'-yahbh had arrived at the village of Haighâlâ,[2] and at Esṭreníyâ,[3] and had heard and learned also concerning the things which had taken place in the matter of Rôsṭâm, he wrote to Mâr Timothy, saying, "This is thy love for thy friend! Thou hast deceived me, and hast made a laughing-stock of me. Thou hast brought me out from the throne of Nineveh upon which I sat, and I am deprived even of this throne which thou hast been pleased to give me;[4] take then this priesthood which thou hast given to me, and I will go to my own monastery and will end my life [there]". And Mâr Timothy wrote to him, "Faint not, neither be disturbed by these two tails of burning brands[5] who have appointed a Metropolitan[6] without

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[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 207, col. 2.

[2] *I. e.*, هاغلة on the Tigris. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 238.

[3] With the form ܐܣܛܪܢܝܐ compare ܦܘܪܕܒܝܐ, text p. 183, l. 5. The termination *ya* may be either the Arabic يّة, or Persian yâ; see Nöldeke, *Zur Orientalischen Geographie*, *Z. D. M. G.* Bd. XXVIII. 94 n. 1.

[4] Read either ܕܐܬܬܠ ܠܝ ܗܘ ܐܫܬܠܝܬ, or ܕܐܬܬܠ ܠܝ ܐܫܬܠܝܬ.

[5] Isaiah vii. 4.

[6] The Metropolitan of Adiabene here referred to was Rôsṭâm, concerning whom see the next chapter.

the [consent of] the Patriarch; go to Adiabene, and abide in every village which will receive thee,[1] and the village which desireth thee not, dispute not with it; for the day of the destruction of the enemy is near, and that which shall happen to them hasteneth,[2] for the Lord judgeth His people, and consoleth His servants". And when the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh had read these things, he took courage and went up and came to his country. And when, according to the agreement[3] which existed between them, neither the *Shahrîghân* nor the Ârô'âyê[4] went out to meet him, he went up to the Bânîḳâyê,[5] and these people, and those of all their province, and all the people of the mountains of Adiabene, and the people of Ḥefthôn[6] received him with great joy, and with the honour of which his holiness was worthy; [p. 200] and he passed over to Margâ, and he remained thus visiting these believing people, and they rejoiced in him. And Rôsṭâm and the nobles of Kĕphar 'Uzzêl lived luxuriously upon all manner of dainty foods when he first[7] came from his throne to them, and they enjoyed themselves with riotous living while they threatened and made ready to drive away the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh from the part of the country which he held; but they did not know that they would be put to shame through what they were preparing and making ready.

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[1] St. Matthew x. 11.

[2] Deuteronomy xxxii. 35, 36.

[3] ܦܘ̈ܣܩܢ for ܦܘܣܩܢ.

[4] *I. e.*, the people of Bêth Ârô'ê.

[5] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 238, note 1898.

[6] Ḥepthôn, Ḥibtûn, the חפתון of Benjamin of Tudela, lay upon the left side of the Upper or Great Zâb; for its history see *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 737; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 233.

[7] Read ܡܩܕܡ.

CHAPTER VII.[1]

OF THE SWIFT JUDGMENT WHICH OVERTOOK RÔSṬÂM, AND OF HOW THOSE WHO HAD APPOINTED HIM WERE PUT TO SHAME AND DISGRACED.

Now while the Spirit of God was longsuffering towards Rôsṭâm, he hardened his heart and the wretched man never brought the matter into his mind or thought, "How can I continue in the office of Metropolitan since I have neither been appointed by the Catholicus nor fully installed, or how can I dare to remain in what I have"? But like Absalom,[2] he wished to act insolently towards the fatherhood of the Head of the East, and according to the seed which Joseph the son of Marî had sown in his ears, he awaited with hope the disturbance [which was made] concerning the Catholicus, even as Absalom waited eagerly for the counsel of Ahithophel in [the matter of] the destruction of David.[3] And while he was in the midst of these deliberations the Lord roused Himself like a sleeping man, and smote [p. 201] His enemies behind Him, and He chose Îshô'-yahbh His servant, and established him [to be] the faithful steward over all His house.

And it came to pass one day when Rôsṭâm was riding upon a large, richly caparisoned mule [which he had chosen] in his pride, that as he was coming to his

[1] This chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 208, but the words ܠܟܗܢܘܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܛܪܦܘܠܝܛܐ. ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܕܘܝܕ ܒܪܘܚܗ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܒܗ ܗܘ ܙܒܢܐ: ܐܝܟ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܗܘܐ (text, p. 200, ll. 15, 16) are omitted.

[2] Assemânî has ܐܒܫܠܘܡ; *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 208, col. 2, l, 24.

[3] 2 Samuel chaps xv.—xvii.

house from his luxurious,[1] riotous and licentious orgies,[2] he arrived near the habitation of Bêth Mâr Ḳardâgh, and the dogs of that place surrounded him until at last he [was obliged] to dismount,[3] and as soon as he put his feet upon the ground they leaped upon him in a body,[4] and they worried him and bit him, and brought him unto death, like that wicked woman Jezebel

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[1] Literally "a feast of cakes of his dainty foods"; ܦܘܚܪ̈ܐ = *a drinking party, a banquet*. According to Lagarde, *Pûrîm*, פּוּרִים, ܦܘܚܪ̈ܐ, Mandaïtic פוהרא are derived from فروهران the Persian name of a festival. ܘܐܠܦ̈ܐ (for ܘܐܠܦ̈ܐ) = *cakes*, and in Jeremiah vii. 18, translates the Hebrew כַּוָּנִים. The word is explained by the native lexico- graphers to mean, "sacrifices offered to idols"; "sacrifices which were offered to devils in the time of the heathen, and which the Arabs still make in their festival;" and "cakes made of fine flour, oil and honey." For the texts see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, coll. 1163, 1164; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 684. The reading of BC Vat. ܕܙܘܦܠܦ̈ܐ is a mistake for ܕܙܦܠܦ̈ܐ, the sing. of which ܙܦܠܦܐ *nausea*, is also explained by "the food which burneth in the stomach of gluttons, and which maketh smoke in the throat;" see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 354. The form ܙܦܠܦܐ *indigestion*, is given in Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 269. Compare Armen. *zoh* "sacrifice". Lagarde, *Armenische Studien*, p. 55, No. 792 (*Abhandlungen König. Gesell. Wissen. zu Göttingen*, Histor.-Philolog. Classe, Bd. XXII. No. 4).

[2] Assemânî translates, "Accidit enim, ut Rostamus per eos dies dum superbo sui fastus mulo vectus ab obscoeno secessu, epulisque impudicitiam redolentibus exsaturatus," etc. (*B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 209, col. 1)

[3] ܕܦܘܕܒܗ for ܕܦܕܒܗ.

[4] This danger to strange travellers riding through villages in Mesopotamia is sometimes very great, for the dogs rush out in a body, barking and howling, and often endeavour to bite the horse's legs. Nothing but a good, long whip vigorously applied will drive them away, and I have even known it neces- sary to shoot one or more of them.

who persecuted the prophets.[1] And this was a marvellous and fearful thing[2] to all those who heard it. And Rôsṭâm's boon companions were disgraced; and their faces put to shame; and their counsels brought to nought; and their fellowship and the bond of love and their breathings of death against the righteous man [Mâr Îshô̂ᶜ-yahbh] which they had murmured over their wine[3] cups when brimming over with mixed wine were dissolved. Then too the pious Mâr Solomon wrote a letter of excuses and resigned [his] episcopal office, and went and dwelt in the Monastery of Rabban Aaron until the end of his life, and Joseph, the son of Marî forsook Christianity and became a heathen. Thus was fulfilled upon them that which the pious Mâr Timothy spake, saying, "The day of their destruction is near at hand, and that which shall happen to them hasteneth."

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE REPENTANCE OF THE PEOPLE OF ADIABENE, AND OF THE MOST HUMBLE ENTREATY WHICH THEY OFFERED TO MÂR ÎSHÔᶜ-YAHBH THAT HE WOULD OCCUPY HIS EPISCOPAL THRONE.

Now if not every man is to be trusted to guard the treasures [p. 202] of an earthly kingdom, but only

[1] 1 Kings xviii. 4; 2 Kings ix. 35, 36.

[2] In the text p. 201, note 7, read "Vat. ܘܡܬܚܫܠ̈ܐ".

[3] ܒܛܝܘ̈ܟܐ, which Payne Smith thinks may come from a sing. ܒܛܝܟܐ or ܒܛܝܟܝ (*Thesaurus*, coll. 434, 509). Compare the Persian بادیه, which, according to Richardson, is "a large deep jug, in which wine is brought to table, and from thence filled into smaller cups." See Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Leipzig, 1866, p. 211; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 350.

those of whom the kingdom hath learned by experience for a long time that they are fit to have its riches entrusted to their care, how much less in respect of the treasures of the kingdom of heaven is not every man worthy to be an intermediary of their glory, but only that man who is stamped with the signs of the members of the household, who hath shown forth all the days of his life proofs of his strenuousness, who hath drunk like water medicines which cannot be perceived by the mind, who hath driven away all [signs of] growing old, who hath expelled from himself all crassness, who hath been in the hospital[1] and hath learned all things which are needful for healing, who hath been made perfect in all the art of the healing of souls, and who hath become a friend of wise physicians. And because also the Divine selection, observing beforehand the excellent qualities of many, of its administration maketh intermediaries of those who possess such qualities, and setteth apart physicians for the sickness of the world, in such wise that when they come to act as intermediaries with mankind they shall not be found wanting, and shall not suffer, together with the scattering of the collection of their good qualities, the ruin and destruction of those who are under their hands.

Now this Rôsṭâm, the evil liver, took refuge with men, and forgot the word of the divine man David, "It is better to trust in the Lord than to trust in man",[2] for "his spirit goeth forth, and he returneth to his earth",[3] etc. And when the Eye which governeth all things saw beforehand all the defects which he had

[1] ܐܟܣܢܕܘܟܝܢ = ξενοδοχεῖον = بيمارستان = ܒܝܬ ܟܪ̈ܝܗܐ *house of the sick.*

[2] Psalm cxviii. 8. [3] Psalm cxlvi. 4.

already gathered to himself, and all those others[1] which he was about to gather, He put him out of life in silence by a punishment of the bites of dogs, and by the bitings of his own tongue with which he had bitten the bodies of the holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh and Mâr Timothy; [p. 203] here was he rewarded with the destruction of all his body, and thus he left this life and went to Sheol. Now when the *Shahrighân* and the believers saw what had taken place, they came to the pious Mâr Îshô'-yahbh their Metropolitan, and they offered him repentance, and asked him to rise up and to come with them to his episcopal throne. And he said to them, "I shall remain here until Mâr Catholicus sendeth me [his] command to go in, and then I shall go in." And Mâr Timothy wrote to him an open letter,[2] and thus they celebrated his entry with honour like the day of Hosannas,[3] and all the people of the country were subject to his fatherhood.

CHAPTER IX.

OF HOW THE HOLY METROPOLITAN MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH WAS MOVED TO PULL DOWN THE MUD TEMPLE WHICH THE HOLY MÂR ÎSHÔ'-YAHBH [THE CATHOLICUS[4]] HAD BUILT, AND TO BUILD ANOTHER OF LIME, AND OF HOW THE MONKS WHO LIVED IN HIS DAYS COUNSELLED HIM NOT TO DO SO BECAUSE OF THE DIFFICULTY OF THE UNDERTAKING.

We may see by those things which have happened from old time, in every kind of different way, through

[1] ܘܕܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ for ܘܠܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ.

[2] ܦܬܝܚܬܐ *a patent*; see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 3338.

[3] *I. e.*, Palm Sunday.

[4] *I. e.*, Îshô'-yahbh III. of Adiabene; see *supra*, p. 131 ff.

the administration of God which is beyond scrutiny, that these things which are easy for the might of the wise Creator break out suddenly, beyond all expectation and human thought, and they make the minds of the prudent to stand up in wonder, and they stir up praise of the excellence of His dispensation on every tongue and in every mind. [p. 204] And moreover, we must write down some of these our matters concerning our own monastery that we may shew that it is easy for His power to do every thing, and that when it appeareth fit to him, He maketh use of the riches and money of strangers as if they were His own, even as He spake by the hand of Haggai the prophet, "The gold is mine, and the silver is mine",[1] and, "From between the teeth, and from the depths of the sea He turneth back, and bringeth forth, and saveth",[2] as He spake by the hand of David. And He compelleth forcibly foreign nations who are remote from the knowledge of Him and His worship, to be servants of those whom He pleaseth, and He maketh them to carry their wealth and their glory and to place them in the hands of those who are members of His household. For when the coming forth of the people from Egypt by the hand of Moses was ordained and predestined in His everlasting knowledge, and the gold and the silver which the construction of the Tabernacle in the wilderness would require from them [was determined], He commanded the children of Israel, by the hand of Moses, to borrow vessels of gold, and vessels of silver, and fine raiment of all kinds from the Egyptians, and He gave the Israelites favour in the eyes of the Egyptians, and they

[1] Haggai ii. 8. [2] Psalm lxviii. 22.

spoiled them.[1] And again when king Solomon was making ready to build a house to the Lord, he, so to speak, moved every thing under heaven, and he made the Tyrians, and the Sidonians,[2] and Saba, and Ophir, and Havilah, and the remote islands to be participators with him in the building of the holy temple in Jerusalem.[3] So also in the case of the temple which was restored by Zerubbabel[4] after the return from the captivity, when the children of Judah were prevented [in their work] by the envious nations that were round about them, and were in despair because they thought that this return from the captivity was not that which the prophets proclaimed, and also because of the insufficiency [of money] for the expenses of its mighty and glorious buildings, the Lord encouraged them by the hand of the prophet and said, "Yet once, and I will [p. 205] shake the heavens, and the earth, and the dry land; and I will shake all nations, and I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord, the mighty One, and I will shake the house of Magog".[5] And they went up, being prepared, with great riches, and the Lord destroyed them all, and the children of Judah inherited their riches and built the house of the Lord, and had money to spare.

And [several] such-like things which were in no wise of less magnitude than these did the Lord work in this place for His chosen servant Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh. For

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[1] Exodus xii. 35, 36.

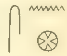
[2] *Ṣaidnâyê.* See Nöldeke, *Kurzgefasste Syrische Grammatik*, p. 75; Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, p. 1154, col. 1, at the foot.

[3] 2 Chronicles, chaps. i. and ii.

[4] Haggai ii. 4.

[5] Haggai ii. 6, 7.

when he meditated pulling down that temple which the blessed Mâr Îshô'-yahbh the Catholicus had built, and which had become old through the lapse of time and years, and his friends were advising him not to do this, saying, "Thou wilt never be able to finish thy building"; and the men who were envious of him, and those who took no pleasure in such divine matters, but were turning them back through human considerations, even as [saith] the great and blessed Pachomius,[1] were hinder-

[1] Pachomius was born in the nome of Esneh, (Egypt.  *sen*, Copt. ⲥⲏⲛ), about A. D. 292, and his parents were pagans; he became a Christian at a little village called ϣⲉⲛⲉⲥⲏⲧ, (the Χηνοβόσκιον of the Greeks) which was situated on the right or east bank of the Nile in the nome of Diospolis Parva. He lived during the time of the persecution of Diocletian, and at its ending he was about twenty years old. When the Persians threatened to make war against the Greeks (ⲛⲓⲣⲱⲙⲁⲓⲟⲥ), he was drawn as a recruit from his native village, and being fed by Christians when they stopped at the town of Esneh, he was greatly impressed by their charity. Next day he sailed as far as Antinoë, and was met there by the news that the Greeks had conquered the Persians, and that the recruits were to be sent back to their homes. On his way back he came to the "desert village of Shenesêt, which was burnt up by excessive heat" ⲟⲩϯⲙⲓ ⲛ̀ ⲉⲣⲏⲙⲟⲥ ϫⲉ ϣⲉⲛⲉⲥⲏⲧ ⲉϥⲣⲟⲕϩ ϩⲓⲧⲉⲛ ⲡⲁϣⲁⲓ ⲛ̀ ⲡⲓⲕⲁⲩⲙⲁ, and there God appeared to him and told him to take up his abode. Three years later he joined Abba Palamôn (ⲡⲁⲗⲁⲙⲱⲛ), and became his disciple. Soon after this his sister Mary came to Tabenna (ⲧⲁⲃⲉⲛⲛⲏⲥⲓ, see Quatremère, *Mémoires Géographiques*, tom. I. p. 281) to see him, but he refused to see her, and learning that she was disposed to lead a life of good works, he sent some of his brethren to build a habitation for her at some distance from the monastery. A number of pious women joined her, and she became the founder of a rule of nuns. Some time later Pachomius went

ing him, saying, "We do not wish thee to pull down the temple which the holy fathers have built. Thou wilt begin to build another, and wilt never finish it, or thou wilt leave it half built, and wilt go away", yet Ìshô̆ʿ-yahbh prevailed over both sides by the firmness of his hope in God, and he brought many workmen and hewers of stone, and he went with them to the mountain of Dĕbhar Ḥewtôn[1] and he shewed them round about the river Zâbhâ (Zâb) limestone which they were to quarry. And he made rafts[2] and brought

to the north of Panopolis (ϣⲙⲓⲛ, Aḥmîm) and built monasteries at Smine, or Tesmine (see Champollion, *L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, tom. I. p. 265), and at Phenoum, ⲫⲛⲟⲩⲙ, near the mountains of Esneh. Thus in founding monasteries, in confirming the brethren, in healing the sick, and in working miracles Pachomius passed his life; and died about A. D. 351, aged sixty years. The above facts are drawn from the Coptic life of Pachomius published by Amélineau, entitled *Histoire de Saint Pakhôme et de ses Communautés*, (in *Annales du Musée Guimet*) Paris, 1889; and from *Étude Historique sur Saint Pachome* (in *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien de l'année* 1886, Cairo 1887) by the same author. For the Latin and Greek lives of Pachomius see *Acta Sanctorum*, May 14; for an Arabic life see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 286; for his *Regulae Monasticae* see Cave, *Hist. Litt.*, ad ann. 340, vol. I. p. 208; Palladius, *Hist. Laus.*, cap. 38 (for the Ethiopic text see Dillmann, *Chrestomathia Aethiopica*, pp. XII. No. 6, and pp. 57—69; and Wright, *Catalogue of the Ethiopic MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 171; and for the Syriac text see Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, p. 1312); and for an account of the estimation in which he was held see Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. vii. p. 56.

[1] *I. e.*, Dĕbhar Ḥephtôn (ܚܦܬܘܢ seems to be the plain of Ḥarîr); see also Abbeloos, *Acta Mar Ḳardaghi*, p. 51, l. 4; and Feige, *Die Geschichte des Mâr ʿAbhdîshô*, p. 31 (translation).

[2] The ܟܠܟܐ, or ܟܠܟܐ, طَوْف, (called by the Arabs to-day كَلَك

the limestone for the buttress[1] of the monastery, and it was brought from there to the monastery by donkeys

kalak, pronounced vulgarly *tcheletch*) is a raft made of skins of sheep blown out and tied in rows to poles. The poles are fastened together by other poles and ropes and thus a square or oblong structure is made. Upon it are laid planks of wood, and upon those is placed the merchandise to be carried. A small raft to carry four or five passengers and a fair amount of baggage requires about one hundred and fifty skins, and measures about 15×20 feet; but in the large wheat and alabaster carrying rafts several hundreds are required; such rafts are from thirty to forty feet square, and will carry from twenty-five to forty tons of wheat packed in sacks, each of which weighs about two hundredweight. The *kalak* floats down the stream, and is guided by very long oars, at the ends of which are tied pieces of reeds to form blades. The *kalakji*, or raftsman, every now and then pours water upon the skins to prevent the escape of the air inside, but it is often necessary to untie the neck of each skin, and to blow air into it with his mouth through a reed, which he carries for this purpose. When a raft arrives at its destination the poles are untied, and sold either for building purposes or firewood, and the skins are untied, emptied of air, dried thoroughly, and having been tied in bundles, are packed upon the backs of animals and sent up the river to be used again. The speed of a raft depends upon the current and upon the exertions of the raftsman. I made the journey by raft from Môṣul to Bagdad in February 1889 in a little over four days; but in December 1890 the journey required nearly seven days, while the huge rafts about forty feet square which I passed at the junction of the Lower Zâb with the Tigris did not arrive for some days after I had landed at Bagdad. Rafts which carry alabaster slabs for building purposes or for burning into lime are much smaller than wheat rafts, and the skins are often totally submerged. For other descriptions of the raft see Buckingham, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 87; and Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 259.

[1] The word [illegible] is new, and Hoffmann believes that it

and mules; and he burned the limestone and pounded it into lime,[1] and he collected stones for building and

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stands for either ܫܢ ܓܠܠܐ "the tooth of a river bed," or ܪܫ ܓܠܠܐ "the head of a river bed." It seems that Thomas of Margâ means that he brought blocks of limestone to build a pier in the peak of the mountain upon which the monastery stood, where two streams joined, to form a firm foundation for the walls of the church. The rafts would bring the stone immediately under the monastery, and mules and donkeys would bring it up the hill.

[1] In Môṣul, and in Mesopotamia generally, burnt limestone is pounded by means of a large square stone, about two feet long by ten or twelve inches square, which having been pierced longitudinally is fastened to two chains by means of an iron rod running through it, and is drawn over the limestone by a horse or mule. The pounded lime is placed in basket panniers, two of which form a good load for a donkey, and in this way it is carried a considerable distance. Within the last few years the pious monks of the Monastery of Rabban Hormuzd near Alḳôsh have rebuilt part of the monastery on the plain, which travellers by the permission of the father superior use as a khân, and the monks told me on November 30, 1890, that every load of lime had to be brought thither from the place some miles away where it was burnt and crushed. The new portion of the building is very good and substantial, and the lime church is a fine specimen of its kind. Any one who has seen a mountain monastery in the East will understand the difficulties which stand in the way of building a church or monastery, and will readily perceive that the objection of the monks of Bêth 'Âbhê to the pulling down of their church was not unnatural. The lack of roads and means of transport, the delays caused by the cold of winter and the heat of summer, and the large sums of money required for a building like a church would cause greater and wealthier men than the head of a decaying monastery to pause before beginning such a work.

burned bricks. [p. 206] And having removed the altar to the library of the monastery, and the bodies and the coffins (or sarcophagi) of the holy men from the martyrium, he began with great labour to pull down the wide and massive old walls which his fathers had built, and a heap of earth was thrown up, which filled the whole space round about the temple. And when the holy Îshô῾-yahbh saw that, the temple having been pulled down, the size of the [heap of] earth required three times more space than the building itself, and was crushed with grief[1] on account of this, for he had not taken [the matter of the mud] into consideration in the estimate[2] which he made in his plan for the whole [re]building, he made use of an artifice which should benefit himself and others. On the day of the congregation he said to the solitaries, "Ye know, O blessed men,—and also the tradition of those who [were] before us hath come down to us from hand to hand, for the holy Mâr Îshô῾-yahbh was able and sufficient to do all things, especially since the rank in which he stood and opportunity answered[3] to [his call]—that the greater part of this earth came from Ḥĕdhattâ while that of the other [buildings] came from Adiabene. Now there is no mud like unto this, and it is better and harder than lime: let therefore no one of you take away any of it, for when, by the hand of God, we have built this temple, we will pull down all the dwellings of the community, and build them up again with this earth". Now when the solitaries, some of whom were friends and some of whom were adversaries, heard these things

[1] ܘܐܬܦܟܚ = ܘܐܬܦܟܦ. [2] ܬܘܟܪܐ.

[3] *I. e.*, "favoured him."

they wished to steal from that earth, and to plaster[1] their cells with it; and since Îshôᶜ-yahbh wished to be relieved from the expense and trouble of having the earth carried away himself he remained the whole of that Sabbath in the patriarchal cell, and he proclaimed concerning himself, "I am suffering from sickness". Now when [the monks] discovered this opportunity, with laughing and rejoicing they stole away that earth, even sweeping the place where it had stood with a broom, and carried it to their cells. And when Îshôᶜ-yahbh heard concerning this thing he rejoiced with an exceeding great joy, [p. 207] and when he came and saw that the place where the earth had been was swept and sprinkled, with a chaste and holy smile he answered and said to them, "Ye have not so much as left behind even a little of that earth; may the Lord pardon and forgive us all!"

CHAPTER X.

OF HOW GOD, THE LORD OF ALL, MOVED MEN TO PUT FORTH THEIR HANDS TO OPPOSE THIS GREAT WORK.

Now when the holy Mâr Îshôᶜ-yahbh had begun to lay the foundations of this temple, the materials [required] and the wages which had to be given to the labourers and the builders became more and more day by day. And because, according to the report which I have received by tradition, he had taken upon himself to build [the temple] in difficult times, there rose up a

[1] ܘܠܡܣܝܥܘ Compare Arab. سَيَّعَ "to plaster a wall with mud or lime."

certain governor and ruler of the dominion of Môṣul, a greedy and avaricious man, who afflicted this monastery by the workings of envious devils, and who mulcted this congregation of fifteen thousand silver[1] [pieces]. And moreover the believing men of Adiabene were smitten with envy against [Mâr Îshô'-yahbh], and said, "Why, while the Metropolitan throne of Adiabene is going to ruin, dost thou build a temple in Bêth 'Âbhê"? All these things [happened] by the counsel of Satan. Also in this assembly when [Mâr Îshô'-yahbh] was sitting at table on one of the feast days with the brethren, in the common room, some of them, being incited thereto by certain mischief-makers, rebelled[2] against him, saying, "Thou hast pulled down our temple, and we no longer want thee to build a temple for us; get thee out and depart from our monastery. [p. 208] We are under [the authority of] the Patriarch, pass on to thine own dominion, and tarry no longer amongst us". And when the humble and gentle man perceived secretly the working of Satan the Evil One, he said to them, "May God forgive you. It is

[1] *I. e.*, دراهم *dirhams*. This was only to be expected in an eastern country. There are many places to this day in Mesopotamia where if a householder begins to make any repairs to his house, or to re-plaster it with lime, the local authorities at once assess his taxes at a higher rate and compel him to make payment immediately. Commencing to build a church when times were hard, money scarce, and provisions dear, was sufficient sign to the Muḥammedan mind that the Nestorian monks of Bêth 'Âbhê had more money than they knew what to do with.

[2] Read ܐܩܝܡܘ. For other instances of ܐܩܝܡ ܚܨܐ "to set up the back," *i. e.*, "to resist, to rebel," see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 639.

not you [who] are speaking these things but that being who hath never tasted peace, and who delighteth not in peace. I shall not depart, unless ye drag me out on my feet, until I shall have built this holy temple". And he spake this also unto them, "When I began to pull down the first temple, our Lord knoweth that I was master of one hundred and fifty *zûzê*;[1] but for all these expenses which ye see, for behold [only] one half of the building has been completed, I do not know where our Lord hath made ready: but quiet yourselves, and fret not with care and anxiety, for our Lord will build for Himself without taking anything either from you or from your common funds.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE SATANIC VISION WHICH [ABBÂ] ÎSHÔ'-DÂDH, ONE OF THE OLD MEN OF THIS CONGREGATION SAW, AND OF THE MONEY WHICH HE FOUND.

Now the holy Mâr Îshô'-yahbh was in trouble and anxiety concerning the expenses, for the first day of the week was near in which the builder would ask him for seven thousand *zûzê*, being the wages of himself and of his workmen, according to the contract for the work which he had taken upon himself [to do] for him. And the brethren saw him during the after-supper service of the first day of the week with a gloomy face, and his colour was green by reason of weariness. [p. 209]

[1] The ܙܘܙܐ is explained by *dirham*. The gold *dînâr* which weighed from sixty-five to seventy-two grains was equal in value to twenty *dirhams*, or about 10½ English shillings.

and care and anxiety, because the morrow after the first day of the week was the time fixed for weighing to the builders seven thousand *zûzê*, although as has already been said, he had not a single *zûzâ* in his possession. Now what did He Who hath the power, and to Whom nothing is difficult, do? He uncovered before him hidden and buried and hoarded up treasures, and placed them in his hand without labour and without toil.

Now there was in the monastery Abbâ[1] Îshô'-dâdh, an old man, the master of Mâr George[2] the Catholicus, and the master of Mâr Abraham[3] the Catholicus our Father,[4] and his cell was [situated] on the top of the ridge [of the mountain] which is between two valleys, to the right as thou goest up to the head of the spring, and opposite to the fortress which is called the 'Little'.[5] And when the service of the night was ended, he went up at the conclusion of the psalms for the morning to his cell, and as he was going along the path God's goodness moved him, and he looked to his

[1] ܐܒܐ a spiritual father, as opposed to ܐܒܐ a natural father.

[2] He was elected Patriarch, A. D. 825. See *B. O.*, ii. p. 435; iii. i. p. 616.

[3] He was elected Patriarch, A. D. 836. See *B. O.*, ii. p. 436; iii. 1. p. 617.

[4] Thomas of Margâ means that he himself lived in the time of this Abraham.

[5] From this it seems tolerably clear that the Monastery of Bêth 'Âbhê was built upon a mountain peak between two valleys; in the valley on the east flowed the Upper Zâb, and in the valley on the west flowed a river or stream into which the spring here mentioned fell. The fortress surnamed the 'Little' was probably on the other side of the Zâb, and could be seen from the monastery.

right hand, towards the east, and he saw in an uninhabited and ruined cell a fire burning in its little oven; and just as the blessed Moses said,[1] "I will go and see this great sight, why the bush burneth not", so also the blessed man thought, "What can be the cause of this fire which now burneth in the ruined cell? I will go there and see". And when he had come near, he saw Satan in the form of a black old man eating bread which he baked on the oven, and because, according to what I have learned about this whole matter from the holy Mâr Abraham the Catholicus, he was a mighty and a holy man, he adjured Satan by the word of our Lord to depart. And straightway that oven was rent in twain, and an earthen jar[2] full of *zûzê* was cast forth at the feet of Abbâ Îshôʿ-dâdh; [p. 210] and it broke immediately, and the *zûzê* poured out with a chinking sound[3], and he bowed low to the ground before God lest peradventure it was a phantasm. And when the *zûzê* had been felt by his hands, and he knew of a certainty that it was money in very truth, he took the cross which was upon his neck, and buried it among them; and the blessed old man girded up his feet, and ran swiftly from the one valley to the other valley until he arrived at the cell of Rabban. And he knocked at the door, and the monk[4] who guarded the door

[1] Exodus iii. 3.

[2] ܩܘܠܬܐ *i. e.,* الجرّة *jar.* See Brit. Mus. MSS. Rich 7203, fol. 151*b*, col. 1; and Orient. 2441, fol. 328*b*, col. 2.

[3] ܘܙܘܙ.

[4] The ܩܢܘܒܝܐ = κοινοβιακὸς, was a man who had decided to adopt the monkish habit but who had not yet taken up his abode in the κοινόβιον, or ܩܢܘܒܝܢ. It would seem that the *coenobium* was distinguished from the outer cells, ܩܠܝܬܐ ܒܪܝܬܐ,

answered him, and he said to him, "Go in and tell Mâr Îshô'-yahbh that Îshô'-dâdh is at the door". And the Metropolitan answered and said, "What can the old man[1] want of us at this time [of night]"? And the old man having gone in, said, "Rise up, for thy prayer hath been heard. I saw thy face of despair in the evening and during the after-supper service, and I knew that thou wast in need, and I offered prayer on thy behalf to Christ that He would not allow thy face to be put to the blush". And when he had learned concerning that which had happened, Mâr Îshô'-yahbh answered and said, "Perhaps it is a phantasm of devils". And [Mâr Îshô'-dâdh] said to him, "Master, I went down on my knees before God, and I also felt[2] the *zûzê*, and I placed the cross which was upon me among them; rise up and let us go [to the ruined cell] before it dawns [when] we should be seen".

which were scattered about in the neighbouring mountains, although they belonged to the congregation of the monastery. The anchorites or solitaries, ܚܒܝܫ̈ܐ, who lived in these cells, were accustomed to go to the church of the monastery on certain occasions and on Sundays to partake of the Eucharist. The ܕܝܪ̈ܝܐ were the monks who lived in cells, which were separate from each other, but which were grouped round about the church, the whole cluster of buildings comprising the ܕܝܪܐ, or residence in common. The ܥܘܡܪܐ, with its outlying cells, was a later development of monastic dwelling; compare what is said of Job the Monk (he flourished about A. D. 550), وطَكَّسَ الأعْمارَ والقَلالي وكانَتْ من قَبْلُ كالدِّيارات "and he founded *coenobia* and cells, which formerly were like unto places where monks dwelt in common." See *B. O.*, iii. i. p. 431, col. 1, at the foot; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, Notes 1330, 1332, pp. 171, 172; Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 677.

[1] ܫܝܚܐ, a title of honour. [2] ܓܫܝܬ for ܓܫܫܬ.

And they took the monk, and the three of them ran and took the *zûzê*, and Rabban came back to his cell. And the old man said to the Metropolitan, "By the living[1] grave of Rabban how many thousand *zûzê* hast thou?" And he said to him, "Seven"; and when they had weighed the money, the weight came out exactly seven thousand [*zûzê*]. Thus are the saints who are consumed with the love of God, and who desire to please Him in every kind of manner, perfected by His munificent gift.

[P. 211] CHAPTER XII.

OF ANOTHER TREASURE WHICH CHRIST OUR LORD GAVE TO HIM.

Now when the builder had received this specified sum [of money], seven thousand *zûzê*, the holy man, [trusting] in [his] heavenly Hope (on Whom those who trust are never put to shame), made an agreement with him as to the price to be paid for another specified[2] piece of work, *viz.*, thirteen thousand [*zûzê*]. And the days and months having passed during the interval [of the course of the work], behold the temple had already come to the upper rafter corbels,[3] and the first

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[1] *I. e.*, which shall live again on the Day of Judgment.

[2] ܣܝܩܘܡܐ = σήκωμα. See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2719; Buxtorf (ed. Fisher), p. 740.

[3] ܙܝ̈ܙܐ, a new word. This word seems to mean the projecting stone corbels which are laid upon the uppermost layer of bricks or stone on the walls of the church upon which rafters or beams of the roof are to rest. Compare זִיז plur. זִיזַיָא Buxtorf, (ed. Fisher), p. 344, col. 2; Levy, *Chald. Wörterbuch.*,

day[1] of the appointed week, on the fourth day of which the builder was to come to ask for thirteen thousand *zûzê*, arrived. And the [bones of] the back of the pious Mâr Îshô'-yahbh were broken by reason of his fear, and he brought to the God of the universe a cry that He would not be unmindful of His temple, and that he himself might not become an object of derision like that foolish builder who began to build and was not able to finish.[2] And when the first day of the week had passed by, the builder began to say to the Metropolitan, "Make ready the *zûzê*, and do not forget"; now by reason of this [speech] also, the trouble of the Metropolitan was increased, because the builder, who was a heretic,[3] wished to make him a laughing-stock. And [the Metropolitan] answered and said, "Be not avaricious, behold, the *zûzê* are weighed out, and are set aside for thee;" but although he uttered courageous words with his mouth, he bore grief and sorrow in his heart. Now there was a very old man [who lived] opposite the monastery from Gâr Kâhnê,[4] and he also was moved by grace to give what he had by him for the building of the temple. And on the morning of the third day of the week he rose up, leaning upon his staff,—now he was a man who was [only] able to come to the temple to receive the Holy Mysteries [p. 212] once a week—and with the morning he knocked at the door of the

p. 218, col. 1. Hoffmann thinks that ܓܝܣܐ = γεῖσα, the projecting part of the roof, the eaves, parapet, coping.

[1] Literally, "the last first day of the week," *i. e.*, the Sunday of the last of the weeks of the period, at the expiration of which Îshô'-yahbh had undertaken to pay the money.

[2] St. Luke xiv. 30.

[3] *I. e.*, a Jacobite.

[4] See *supra*, p. 240, note 3.

Patriarchal cell; and the keeper of the door answered him, and made known [to the Metropolitan] concerning him. And the Metropolitan being moved at the report of his coming went out to meet him, and answered and said to him, "Rabban, why hast thou taken all this great trouble to come to me? If thou hadst any reason thou shouldst have sent to me that I might come to thee". The old man said, "However great may be the love and ready disposition which we have to bestow upon each other, the treasury of the Giver is rich enough to recompense us all for our love; but I entreat thee this day to take the trouble to go down to [my] cell which thou seest". The Metropolitan saith to him, "During all this long time which I have been with thee thou hast never asked me to go down to thy cell, until this day in which destruction taketh away my life"; [the old man] saith to him, "Rise up, and be not distressed, for the deliverance of thy Lord is at hand". And when the Metropolitan heard this, [it was] as if peace came upon his soul; now he was accustomed to receive such-like [consolation] from [the conversation] of Abbâ Îshôʿ-dâdh. And he rose up and went down with the old man, [who] said to him, "Take this monk with thee, for we shall have need of him"; and he went down [with them] according to his word. And when the breaking of bread drew nigh and he was urging him to take some refreshment,[1] it was not easy for him to make the Metropolitan take any. And the old man answered and said to him, "For how much money wilt thou sell me the keeping of thy fast this

[1] Literally "blessing", because it was food given with a blessing.

day? Know also that we monks are under thy control, and that we know the time for keeping [the fast], and the time and season for the loosing of love". And when they had eaten and drunk the old man said to him, "Mâr Metropolitan, I saw thee in the spirit standing in a dark house, and thou wast calling us all to thy help, [p. 213] and I knew that thou wast in sore need of money for the expenses of the building of the temple. And I swear[1] by the prayer of Rabban that I possessed neither gold nor silver, for by the labour of my hands have I ministered unto my life day by day as thou[2] knowest. But I have a small sum of money deposited with me, and if thou wilt promise to pay it back I will give it to thee". The Metropolitan said to him, "How much is that which is deposited with thee, father"? and he said to him, "I swear by [our] love, that I know not. Two old women who were going to Jerusalem from my own country of Bêth Bĕghâsh came to me some twenty years ago, and placed in my hands this napkin;[3] but how much is that something which they placed [in my hands] I know not, only I know that it is much. And they went and never came back. And they com-

[1] Compare ܠܐ ܝܫܘܥ "I swear by Jesus;" ܠܐ ܡܫܝܚܐ "I swear by Christ" (Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1869); and لَا أُقْسِمُ بِيَوْمِ ٱلْقِيَامَةِ "I swear by the day of the Resurrection." Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, vol. II, pp. 162, 328.

[2] Literally, "as ye know."

[3] ܣܘܬܐ is a word new to me. ܣܘܬܐ cannot = ܣܘܡܬܐ *calceus*, for it would be impossible to hide a large quantity of money under it, but it may = ܣܒܬܐ = σάβανον, = ܣܒܢܐ, Chald. סַבְנִיתָא, Arab. سَبَنِيَّة, or سَبَانِى "un morceau carre de toile doublée et de couleur, servant à envelopper des habits ou des livres." Dozy, *Supplément*, tom. I. p. 631, col. I.

manded me, saying, 'If we return, this something belongeth to us, but if we are smitten by death on the journey, then give it to this monastery'. Take then this something, and if they return,—but they will never return—thou must pay it back; and if on the other hand they do not return, there will be none to ask it from thee, and thou wilt not need to pay it back". And when the Metropolitan heard [these things] he received it all with joy, and he weighed the money, which amounted to thirteen thousand *zûzê*, and gave it to the builders in all gladness. Now I have heard these things from many, and as I have learned [them] so have I set [them] down in the writing of the history of the holy Mâr Îshô^c-yahbh.

[P. 214]

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE MIRACLE WHICH CHRIST WROUGHT BY THE HANDS OF THE HOLY MÂR ÎSHÔ^c-YAHBH.

Now when the blessed man Îshô^c-yahbh was building this holy temple, every man was extending help to him by his labour, and by gifts from what he possessed, the rich man according to his large means, and the poor man according to his small means. And there was a certain gardener in the village of Ḥadhûdh, and this man, as I have learned concerning him, was deaf, and this [affliction] had happened to him from the days of his youth; and having expended much money upon physicians that he might be cured, he was disappointed in this expectation. Now this man also, together with

the other people who were contributing from their wares, brought to the monastery a load of onions. And when they received his gift there was here a monk who was acquainted with him, and he took him and carried him to the Patriarchal cell, to the Metropolitan, that he might be blessed by him; and he made known to the holy man concerning the gift which he had brought, and that he could not hear at all. And the Metropolitan was very sorry for him, and he made for him a washing from the cross of Rabban, and dismissed him, saying, "We trust in our Lord that He will give thee [the power of] hearing". And when he had mounted his ass and had gone forth, he arrived at the ascent where the young asses run about, and he heard the noise of the wild goats which fled frightened, and again he marvelled and was astonished, for he heard also the sound of the footsteps of the ass. And when he had drawn nigh to the village, and he, being filled with wonder and amazement, heard the crowing of the cocks and the barking of the dogs, because of his joy he could not believe that which had happened to him. But when he went into the door of his courtyard, one of his children saw him, [p. 215] and he heard the child say to his mother, "Father hath come;" and he made known to his wife all these things; thus was he healed by the prayers of that holy man, and he was whole until his death. Now this [story] I heard from the old and venerable Rabban Elisha; may his memory be blessed! It is well known that wonders and miracles were wrought also by all the holy men whose histories I have written, but time in its course[1]

[1] ܒܡܘܪܕܝܬܗ for ܒܡܘܕܪܝܬܗ.

hath covered them up because they were not written down at the time by those who were acquainted with them.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE COMPLETION OF THE TEMPLE, AND OF THE DEATH OF MÂR ÎSHÔ[c]-YAHBH.

Now when the temple was entirely built except the roof, he left off for that year, and waited so that the building might settle down, and in the following year he finished both it and the martyrium, and consecrated it. And he removed [the bodies of] Rabban Jacob, and Mâr Catholicus and the fathers who were with them, and laid them in the martyrium. And he had made up his mind, if life had been granted to him, to [re]build the monastery generally[1] and the porter's lodge with stones and lime. But after the fast of our Lord, on the Friday which cometh after the Sunday of renewal,[2] the hymn for which [begins], "In the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ", he put off the garment of the body and the weight of its afflictions, and he departed to the land of light and gladness; and he was laid with the fathers his companions in the dwelling

[1] ܥܘܡܪܐ here means the Abbot's cell and the cells of all the other monks.

[2] *I. e.*, the first Sunday after Easter Sunday, following the ἑβδομὰς διακαινήσιμος, "the week of renewal," so called because the resurrection of Christ renewed mankind each Easter Sunday. ܚܕܒܫܒܐ ܚܕܬܐ = κυριακὴ καινὴ or κυριακὴ νέα = Dominica in Albis. See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 770; col. 88 *s. v.* αντίπασχα; Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1207; Nilles, *De Rationibus Festorum Mobilium utriusque Ecclesiae Occidentalis atque Orientalis*, Vienna, 1868, p. 39.

of the Metropolitan of Adiabene, that is to say, [p. 216] in Bêth Mâr Ḳardagh. May his prayers be a strong wall [to protect] this monastery against all injuries, Amen!

CHAPTER XV.

THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY MÂR CYRIACUS, THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY OF BÊTH ʿÂBHÊ AND BISHOP OF THE CITY OF BÂLÂDH.

The composition of man testifieth that the constitution of [his] mortal nature hath received from Him Who alone is, two opposing parts, between which there is [always] contention, because each endeavoureth always to attract its fellow to itself, and according to its twofold character He hath prepared two habitations for it. This [dwelling], *viz.*, that in which we now are, He hath set for the training and exercise of our rational nature, so that by severe strivings we may gain possession of some of the treasure of contest, and become rich in those things which befit our rational nature, and the honour with which we are honoured; but that [dwelling] for which we look, hath He prepared for [our] delight and for [our] happiness which shall be beyond all change, that we may live a life, without the least [inclination] to turn aside[1] from it, in a dwelling which is meet to endure for ever. And He hath given [us] power and might to possess both these [dwellings] unless our own personal matters should hinder our freewill choice, and therefore the choice of good things and of the

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[1] ܡܦܰܠܕ݂ܳܢܳܐܺܝܬ݂ *wanderingly.*

inheritance of the happiness which is expected [to come] belongeth to us.

Now the blessed Rabban Mâr Cyriacus, the glorious things concerning whom we have now come to relate, having understood this, laboured abundantly, in this world full of strife, and abounding in contests, and through this behaviour he followed after, and acquired, [p. 217] and traded in all those things which are convenient for and befit that rest which, according to the word of the divine Paul,[1] is preserved for us in heaven, whence we expect our Vivifier, our Lord Jesus Christ, Who shall change the body of our humility, that it may become like unto His glorious body.

CHAPTER XVI.[1]

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BLESSED MÂR CYRIACUS, AND OF HIS COMING TO THIS MONASTERY [OF BÊTH ʿÂBHÊ].

This blessed man Cyriacus was descended from a family of Gebhîltâ, an orthodox city in the country of Ṭârîhân,[2] and he was the son of wealthy people who were diligent worshippers in the fear of God. Through the care of his parents he was trained in doctrine in the church of their native city, before the famous and much enlightened teacher Rabban Gûryâ,[3] a disciple of the master of masters, Rabban Bâbhai, the teacher and founder of schools.[4] And wishing to lead the life of

[1] Hebrews iv. 8—10; Phil. iii. 21.

[2] *I. e.*, Ṭîrhân. See *supra*, p. 290, note 2.

[3] See *supra*, p. 303.

[4] For his life and the names of the schools which he founded see *supra*, p. 296.

an ascetic, and to inscribe himself for spiritual labour among the hosts of those who do battle against the body and the lusts thereof, he heard concerning this holy monastery from his teacher Rabban Gûryâ,[1] who had heard and learned from Rabban Bâbhai concerning its famous and holy men, and how their course of life shone with splendour, for Rabban Bâbhai drew every man to the sight of the glorious light of their excellent virtues. And Mâr Cyriacus went forth, and made straight the path of his journey, and arrived at this monastery when Rabban Mâr Aḥâ, the glorious acts of whose life we have written a little way back,[2] was its head. [p. 218] And when he had finished his period of serving in the monastery, the holy Mâr Aḥâ permitted him to go forth to a [separate] cell, and he was endowed with prayers and blessings, and he dwelt in silence. Now if I came to write down all that I have heard concerning him, and concerning the chastity and abstinence of his life, and his labours, and his toils difficult to bear and to carry out, it would be great and heavy work both for me to write, and for thee to read, [O ʿAbhd-Îshôʿ]; but I will pass over them briefly, giving examples of them as it were in short hand,[3] and I will make selections from them referring to different matters, and will lay them [before thee] to please thee.

Now the old man Ḥenân-Îshôʿ, the head of the congregation, whom I met in this place, and who was his neighbour, related to me that from the day in which he went forth to his cell, until the end of his life, wine never entered therein, and that he only took it at table

[1] For the history of Gûryâ see Bk. iii. chap. 3, *supra*, p. 303.

[2] See *supra*, p. 248 ff. [3] ܣܡܝܘܢ = σημεῖον.

with the brethren when he felt that it was necessary for him to hide his manner of life.[1] And he made his cell a judgment hall for himself, and he set Christ as Judge over the throne of his understanding, and of all the thoughts which rose up in him he extinguished the evil and watered the pure; and he was making them appear before the Judge at all seasons. And when, according to what I have heard concerning him, he had passed through [his] period of novitiate, and had [served in the monastery] a few years, as is commanded by the fathers, "A novice shall not serve overmuch in the service of the monastery, that he be not injured by devils," he found excellent means for extinguishing the emotions and impulses of the body. He made two thick, leather straps; one of them [was] for binding round his two knees, and when he was sitting down and reading, or eating, or sleeping, he used to put his bent knees inside it, so that [his legs] might neither be stretched out, nor the sinews of the body be extended, and the spirit be filled, [p. 219] and the passion of the body stirred up, according to what the holy man Basil[2] wrote to the blessed man Gregory[3] his brother, saying, "When thou sleepest stretch not out thy legs,

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[1] Read ܕܘܒܪܗ.

[2] Basil the Great was born at Caesaraea A. D. 329, and died 379. According to 'Abhd-Îshô' he wrote a book on the "Six days, and several Questions, Discourses, and lengthy Epistles:" ܗܘ. ܟܬܒܐ ܕܐܫܬܐ ܝܘܡܝ̈ܢ܆ ܘܫܘܐ̈ܠܐ ܡܫܚܠ̈ܦܐ܆ ܘܡܐܡܪ̈ܐ ܘܐ̈ܓܪܬܐ ܐܪ̈ܝܟܬܐ. See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 21. For the Greek text of Basil's Ασκητικά or *Constitutiones Asceticae*, see Migne, *Patrologiae Graecae*, tom. XXXI., coll. 1321—1428.

[3] Thomas of Margâ probably refers to Basil's great friend Gregory Nazianzenus, born about A. D. 329, died about 389.

and behold thou wilt be at peace from this passion;" and the other strap [was] for binding round one knee when he was standing in the vigil of prayer. And he used to bend one knee like a camel, and bind it round with the smaller strap, and with the sole[1] of the foot bent, and holding a rod, [he stood] in that painful [position] on one leg[2] like a crane,[3] that is a ḳĕlâkesâ,[4] until he was worn out by exhaustion[5] and fell down; then he rose up and changed the [leather] ligature to the other leg until he was wearied, and thus he kept his vigil until dawn.[6] And the old man Ḥenân-Îshôʿ told me, saying, "Inasmuch as the situation of my own

[1] Literally, "the hand of the foot."

[2] Literally, "one knee."

[3] ܟܘܪܟܝܐ, كُرْكِيّ. See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1826.

[4] We should expect ܩܠܩܣܐ to be equal to ܩܘܪܩܣܐ = κόραξ, a raven; but it probably stands for ܟܘܟܠ, or ܟܘܪܟܠ *crane* (Castle, *Lexicon*, pp. 830, 835). Hoffmann believes that the reading of BC ܩܠܩܣܐ, may stand for ܟܠܢܟܣܪܐ and = Pers. كُلَنْگ سار "crane-like"; in this case it is the rendering of ܕܡܘܬ ܟܘܪܟܝܐ. For קרקס *eagle*, = קרנס see Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 81, No. 208; compare also Ahrens, *Naturgegenstände*, p. 23, No. 46; and καθεύδουσιν επὶ ἑνὸς ποδὸς ἐναλλαξ Aristotle, *De Animalibus*, lib. IX. chap. X. (ed. Didot, t. iii. p. 181).

[5] Read, in any case, ܐܬܚܝܠܘܬܗ, but we should have expected ܡܚܝܠܘܬܗ *imbecility, infirmity*; compare below (text. p. 219, l. 12) ܕܡܚܝܠ ܗܘܐ "he flagged", or "languished". Another example of this word occurs in Land. *Anecdota*, tom. ii. p. 107, l. 24; and *supra*, p. 33, l. 21, where we read that Paul the Simple "wove mats until he was exhausted" ܡܚܝܠ. In Brit. Mus. MSS. Orient. 2441, fol. 389*b*, col. 2; Rich 7203, fol. 198*b*, col. 2 ܡܚܝܠܘܬܐ = ضُعْف "feebleness", نَحِيف "emaciated", نَحَافَة "emaciation".

[6] On the stern asceticism of certain monks see Land, *Anecdota*, t. ii. p. 230.

cell was higher than that of Mâr Cyriacus I could see him becoming worn out and exhausted by his vigil. And he used to remain [in this position] for a long space of time, and by reason of his fatigue he was insensible of his fervour.[1] Now for his food he took every evening a dry crust of bread, which he dipped in water and salt and lived upon; and this was the manner of his life during the whole time of his early manhood, and as long as strength was preserved in his body." This was the pure heart in which, according to what the holy man saith, God dwelleth,[2] and it was meet that God should hear his prayer; this was the sincere mind in which the Trinity abideth.[3] "Be thou mindful of God and thy mind shall become a heaven," saith the holy Nîlôs.[4] Hail to the new discoveries by which the holy men have become wise! [p. 220] Each one of them hath found out some new thing by which he was able to subdue the body which giveth birth to passions and afflictions, *viz.*, fasting, prayer, bowings to the ground, vigils, standing on one foot, together with all the severe war against the thoughts of the mind, anxious care and weeping for their souls, meditation upon the hour of death, medita-

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[1] We should have expected ܘܗܘܝ ܡܬܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗ ܠܗ ܡܢ ܠܥܠ ܗܘܐ ܒܠܐܘܬܗ Hĕnân-Îshô' means "I saw him becoming gradually worn out and quite exhausted by this course of life, in which he had persevered for a long time, and the fatigue of which deprived him of all sense of the fervour of his mind and will."

[2] 2 Corinthians vi. 16. [3] ܕܡܬܒܢܝܐ for ܕܡܬܒܢܐ.

[4] Nilus, the disciple of Chrysostom, became a monk in the Nitrian desert, and lived in the first half of the Vth century of our era; according to 'Abhd-Îshô' he "composed two admirable volumes," ܡܠܠܗ ܬܪܬܝܢ ܦܢ̈ܩܝܢ ܬܡܝܗܬܐ; see *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 48.

tion upon the hour of judgment, and meditation upon the hour of Gehenna; three [subjects for] anxious thought, and three [subjects for] meditation, spiritual and mental, for which monks in very truth should have a care, for by them is a monk preserved and exalted, and by them he mounteth to the grade of perfection. Now in this world perfection is given as a pledge,[1] not by insensibility to passions, God forbid, but by not being subject unto them.

Now when the mind of this our holy father had been trained and exercised in these things for a long time, the covering of the passions was lifted off from his mind, and his mind shone, and his understanding became bright, and he became wise to guard the treasures of his success by the watchfulness of his soul. "For a man to labour in the virtues," saith one of the Saints, "is an easy thing [to do], but to preserve them from spoliation belongeth to the perfect." Wherefore also when God the Lord of all saw that [Mâr Cyriacus] with all his heart and with all his soul had committed himself to keep His commandments, and to fulfil His will, he honoured and glorified him by the miracles which he wrought, and by the revelations which he received, and by the other mighty things which took place by his hands; now this [honour] was not given to [any] other person in his time, and little by little, by the might of his prayer, I shall demonstrate this fact.

[1] ܐܪܗܒܘܢܐܝܬ "like a pledge." This word is not in any native lexicon known to me.

[P. 221]

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE CALL OF OUR FATHER RABBAN CYRIACUS TO THE HEADSHIP OF THE MONASTERY.

Now since for the sake of the truth the holy Mâr Cyriacus chose labours such as these, and afflictions which humble the body, and bore, according to the word of Mark the Monk, the suffering of the bending of the legs and back, that he might follow after his Master along the Apostolic road, being bound with chains and carrying [his] cross;—that is to say, having driven out from himself all passions, and having endured[1] the afflictions which [arose] from this patience in the knowledge of the truth, in the hope of the good things which [were to come] afterwards,—he made his mind like a swift eagle, which mounteth up with gladness in the upper heights, and he bowed the eyes of his body beneath the yoke of the burden of Christ, that they might not stray to lying sights.

Now when there was a seeking for a head to stand up in this congregation, the choice and agreement of the whole brotherhood [fell] upon him to hold the office of head over them,[2] and with much labour they established him, and entrusted to him the direction[3] of the manner of their lives. And he established overseers to superintend non-spiritual matters, and he himself sat in the Abbot's cell according to the custom of asceticism, there being brought to him every evening, according to tradition, a piece of bread and an onion

[1] Read ܡܣܝܒܪ.
[2] Read ܕܪܫܘܬܗܘܢ
[3] Read ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܐ.

from the common [table]. And it came to pass that when want afflicted and distressed the monastery, and [the monks] did not know where they were to find means of subsistence, because in that year the locusts had devoured all the seed crops, and they were obliged to sow summer grass, he went into the town [hoping] to borrow money at interest from the merchants, [p. 222] and this he succeeded in doing; and while all the monks were wondering anxiously about this matter, and where they would be able to find money to pay it back, God performed an act by means of the holy man, the son of His house.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE FIRST MIRACLE WHICH CHRIST WROUGHT BY HIS HANDS AND OF THE REST OF HIS MIRACLES.

Now there was in the city of Môsul a certain Arab whose belief was akin to ours, and his offerings and gifts to the congregations of the monks were well known. Now this man had an only beloved son, besides whom he had no other [child], and this son fell into a mortal sickness, from which the physicians despaired of [all] hope of recovery[1] for him. And when his father had promised to give everything which he possessed to save his son's life,—now he was very rich, but he accounted all his riches of no value, since the heir was doomed to inherit[2] the grave—that power which worked upon the disciples who were in Joppa[3]

[1] Literally, "they cut off from him the hope of healing."

[2] ܡܘܪܬܢܐ Literally, "one who maketh inherit."

[3] Acts ix. 36.

to send to Simon Peter on behalf of the life of Tabitha, and also the angel [that told] Cornelius to send to Simon Peter[1] that the light of the doctrine of Christ might come to him, appeared to that Ishmaelite in a vision, and said to him, "There is a monk, in the Monastery of Bêth 'Âbhê, send and bring him, and he shall heal thy son;" and when he heard this he went for help to Mâr Mâran-zĕkhâ, Bishop of Nineveh, and entreated him to send and bring the monk to him. [p. 223] And when he asked him, "What is the name of the monk who appeared to thee?" he told him, saying, "His name is not known to me." And the pious Mâr Mâran-zĕkhâ, holy in all things, wrote a letter to the holy Mâr Cyriacus that he would send "a means of grace"[2] to that man, and he wrote also how he had appeared to him in a vision; and the blessed Cyriacus sent a washing from the cross of Rabban by the hands of two brethren, and he gave himself to prayer on behalf [of the Arab's son]. Now when those two brethren had departed and had given the "means of grace" and God's mercy which they had with them to the man, and he had made his son drink it, the boy straightway stood up, and asked for food; and his parents marvelled, and they praised and glorified God. And this [matter] was proclaimed in all the city, and the holy man Cyriacus became famous and well known.

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[1] Acts x. 5.

[2] ܚܢܢܐ literally means "misericordia," but here it refers to the holy water which the Nestorians were accustomed to give to the sick to drink, or to "pulvis loci, ubi martyres coronati fuerunt, quem oleo et aqua dilutum ad extremam unctionem adhibent." See the passages and authorities quoted in Payne Smith, *Thes.*, coll. 1315, 1316.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF HOW THAT MAN CAME TO THIS MONASTERY, AND OF HOW HE REWARDED IT WITH A NOBLE RECOMPENSE, AS WAS MEET, [AND OF THE REST OF THE MIRACLES OF THE HOLY MÂR CYRIACUS].

Now just as by reason of the glorious crown of sublime things with which the nation of the Jews was crowned after their going up from Babylon, it is written in the prophet Zechariah, "The nations which dwell in many towns shall come, and the inhabitants of one [city] shall go to another, and shall say, 'Come, let us go and pray before the Lord;' and many peoples and mighty nations shall come to entreat the Lord, the mighty One, in Jerusalem.[1] And ten men, from all the tongues of the nations, shall take hold of the skirt of a man who is a Jew, and shall say to him 'Let us go with thee to Jerusalem, [p. 224] for we have heard that the Lord is with thee'," even thus was it wrought in this case. For when that man saw that he had gotten back his son safe and sound from the mouth of the grave, and from the maw of hell by means of God's "mercy" which had been sent to him, he decided rightly, saying, "I will go and reward with [gifts of] love and kindness him who hath done this act of grace for me, and who hath delivered and given to me out of the teeth of death the only branch which I possess, and the staff of my old age, because of this thing;" and he took his son and a number of his servants, and others joining themselves to them they became a great company, and he came to this monastery. Now when the brethren took the old man to Rabban in the Abbot's cell, as

[1] Zechariah viii. 21—23.

soon as he had gone in and seen him, he answered and said in the Arabic tongue, "This is the old man whom I saw proclaiming to me 'peace', and saying, 'Send to Bêth 'Âbhê, and bring from there a monk and he shall heal thy son'"; and wonder took hold upon every man. And he took out ten thousand *zûzê*, and gave to Rabban, but Rabban thought wisely, "If I take all this money the gift will become a loss." And he answered and said to him, "Blessed art thou before God, O old man, and blessed shalt thou be; but we do not require this [money], for it is not good that the healing which our Lord hath given us should be [sold] for money." And the old man with entreaties and tears spake, saying, "If thou dost not take them, I will throw them away, for one nail of my son which through thy prayers hath been restored to me, is better to me than all the money and riches which I possess." Rabban said to him, "Since it must be thus, give the money to such and such a merchant who hath [a debt][1] against us, and thy act of grace will be acceptable unto God the Lord of all, and to us." The Arab saith to him, "How much hath he against you?" and he said, [p. 225] "Eight thousand [*zûzê*]"; and he left here two thousand [*zûzê*], and [with] the remainder he went and paid the debt, anxiety concerning the payment of which troubled the monks greatly; and thus were those men dismissed, and they went away rejoicing.

The very old man Rabban Îshô'-yahbh, [surnamed] the Long, who had received the tonsure at the hands of Rabban Cyriacus related to me the following:—"One day at the time of the after-supper service on the first

[1] Strike out ܕܝܢ in the text p. 224, l. 22.

day of the week I was selected by the potter[1] to go to the spring,[2] and to bring water[3] to the tank[4] of the monastery. And there was a certain old man who was called Bakhôs (Bacchus) bar-Ḳusṭôi,[5] and he had near[6] his cell a large olive tree from which he pressed out thirty measures of oil every year, and the tree was therefore precious to him, and he took care of it, and never missed watering it. Now this man was spying upon me, and watching my footsteps; and when I had gone some distance from his cell, he went out secretly, and opened[7] the channel and drew off water and brought it into his cell to water the olive tree. And when I had come and had made the water to flow in the

[1] ܦܘܚܪܐ, *i. e.*, κεραμεύς. Compare Hex. Jeremiah xviii. 2; Harḳl. Romans ix. 21.

[2] Probably the spring referred to in Bk. IV. chap. XI; see *supra*, p. 404.

[3] *I. e.*, he was to make a channel so that the water might flow down from the spring into the rock-hewn cistern of the monastery.

[4] ܡܩܒܬܐ, fem. of ܡܩܒܐ. Compare Arab. مُنْقُر *basin of water, reservoir*; and וְאֶל־מַקֶּבֶת בּוֹר נֻקַּרְתֶּם׃ Isaiah li. 1.

[5] ܩܘܣܛܘܝ a diminutive of ܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܣ, with the Persian termination *ôi*; compare عَمْرَوَيْه.

[6] Literally "in his cell."

[7] ܐܬܪܥ means to make an opening through which water may flow; compare the Arabic تُرْعَة, *the mouth of a streamlet, the opening of a tank*, and تَرَّاع *a torrent filling the valley*, Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, p. 303. For examples of √ ܬܪܥ compare [illegible] Wright, *Kalîlah and Dimnah*, p. 289, l. 24; [illegible] Land, *Anecdota*, t. ii. p. 172, l. 20; [illegible] *ibid.*, p. 312, l. 20; [illegible] *ibid*, p. 119. 24; [illegible] *ibid.*, p. 121. 14.

channel towards the monastery, and was going away to follow along with the water, through [my] fear of the others, [this old man] went out, being moved so to do by his greediness, and made an opening in the channel to let in the water to his cell. And when I saw this piece of folly, the fear lest the potter should beat me being vividly depicted before my eyes, it was exceedingly grievous unto me. And behold the blessed Cyriacus was in the place of the after-supper service,[1] and he heard my voice complaining, and he asked me, 'What aileth thee, my son?' And I said to him, 'The monks will not allow the water to come to the monastery.' Now Rabban Cyriacus was, as every one hath told me, of a hot-tempered disposition, [p. 226] and was [easily] made furious with anger, and when he was moved to wrath he was not to be controlled. And he straightway came down in haste from the place of the after-supper service, and went along by the side of the water, and found that it ran into the place where Bacchus was. And he cried out, saying, 'Bacchus, Bacchus;' now Bacchus was silent, and was dried up through his terror. And Cyriacus answered and said, 'Because I see that this olive tree hindereth thee from pleasing God, even as that fig tree which was in the monastery of the blessed Pachomius became a stumbling-block to the simple youths [there], and because, moreover, while every one [else] is occupied in the after-supper service, thou art corrupting the Calumniator[2] by [thy] solicitude for thy olive tree, the life

[1] ܒܝܬ ܣܘܬܪܐ probably a part of the *church*, not refectory.

[2] *I. e.*, your deeds defile the Devil, and make him appear blacker than he is otherwise.

which maketh thy olive tree to grow shall be taken from it, and the earth in which are its roots shall become salt and dried up, and God shall make it wither during this night, and thou shalt have no gratification from it except wood for burning and [for making] a roof;' and so, with the morning of the [next] day, he found that olive tree dried up from its roots, and black as pitch."

And again, a very old man whose name was Tûmânâ related to me that there was a certain monk employed in the monastery whose name was Khusrau, and that it was customary every week for a monk employed in the monastery to be set apart for the purpose of waiting upon that holy old[1] man in Rabban's cell. Now it happened that one week this Khusrau was set apart [for this duty]. And when he had stood at the door two or three days, and he could not endure [the service], he came to the monastery to his companions without the knowledge of the old man. And when the evening was come, and the blessed old man was waiting for him to bring him [his] food, Khusrau neglected him and treated him with contempt. And behold, the old man holding his staff came himself to the monastery—now Khusrau by reason of his fear had laid himself down upon a bed,[2] and feigned himself to be sick—[p. 227] and Rabban called him, "Khusrau, Khusrau," and he answered him saying, "Master, a fever hath seized me." And Rabban replied, saying, "I trust in our Lord that if the fever hath seized thee in very truth,

[1] *I. e.*, Cyriacus.

[2] ܡܕܡܟܐ *something to lie upon, a bed.* Compare ܕܡܟ Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 745.

He will visit thee and heal thee by the prayers of Rabban Jacob; but if thou hast spoken contrary [to the truth], may a mighty fever come upon thee;" and he left him and departed. And the old man who told me this thing asseverated with oaths that Khusrau began at once to cry out and to shriek and to beat upon his head with his hands like a man who was [actually] afflicted, and his life was near to be destroyed if we had not run and besought forgiveness for him from the holy man, who sent him a "mercy" (ܚܢܢܐ), and straightway he was relieved.

And after this there was set apart for his service Jacob bar-Bâbhânôsh,[1] who was surnamed[2] "the sacristan's son," with whom I was also contemporary for many years, and [Rabban] knew beforehand that he would not be an upright man, and every time that he saw him he was pointing him out with his finger to those round about him, and saying, "This Jacob bar-Bâbhânôsh hath broken the yoke and cut the ropes which tied it upon his neck,"[3] and thus also did we know him. I have also heard concerning him from the aged men, that he neither drew near to the laborious life of asceticism, nor embraced it. And in the time of his old age when the "sacristan's son" was forced to celebrate the sacrament standing by the priest in

[1] ܒܒܐܢܘܫ *i. e.*, Bâb = Pâp + anôsh (cf. Anôsh-ravân) "having a blessed father."

[2] After this word we should probably add ܒܪ ܩܢܛܝܐ "the son of the sacristan;" compare l. 16 (text).

[3] The allusion is to Jeremiah xxx. 8. ܐܬܒܪ ܢܝܪܗ ܡܢ ܨܘܪܟ. ܘܫܢ̈ܩܝܟ ܐܦܣܩ. The wooden portion of the yoke is called ܓܕܝܘܢܐ "*little goat*;" the two ropes ܫܩ̈ܐ are tied to it, one at each end, and fastened under the neck.

the capacity of a deacon[1]—now he used to sit [basking] in the portico[2] of the nave of the church the whole day—and when he went in to celebrate, and the wafers were laid in the paten[3] upon the altar, he used to steal some of them and place [them] in his bosom; and thus he did many times until at last we perceived him. And from every cell into which he entered—for every man used to invite [him] in to rest himself, [p. 228] taking pity on his old age—if its master[4] went away a short distance from before him he took something, and placed it in his bosom; and in this manner of life he died.'

Rabban Îshô'-yahbh, who was surnamed the 'Long', also related to me that there lived in this monastery a certain solitary named Rabban Sergius, an old man and the head of the ministration,[5] with whom also I was contemporary. And it came to pass one day that this old man met Rabban Cyriacus as he was going into the colonnade[6] from the temple, and as he himself was

[1] "Unless a priest has a Shammàshâ, *i. e.*, a deacon or assistant . . . . . to serve with him, the Liturgy cannot be celebrated." Badger, *Nestorians*, ii. 19.

[2] ܐܣܛܘܐ = στοά, which, however, I believe we should here render *aisle*.

[3] ܦܬܘܪܐ also = "*the table of the sacrament*;" see Badger, *Nestorians*, ii. p. 239, l. 3. This seems to be the meaning of ܦܬܘܪܐ on p. 218, l. 11 (text), where we read that Mâr Cyriacus only drank wine when he was obliged to do so in receiving the sacrament with the other brethren. Compare also the use of the word in *Liturgia Sanctorum Apostolorum Adaei et Maris*, Urmia, 1890, 4to., p. 6, l. 10; p. 23, l. 22; p. 24, ll. 8, 13; and p. 28, l. 14.

[4] *I. e.*, the occupier of the cell.

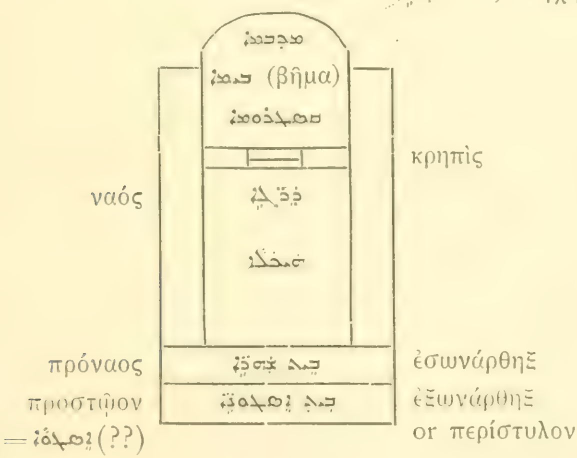
[5] ܪܫ ܬܫܡܫܬܐ = ἀρχιδιάκονος?? or perhaps the monk who led the service.

[6] ܒܝܬ ܐܣܛܘܐ = περίστυλον (Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 480), and it seems, therefore, that by this word we should here under-

going into the temple from the colonnade, and that they met one another in the place of the watchers.[1] And although Sergius was a holy man, yet through the working of Satan he said to Rabban Cyriacus, "I would rather that Satan had met me than thou." Rabban said to him, "Now I hope in our Lord that Satan will

stand "portico" or προστῷον (for a description of such a portico see Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. 1, p. 94). It is not probable that ܐܣܛܘ̈ܢܐ ܕܡܫܟܢܐ = ܒܝܬ ܐܣܛܘܢܐ.

[1] ܒܝܬ ܣܗܖ̈ܐ, *i. e.*, the place where the office for the night was sung by the ܣܗܖ̈ܐ or θεωροὶ. For the duties of these men see *B. O.*, iii. 2, p. 820ff. Judging from the details given by Thomas of Margâ concerning the church used by the monks, the general arrangement of the main portions of the building must have been as shown in the following rough plan:—



The altar stood in the ܩܣܛܪܘܡܐ (see *supra*, p. 342), or space above the three steps, and a path led through the ܩܢܟܐ, or choir, to the ܒܐܡܐ; the ܦܪܟܛܐ, *i. e.*, φρακτή, or altar-screen with its veils, stood either in the middle or at the door of the ܩܢܟܐ, above the steps leading down into the nave of the church. For the various parts

enter into thee, and that thou wilt never be rid of him until the grave." And Rabban Îshô'-yahbh swore to me that straightway Satan smote him in the place of the watchers, and tore off his skin from him by jerking him along upon the walls,[1] until the monks went in to him by reason of the noise of his cries. And it was thus until the end of his life, and even when he stood up in the service in the temple leaning upon his staff, fifty years after Rabban had cursed him, he was afflicted as he stood, and he foamed, and his spittle came out [of his mouth] and ran down upon his beard; and although he was an upright man until his death, according to the word of the holy man concerning him, he found no rest.

And a certain evil and ill-natured Arab who was passing from the mountains to the city came to this monastery with a large company of followers, [p. 229] and he had with him a hunting[2] dog which he had brought with him as a gift for one of the chiefs who were his superiors; and having tied him up in the

of the church symbolically treated see Book V. chap. 15, (text p. 306); and also Du Cange, *Glossarium, s. v.* κρηπὶς (col. 754), νάρθηξ (col. 986), κατηχούμενα (col. 621), ναὸς (col. 985), πρόναος (col. 1245); Waddington, *Inscriptions of Syria*, No. 2218, Ἐκτίση ἡ κρηπὶς καὶ ἡ κόγκ[η του] θεοῦ quoted also by Graham, *Trans. Roy. Soc. Lit.*, vol. VI. p. 282.

[1] All the MSS have ܠܫܘܪ̈ܐ, but read ܠܫܘܪܐ *walls*. See Hoffmann, *Syr.-Arab. Gloss.*, No. 2764, p. 98.

[2] Probably a fine specimen of the greyhound family. To this day in and around Môṣul these dogs are much used for hunting purposes, but I regret to say that when they become old the natives turn them out to starve in the streets or to be worried to death by the young and vigorous pariah dogs. They are often taken to Bagdad as gifts for Pashas.

outer martyrium[1] by some chance or other the dog died. And when it was morning, and [the Arab] saw that his dog was dead, he was greatly grieved, and he began to abuse and to threaten the monks, and also to demand from them the price of the dog, saying, "Ye have killed him." And when the monks had gone in for necessary purposes, and the Arab was still threatening them, and his striving was becoming more violent, they went to the cell of Rabban, and informed him of the matter. And he took the abbot's staff and came, and when he went in and saw the Arab he said to him, "Why art thou thus enraged,[2] and why dost thou threaten us?" And the Arab said, "Because ye have killed the dog which I brought [with me] with such great trouble." Rabban said to him, "Now if thy dog be not dead thou wilt ask nothing from us?" And the Arab said, "God forbid that I should importune you in anything." And the blessed old man asked for the dog, and they shewed him to him lying outside; and he said to the Arab, "Thy dog is not dead; rise up, and do thou and thy companions mount your animals, and I will wake up thy dog and he shall go with thee." And when the Arab had mounted Rabban went and pricked the dog with the top of his staff, saying, "Rise up, dead dog, and die outside of our territory;" and straightway the dog stood up. And all those Arabs saw and marvelled, and they threw a bark-rope[3] over him, and took him away and when he came to the

[1] *I. e.*, the martyrium *outside* the church proper.

[2] ܡܬܚܡܬ for ܡܬܚܡܬ.

[3] ܣܠܒܐ. Compare سَلَبَة الكلاب, *corde pour mener les chiens*; Dozy, *Supplément*, t. I, p. 672, col. I.

Edhrê dhê Bâlâs[1] the dog died. Thus those men went away having harmed [us] in nothing.

One year when the wheat [which was] the property of the monastery was being brought from Bêth Ziwâ, and by reason of the heat [of the day] the overseers were urging the labourers to get up to work in the morning while it was yet dark, they complained, saying, "There is a lion in the reedy swamp,[2] and we are afraid to go forth by night because of him." [p. 230] And when the blessed man learned [this], he took his staff and went on foot before them, and behold they came to the head of the reedy swamp, and the lion himself was there. And the holy man answered and said to him, "In the name of our Lord Jesus, to Whom all things are subject, mayest thou never be found here [again]; if I see thee here another day I will smote thee with hard blows." And he answered and said to the labourers, "From henceforth fear not, and walk hither by day and by night freely;" and it came to pass according to the word of the holy man, and during all that time that lion was never seen there. Now these things were related to me by the old man Ḥĕnân-Îshô' who was surnamed the "Red".

This man also related to me that there was a certain widow from the village of Tîdôr, and that [one day] she was collecting the scattered ears after the reapers with her young son; now this lad was her only son.

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[1] *I. e.*, "the threshingfloor of Bâlâs." For other examples of ܐܕܪܐ with proper names, see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 41.

[2] ܐܘܣܝܐ, a word explained by رَقَّة *marshy land by the side of a river*, and اوْسِيَة; see Hoffmann, *Syr. Arab. Gloss.*, No. 357, p. 17; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 78; Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 79.

And it came to pass that the boy fell down suddenly in the field by reason of an evil spirit which had seized him in his heart, and he died, and [his sad case] moved every one to weep for him. And the monks who were reaping counselled her, saying, "If thou wilt take him to the monastery, to the head of the monastery, he will make thy son to live again." And she lifted up her son upon an ass before her, and she went along quickly and laid him at the door of the abbot's cell, in which the blessed man was at that moment, and she began to weep dolefully, and to call him by his name, and to adjure [him], saying, "O Father Cyriacus, have mercy upon [me] a wretched woman, have mercy[1] on the stranger,[2] for the root[3] from which life was extended for me has been cut off from me like a dried up tree. [p. 231] O spare the woman who looketh [for help] to the hope of thy prayer, and turn not away thy face from me, that He also may not turn His face away from thy petition in the hour when thou knockest at His door. Be thou sorrowful for the wretched old widow, for there is no life for me now that the light of my eyes, and the breath of my life, and the touching of my hands,[4] and the steps of my feet, and the maintenance and protector of my life [hath departed]. By that power which cleaveth to thee, if thou entreatest Him for the life of my son He will give it back to thee. Let thy mercy be revealed,

[1] Read [Syriac].

[2] See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2806.

[3] ܘܪܝܕܐ, וָרִיד, وَرِيدٌ: see the examples in Payne Smith. *Thes.*, col. 1069.

[4] Read [Syriac].

and listen to my voice, even as thy Lord, Who hearkened to the Canaanitish[1] woman, and to Whom the sin of the harlot[2] was not an abominable thing." Now while the woman was at the door and was making use of such [words] as these, and was at the same time crying and weeping with plaintive lamentation, he had no monk from the monastery with him at that time, and he himself opened the door and saw the dead body of her son, and she herself was sitting crying before it. And he answered and said to her, "What have I to do with thee, O woman, and what have I in my hands wherewith to help thee?" And he took her son and brought him unto his cell, and when he had remained a long time in prayer and supplication, the Lord gave to the holy man the soul of that child; and he gave him back to his mother alive, and she took him with great joy and praise, and returned to the field. And this [miracle] was proclaimed throughout all the country. And it also happened to that blessed man by the hand of God that it was not[3] necessary for him to work his miracles openly, and [therefore] he hid himself being afraid of vainglory, and he plucked out this foul affection from[4] the dross of his thoughts, and cast it far, far away. Now although a short way back I said that the Lord honoured this holy man, so that before and after him there was none like unto him, there are nevertheless other [saints], and I did not make this decision in respect of all men, nor did I by any means intend it to include all the saints; [p. 232] I only intended to say that by reason of the miracles

[1] St. Matthew xv. 22.

[2] St. Luke vii. 36—50.

[3] For ܒܠܐ read ܕܠܐ.

[4] For ܠܗ ܕܒܗܬܐ read ܠܗ̇ ܕܒܗܬܐ.

which took place at his hands he was superior to all who lived in his time in this monastery. And if thy mind, [O 'Abhd-Îshô'] will hearken unto my argument it shall be convinced [of this fact].

And there was in this monastery one of the elders who was surnamed Solomon bar-Sabhĕthâ, who was a spectator of the miracle which we are about to relate; now the account of [this miracle] was handed down from his mouth to us, for we never knew this man in this life. And he used to relate [it] to all those from whom I have heard it, saying, "When Rabban Cyriacus was the head of the monastery, I was the steward. And when the commemoration of Rabban Jacob[1] came, he gathered together the twenty-two schools of Margâ, [concerning] which also Mâr Abraham the Catholicus, of holy memory, and blessed in all things, said to me, 'There existed in Margâ at that time, and flourished a great congregation, without number.' And I, Solomon, say that when I saw that the multitudes were very great I was afraid to give out wine in abundance in the butler's closet[2] according to custom, now Rabban himself was sitting with the butlers and those who laid the tables. And when the monks in the monastery came to me to the wine cellar,[3] and I had given them wine to carry away once, and again a second time,

[1] His commemoration took place on a Friday in November. See Wright, *Catalogue of Syr. MSS.*, p. 187, No. 152.

[2] ܒܝܬ ܣܕܘܪ̈ܐ *i. e.*, "the place of those who lay the tables." Hoffmann translates ܣܕܘܪ̈ܐ by *Tafeldecker*, compare στρώτης, στράτωρ and τραπεζάρης (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1598). See Hoffmann, *Verhandlungen der Kirchenversammlung zu Ephesus*. pp. 67, 99 (note 304, col. 2).

[3] ܒܝܬ ܡܫܬܝ̈ܐ.

they came yet a third time by the command of Rabban. And I sent him [a message], saying, 'Spare the wine a little, for if thou givest[1] it out thus abundantly to-day thou wilt be without wine for the vigil[2] of to-morrow.' And when the blessed man heard this, behold he blazed like a furnace, and he came to me to the wine cellar, and said, 'My son, why hast thou not sent wine?' And I said to him, 'Master, I was afraid lest it would not hold out even for the table of the Mysteries to-morrow. Be sparing then, for we have [to celebrate] another vigil for the dead,[3] and behold, there is gathered together to us an assembly the like of which [for magnitude] we have never seen in this monastery.' And he answered and said to me, 'While I go and give permission for the multitudes to begin [to sing] psalms, [p. 233] do thou make ready eight mules and skin bottles and bags, for I have heard that there is a caravan of Ḥîrthâyê[4] at the place of the crossing, at

[1] We should probably add ܢܦܩܘܢ after ܡܦܩܬܝܢ.

[2] ܫܗܪܐ in Neo-Syriac ܫܪܐ "church festival." For the description of the ܫܪܐ ܕܥܕܐ or "festival of 'Âdhâ" (a village situated near Supurgan, four hours north of Urmî), see Socin, *Die Neu-Aramaeischen Dialekte von Urmia bis Mosul*, Tübingen, 1882, pp. 84, 172, notes 14 and 189.

[3] The "Friday of the Dead" ܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܕܡܝ̈ܬܐ fell a little before Lent; see Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS.*, p. 183, no. 34; *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 382, No. 28 (ܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܕܥܠ ܕܕܝܢܐ ܘܕܘܟܪܢܐ ܕܡܝ̈ܬܐ). For a description of the festival for the commemoration of the dead now in use among the Nestorians see Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. I, p. 229. The ܫܗܪܐ was celebrated in that part of the church called ܒܝܬ ܫܗܪܐ, into which, on solemn occasions, the laity were admitted.

[4] *I. e.*, people of Ḥîrthâ, a place the ruins of which still exist to the south-east of Meshed 'Alî, but it seems hardly

Estwân,[1] that we may go and obtain wine from them. And when, by the hand of God, we have celebrated the festival which standeth [at hand], we will bring wine and pay them back'; and he left me and went to the temple, as I was wondering and amazed at his words. And because we had experience of him in all things, I accounted this [thing] likewise as one of his many glorious acts, and I did according to his word which never failed. And I took two soldiers[2] with me, and [Rabban] went before us along the road which goeth to the Zâbhâ [Zâb], and although he was on foot in front of us and we were riding we did not overtake him. And when we arrived at the appointed place by the Zâb he asked me, 'Have ye brought with you any earthenware vessel?' and I said to him, 'Why do we want such a thing?' He said to me, 'That we might borrow the wine through it, and pay it back through it.' Now the vessel which he asked for [was that] with which we used to fill the skin bottles from the Zâb. And when we came to the water he said to me, 'Tarry here with thy companions, for I am going to see if that caravan is still there;' and when we had been sitting by the Zâb some time, behold the blessed man came to us, and there breathed forth from him

likely that a caravan going from Kûfa and Bagdad to Âdhôrbâigân by way of Arbela would cross the Zâb and make a circuit by Môṣul. On the other hand a local caravan from Ḥedhattâ would cross the Zâb pretty soon and make its way into Margâ. For ܕܚܕܬܐ, then, we should probably read ܕܚܕܬܐ, to which the readings of BC point.

[1] "A village on the Zâb;" see Bk. I. chap. 24, *supra*, p. 84 (text p. 48, l. 12).

[2] For ܦܠܚܐ, read ܦܠܚܐ.

an odour which surpassed all scents, and fear and wonder fell upon us. And he answered, like one in distress and said to me, 'My son, according to what I have learned, those men passed by last evening and have gone away; but that our journey may not be in vain, fill the bottles from the Zâb and let us go [home];' and we did according to his word. Now the villagers who were with me began to laugh secretly, saying, 'Instead of wine we shall take water, which is much cooler than that of the monastery, for the blessed men.' And while he was walking on before us we were laughing over the water which we were carrying with so much care, and when we came to the monastery he said to me, [p. 234] 'Take the loads into the wine cellar, and take heed unto them.' And we left [him], and he went to the temple, and I dismissed the villagers also from my presence. And I pondered that it could not be by accident and for nothing that so great a man as this, a man who knew the secrets of [all] hearts, who brought the dead to life, and who had done and still doeth other marvellous deeds, was moved to bring water from the Zâb; and I rose up and lit a lamp, and I opened the ear of one of the bottles, and behold there breathed forth the smell of wine, the like of which he used to say, "before our Lord, I never smelt from any other wine." And I praised and glorified the might of Christ, Who had given the power and the promise to His disciples that they should work miracles even as He did;[1] and I also determined that I would not reveal the matter to any man, and that I would not give out this wine to be drunk, either to-day or

[1] St. John xiv. 12, 13.

to-morrow, until this old[1] wine which we had brought from the mountain should be finished. Now when the service of the Mysteries was ended, and every one had gone into the common-room of the brethren, Rabban sent to me, saying, 'Bring into the common-room some of that good wine which thou hast, and give up the intention which thou didst decide upon during the night'. And at this [speech] also I was the more moved to the praise of God the Lord of all, in that Rabban could see beforehand and know by the eye of the Spirit even the motions[2] of the thoughts of my mind."

Now it came to pass one year that Rabban himself was obliged to carry the imperial[3] tax which was due from this monastery to Yazdînbadh,[4] a village of Marga, and taking with him one of the monks in the monastery they both departed. And while the blessed old man, by reason of his age and feebleness, was riding upon an ass, and the monk was marching behind, the monk meditated the following thought:—"The head of the monastery hath not done well in carrying with him all this money to the government without five other men coming with us; [p. 235] alas for the evilness of the times, and alas for thieves! Peradventure we shall meet with some opposition which we shall not be able to stand against." And that holy man turned, and looked at the monk, and said to him, "Why art thou doubtful about the hidden protector who is with us, my son, just as if the providence of

[1] Read ܡܥܬܩܐ.

[2] ܙܘܥܐ *motions of the mind, germinations of thought.*

[3] Compare St. Matthew xxii. 17.

[4] Spelt also ܝܙܕܝܢܒܕ; see text p. 386, l. 16.

God cometh by accident? March on in confidence in God the Lord of all, and fear not;" thus pure and clear was the hidden eye of the understanding of that holy man.

CHAPTER XX.

OF THE REVELATIONS WHICH THAT HOLY MAN RECEIVED WHEN HE WAS WITH THE WHOLE CONGREGATION IN THE REFECTORY.[1]

Since now [this] ascetic[2] had become like unto an altar of prayer, and with his secret, inner man his mind had burned [upon it] ceaselessly the incense of psalms and hymns of praise to the exalted Godhead,—like the Watchers (*i. e.*, Angels) on high whose chain of praises before the throne of Godhead is never severed,—like the spiritual powers he became wise and understanding, by the revelations which were hovering round about him abundantly, and he saw things which were afar off,[3] and prophesied concerning things which were about to happen, even as the blessed Evagrius, [who] comparing the sight of the understanding with

[1] ܒܝܬ ܫܒܬܐ or *refectory*, to be distinguished from ܒܝܬ ܐܚܐ *the common-room of the brethren*. The ܒܝܬ ܫܒܬܐ seems to have been joined to the kitchen or place where the food was cooked (μαγειρεῖον); compare ܢܦܩܘ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܚܐ ܠܡܫܘܬܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܫܒܬܐ (text p. 236, l. 2). The ܫܒܬܝܐ (Land, *Anecdota,* tom. ii. p. 196, l. 22; p. 196, l. 16;) may be compared to the ἑβδομαδάριοι who had certain duties which lasted a week assigned to them in monasteries. See Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 339. For ܩܕܝܫ ܫܒܬܐ see Land, *Anecdota*, t. ii. p. 207, l. 24.

[2] *I. e.*, Mâr Cyriacus. [3] Read ܠܪ̈ܚܝܩܬܐ.

the Cherubim spake, saying, "He that hath many eyes, perceiveth spiritually much, and is enlightened on all sides, [p. 236] and abideth without shadow."

Now on the day before the commemoration of the holy Mâr Jacob, in which all the brethren were accustomed to bake bread in the refectory, and to celebrate this night with psalms and spiritual praises, when they came [to the verse] "I will sing of the goodness of the Lord for ever, and His belief[1] shall be in my mouth from generation to generation,"[2] the mind of the holy man was carried away as though by some spiritual vision. And it appeared to him in the spirit as though he were not in the refectory, but in this holy temple,[3] and he saw that of the monks, old and young, who were there with him, two and forty persons were chosen, and in his hearing the words, "The Grace of the Lord," which are usually sung[4] on the Festivals of the Lord, were changed[5] into those which are sung to a

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[1] The Pĕshîṭtâ has ܗܝܡܢܘܬܗ ܒܦܘܡܝ. [2] Psalm lxxxix. 1.

[3] *I. e.*, the temple of Bêth ʿÂbhê.

[4] Literally, "which are said"

[5] Thomas of Margâ means that he heard "the Grace of the Lord" sung to a tune (ܩܠܐ) which was different (ܫܚܠܦ) from that to which it was usually sung upon festivals relating to our Lord. On ܩܠܐ ܫܚܠܦܐ see *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 529, col. 2, l. 23. "The Grace of the Lord" occurs in the service for festivals relating to our Lord, and also in the service for the Consecration of Bishops, but the wording of each "Grace" is different. For the "Grace" at the Consecration of Bishops see Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 344; *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 685, col. 2; and for the ordinary "Grace" see Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 222. The verb ܐܫܬܚܠܦ refers to the *tune*, and the change in the tune reminded him of the "Grace" in the festivals relating to our Lord. Hymns with changes of tune in them were called ܡܫܚܠܦܐ

different tune at the consecration of Bishops at the moment when the hands are laid upon them; and he saw that there were given to them from the sanctuary white turbans and staves of the laying on of hands.[1] Now while he was being led away by such a vision and was carried away by this divine sight, the ascetics saw that his face was clothed at that moment with the light of glory, and they knew that a Divine visitation had united itself to his understanding. And when he had returned to himself and had come down from that sublimity, he sighed a deep sigh while he was yet shining with the glory of the Divine nature; and although they wished to ask him a question or to draw nigh to him, yet because of this they feared, and refrained from him. And when they had proceeded with the service of the parts of the Psalms called Hullâlê,[2] and with the different hymns[3] which were sung between the Psalms, they went on with the Psalter, and came to [the verse], "Lord, remember David and all his humility,"[4] again another revelation shone upon the blessed man; and when he came to himself again from the vision, and knew where he was, he was sorrowful, and shed tears, and sighed very bitterly. [p. 237] And

ܩܠܐ; see Wright, *Catalogue Syr. MSS.*, p. 376, col. 2; and *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 284, col. 1, l. 6, (ܩܠܐ ܒܬܪ ܩܠܐ ܒܪ ܡܫܘܚܬܗܘܢ); and Du Cange, *Glossarium*, *s. v.* εἱρμός, col. 356.

[1] Compare ܘܐܦܝܣܩܘܦܐ ܥܡ ܡܬܝܗܒܝܢ ܒܒܪܘܟܐ ܘܣܘܟܠܐ *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 685, col. 2, l. 13.

[2] See Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 17.

[3] See *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 530, chaps. 5, 6 (ܘܫܘܚ ܦܣܘܩܐ ܕܩܠܐ ܕܡܙܡܘܪܐ); and *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 669, col. 2 ܒܩܠܐ ܕܒܡܕܒܪ ܦܬܓܡܐ ܡܢ .ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܘܡܙܡܪܝܢ) (ܘܡܙܡܘܪܐ. ܘܩܠܘܬܐ ܘܡܥܒܪܢܐ ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ ܡܙܡܘܪܐ ܕܥܒܪܢܐ)

[4] Psalm cxxxii. 1, in the Pĕshîṭta, cxxxi.

when the service of the refectory[1] was over, and each man had gone to his cell, at mid-day, according to custom, the brethren went in to the refectory,[2] and that holy old man was at their head like the moon surrounded by stars. And he answered and said to them, "Did ye then, beloved, see me last night while these things happened to me?" They said to him, "Yes, master, we have seen that two visitations happened to thee, but what these visitations which happened to thee [portended] we know not; and now we ask thee to shew us." And again he answered and said to them, "In the first vision I saw that two and forty men belonging to this congregation here present, old men, middle aged,[3] and young men, were set apart [to be] governors of the Holy Church; some of them Patriarchs, some of them Metropolitans, and some of them Bishops. And also in the second vision it was shewn to me that from the glorious position in which this monastery now standeth, flourishing with teachers, and expositors, and sages, and wise and understanding men, it shall be brought low, and abased, and humbled in everything in which it excelleth, more particularly in respect of

[1] ܕܒܝܬ ܥܒܕܐ.

[2] Vat. reads "the brethren went into the refectory," and the other MSS. "the brethren went in to table;" compare Land, *Anecdota*, t. ii. p. 243, l. 2, for a proof that the ܥܒܕܐ and ܦܬܘܪܐ were united (ܘܥܒܕܐ ܘܦܬܘܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܚܕ ܐܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ). For the service of hymns to be chanted at meal-times, see Wright, *Catalogue Syr. MSS.*, p. 372, col. 2, No. 20.

[3] In the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes ܡܨܥܝ ܫܢܝܐ = μεσῆλιξ; see Budge, *History of Alexander the Great*, p. 10, l. 17; p. 14, l. 15; p. 16, l. 5; the fem. ܡܨܥܝܬ ܫܢܝܐ occurs on p. 209, l. 13.

teachers, until the time cometh in which [the monks] shall be obliged to hire directors for the vigils,[1] and [men] to carry out for them the musical parts of the service,[2] and to correct and set in order the tunes having refrains[3] which are sung to the psalms and hymns." These are the things which were foretold by that blessed man, and I was a spectator, and was in the midst of the whole matter, being a neighbour, and one who gave encouraging advice. And[4] it came to pass at one time that [this monastery] was obliged to hire the much enlightened[5] man,[6] Solomon of Bêth Garmai (*Garmĕkâyâ*), who was surnamed Mâhdî,[7] to teach all the brethren who needed it [firstly,] how to read the service-books, and how to sing the hymns and responses,[8] and secondly, how to sing the book of hymns of consolation[9] which they were wont to sing

[1] "ܥܺܝܪ̈ܐ *vigil, excubitor*, apud Syros Nestorianos vocatur, qui nocturno praesertim officio decantando praeest" *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 820.

[2] ܡܫܽܘܚܬ݂ܳܐ = ܩܳܠܳܐ ܡܫܽܘܚܬ݂ = the art of singing correctly and in tune.

[3] ܥܽܘܢܳܝ̈ܳܬ݂ܳܐ *i. e.*, melodies with a refrain to which different words are sung each time it is repeated. See *supra*, Bk. iii. chap. 1. p. 291, note 3 (text p. 142, l. 5).

[4] The rest of this chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. i, p. 488, coll. 1, 2.

[5] ܣܰܓܺܝ ܢܗܺܝܪܳܐ means *doctissimus*, and also *blind* = סַגִּיא נְהוֹרָא, البصير; see Wright, *Catalogue of Syr. MSS.*, p. 162, col. 2.

[6] We should read ܒܝܬ ܓܪܡܩ.

[7] ܡܗܕܝ = مَهْدِيّ.

[8] Compare ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܕܥܘܢܝ̈ܬܐ *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 939, l. 18; ܡܫܠܡܢܐ ܥܘܢܝ̈ܬܐ *ibid.* l. 20.

[9] Assemâni omits ܘܡܬܬܦܢܝܢ ܒܘܝ̈ܐܐ ܥܗܕܐ. We should, however, read ܒܘܝܐ ܥܗܕܐ.

at the vigil of the dead;[1] and also to bring the much enlightened Bâ'ûth[2] to our monastery for the same purpose.

And as regards the Bishops [p. 238] of whom the old man said that there should be two and forty, I will write down without delay the names both of those whom I myself saw, and of those which I learned from others, who were among that blessed congregation and who also were selected for consecration one after the other. Firstly we will honour the holy person, the prophet and seer concerning whom is our discourse, Rabban Cyriacus[3] who was elected Bishop of the city of Bâlâdh, as we shall shew at the end [of the book];[4] Rabban George the Metropolitan was elected Bishop of Elam, and afterwards Patriarch; Mâr Abraham was elected Bishop of Ḥadhattâ and afterwards Patriarch; Mâr Ḳardagh, Mâr Shûbhḥâl-Îshô', and Mâr Yahbh-lâhâ were elected Metropolitans of Gîlân[5] and of Dailôm;[6] and Thomas from Ḥĕdhôdh,[7] Zacchaeus from Bêth Mûlê,[8] and Shêm bar-Arlâyê,[9] and Ephraim, and Simon, and Ananias and David who went with them from this

[1] For hymns to be sung at Vigils for the Dead see Wright, *Catalogue Syr. MSS.*, p. 367, col. 2, No. 3; p. 370, col. 1, No. 4.

[2] A Monastery of Bâ'ûth دير باعوث, existed near Bâlâdh; see *B. O.*, iii. i, p. 557, col. 1, last line.

[3] Read ذم.

[4] See Book V. chap. 14 (text. p. 302, l. 4).

[5] See *supra*, p. 220. [6] See *supra*, p. 220.

[7] See *supra*, p. 68.

[8] *I. e.*, Mill-house. Assemânî has ܒܝܬ ܡܩܒܠܐ.

[9] *Bar-Arlâyê* is probably a nickname meaning "son of a giant," and is derived from ܐܪܝܐܝܠ, Heb. אֲרִיאֵל (Isaiah xxix. 1.); see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 379; Duval, Lexicon, col. 289; Hoffmann, *Syr. Arab. Gloss.*, No. 1486, p. 52.

monastery were elected and consecrated Bishops of those countries. Mâr Elîyâ, whose history we are about to write, was elected Bishop of Mûḳân,[1] David[2] was elected to be Metropolitan of Bêth Ṣînâyê[3]—now I have learned concerning this man from the Epistles of Mâr Timothy[4]—together with Peter his disciple, who was alive and held the office of Bishop of the country of Yâmân[5] and of Ṣanʿâ[6] when I was secretary to Mâr Abraham; Îshôʿ-zĕkhâ was elected Metropolitan Bishop of Karkhâ-dhĕ-Bêth-Slôkh;[7] Bûrd-Îshôʿ, and Cyriacus, and Bâbhai, and this Îshôʿ who came to Margâ, all these were elected Bishops of Bêth Garmai;

[1] ܡܘܩܢ *i. e.*, موقان was situated near Gîlân (see *supra*, p. 220) in Armenia and Adhôrbâigân. See MacGuckin de Slane, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, p. 400 (وموقان فى نيابة بلاد كيلان من جهة الغرب): Yâḳût, tom. iii. p. 420; and De Goeje, *Bibl. Geog. Arab.*, p. 17, l. 8; p. 119, l. 16; p. 120, l. 15; p. 213, l. 7. The modern form of the name is موغان. Moghân is a steppe in the corner between the right bank of the Lower Arras and the right bank of the Kurr. The town seems to have been situated near Mount Heshtâ[d]-sar, to the N. W. of Mount Tabhalân, and the town of Berzend, near the left bank of the Kara-Su in Angatieft towards the hill country. See Ritter, *Erdkunde*, t. viii. p. 662; t. ix. pp. 793, 796, 870.

[2] The rest of this chapter is also quoted in *B. O.*, iii. i, p. 163, col. 1.

[3] *I. e.*, China.

[4] ʿAbhd Îshôʿ says of him ܘܐܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܡܐܬܝܢ ܐܓܪ̈ܢ ܕܒܣܘܥܪ̈ܢܐ ܦܢܩ̈ܐ ܡܚܠܦ̈ܐ; see *B. O.*, iii. i. p. 163.

[5] *I. e.*, اليَمَن, see Yâḳût, tom. iv. p. 1034f.

[6] ܨܢܥܐ *i. e.*, صَنْعَاء the ancient capital of Yemen. For Arabic descriptions of town see MacGuckin de Slane, *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, p. 95; *Voyages d'ibn Batoutah*, (ed. Defrémery et Sanguinetti) tom. ii. p. 176; and Yâḳût, tom. iv. p. 420.

[7] *I. e.*, Kerkuk; see *supra*, p. 122.

Îshôʿ, who was surnamed Mâran-zĕkhâ, was elected Bishop of Shôshan,[1] the city that is in Elam; Rabbân Diodorus and ʿAbd-Îshôʿ were elected Bishops of Bêth Bĕghâsh, one after the other; [p. 239] Lazarus, Gabriel, and Jacob, these three were elected Bishops of Margâ; Cyriacus of Awâkh[2] was elected Bishop of Nineveh; Mâr Narsai, concerning whom also our discourse is prepared to praise, was elected Bishop of Shennâ;[3] and Elîshâ and George were elected Bishops of Khânishâbhôr,[4] that is Bêth Wâzîk.[5] Now [the names of] the others by reason of the remoteness of the time have not been handed down to me by tradition, and inasmuch as I did not know that I should become the historian of the glorious deeds of the holy man I did not enquire beforehand concerning them from the old men who related to me the accounts of his actions.

[1] Compare "Shushan the palace", Nehemiah i. 1; Esther ii. 8.

[2] For ܐܘܥܟܐ read ܐܘܟܐ; for ܐܘܢ or ܐܘܢ see Bk. ii. chap. 34 (text p. 115, l. 11), and see *supra*, p. 250.

[3] *I. e.*, Sinn Bârimmâ = Shennâ dhĕ Bhêth Remmân = Kârdâlîâbhâdh, a place ten *farsaḥ* distant from Tekrît, on the east bank of the Tigris. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 189.

[4] A town situated on the west bank of the Little Zâb just above where this river falls into the Tigris; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 189. خنيا سابور is the Persian name of al-Bawâzîḳ "La signification serait soit 'musique pour (l'oreille de) Sâbour' quand on lui parle de la ville, soit 'cantatio Saporis' dans le sens de 'laus Saporis cantibus celebrata'". See De Goeje, *Bibl. Geog. Arab.*, t. vi. p. 68, note 1, and p. 94 (text).

[5] *I. e.*, al-Bawâzîḳ.

[6] ܟܢܘܪܐ = ܡܫܡܥܬܐ ܕܫܒܘܪ.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE COMING IN OF ʿAMRAN BAR-MUḤAMMAD[1] TO THIS COUNTRY [OF MARGÂ], AND OF HOW HAVING SEIZED MANY ESTATES AND SLAIN THEIR OWNERS, HE WISHED ALSO TO KILL THE HOLY MAN [CYRIACUS] AND TO INHERIT THIS MONASTERY.

And there was a certain troublesome Ishmaelite whose name was ʿAmran bar-Muḥammad, concerning whom I have also written in the history of Rabban Gabriel,[2] and he was a harsh, violent, and pitiless man, and a murderer. Now upon [his] coming into this country from Bêth Bôzâi,[3] he began to slay its inhabitants, and to take possession of the province of Bîrtâ, and of Ḥêlaphtâ, and Ḥeṭrâ, and Bâshôsh, and Ḥerpâ, villages of Saphsâphâ,[4] and little by little of many others. And he determined to take possession of the estates of this holy monastery, [and he would have done so] if this holy father [Mâr Cyriacus] had not stood in our breaches and fenced up our paths against his harmful acts, as did the blessed Moses,[5] and Joshua and David in their times. [p. 240] And when he made

[1] *I. e.*, عِمْران بن مُحَمَّد. The Banû ʿImrân, بنى عمران are mentioned by Ibn Ḥauḳal as being a branch of the Azd tribe and settled in Kurdistan. See De Goeje, *Bibl. Geog. Arab.*, Pars ii. p. 144, l. 9; Ibn al-Athîr, tom. vii. p. 117, l. 13; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 234 and note 1867.

[2] See Book vi. chap. 16.

[3] *I. e.*, the "house of Bôzâi." This name appears to have been formed originally from the Persian *bôzîd*; conf. *Yêzdbôzêdh*, Horn-Steindorff, *Sassanidische Siegelsteine*, p. 36. For the situation of Bêth Bôzâi see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 196.

[4] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 223 ff.

[5] Compare Psalm cvi. 23.

his coming to this monastery and would have compelled all the brethren to sign a deed selling the monastery and its estates to him, the blessed old man stood up valiantly before him, and reproached him, and made him despicable through the rebukes of his words, and by the abundance of his demonstrations, saying, "I affirm and I swear[1] by the hope of the Christians, O 'Amran bar-Muḥammad, that this monastery shall never belong to thee, nor to thy sons, nor to thy grandsons. Behold all the land is before thee, get thee away from this holy house, for as the Lord liveth, if thou departest [from it], it will be much the better for thee, and thou wilt do great good unto thyself; but if thou darest to seek to enter the monastery by the might of thy threats, thou shalt very soon eat the bitterness of the reward of thy evil deeds. Behold I have warned thee, and behold I have advised thee for good; get thee forth from our monastery and it shall be well with thee, lest thou go quickly to the house of the dead. And know this also: because of all the blood of the believers which thou hast poured out, and the wretched people whom thou hast slain and whose houses thou hast seized, it is written with an iron style on a *shâmîr*[2] stone in the record chamber of the justice of God. And this shall be to thee the sign; when thou diest, the earth from which thou wast taken and to which thou shouldst return shall not receive thee, but thy body shall be cast forth, and the Evil One will not accept thy body." Now when by all this might of trust in divine providence, and by the fervidness

[1] For ܠܓ in swearing an oath see *supra*, p. 410.

[2] The allusion is to בְּעֵט בַּרְזֶל בְּצִפֹּרֶן שָׁמִיר "with a pen of iron, and with the claw of a diamond," Jeremiah xvii. 1.

of his temperament, and by the sharpness of his tongue he had put ʿAmran to shame, ʿAmran rose up wrathfully and went to Ḥelaphtâ having the evil [intention] [p. 241] in his heart to send secretly and slay the holy man. And when ʿAmran had gone, and [the blessed man] saw that the monks were terrified and afraid of his threats, he said to them, "Fear not, O blessed brethren, his words, nor any stumbling-block which he can put in our way, for this monastery shall be for ever and ever preserved from this man and from all his posterity; let no man be afraid that ʿAmran will send here to slay any one, for, on the contrary, he hath made up his mind to flatter you. And behold he will shortly send for some of you, therefore go with him readily and be not afraid, for I will go forth with you, and I will pour into his ears things mightier than those which ye have [already] heard."

Now when a few days had passed by ʿAmran sent ten horsemen for certain of the old men[1] of the congregation. And when they beat the board[2] for assembling the monks and they were all gathered together, all the brethren were afflicted through fear, because [the horsemen] would not allow the holy old man to go with the [other] old men his companions, saying, "We are not commanded to bring Rabban Cyriacus with us." Now when [the holy man] saw that the brethren were in despair and undone, he drew them aside, and said to them, "Be not afraid to go, for when ye shall enter into the presence of ʿAmran ye

[1] *I. e.*, certain of the ܣܒ̈ܐ whom he specified by name.

[2] A picture of the board which is beaten to call the monks together in Greek monasteries is given in Curzon's *Visits to Monasteries in the Levant* (frontispiece).

shall find me sitting before him on his seat"; and relying upon his hope they quickened[1] their steps, and set out immediately, the horsemen leaving that blessed man in the porch before the temple. Now until they (*i. e.*, the horsemen) had passed the village of Rishâ he and the brethren remained in the place of the after-supper service, but when every man had returned to his cell, that same Divine power which carried the Prophet Habakkuk to Babylon,[2] and by which the ship of the disciples came suddenly to the land whither they were going,[3] and which lifted up the blessed Paul to heaven[4] and to Paradise, [p. 242] worked on behalf of this poor monastery at that time when there was no king, and when this Arab was wishing to compel those blessed men to transfer to him the monastery and its estates. And, by the might of the Holy Spirit, it took him like his companion [Paul] and made him come into the presence of ʿAmran before those old men and the horsemen who were with them had come in; and it hid him from his sight, as he stood above his head[5] until they had knocked at the door, and suddenly he revealed himself and appeared among them. And when ʿAmran saw him, he looked in savage anger upon those whom he had sent and upon the old men, saying, "Since I commanded that Cyriacus should not come why have ye brought him with you?" And they all swore [saying], "We have not seen him since we left him in the monastery, except at this present." The blessed man said to him, "I am come

[1] Literally, "they spread out."

[2] See Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 71.

[3] St. John vi. 21.

[4] 2 Corinthians xii. 2—4.

[5] ʿAmran was in bed.

hither to thee before thou couldst look in the mirror and comb thy head and beard;[1] be not angry with these venerable men, for thou shalt never inherit our monastery. Cease from this [thy] wish and let thy hard heart be softened, and let thy avarice be satisfied, for behold, thou hast inherited much; and by these things hast thou made thyself such that no one of thy contemporaries will go before thee into hell." And ʿAmran, while wondering and marvelling at the words of the old man, recognised that all this boldness of speech which his words had acquired, was of no ordinary origin, and also that his swift coming and his entrance into his presence, which had had no need of the opening of a door, and his being hidden from his view until the entrance of his companions also testified to this, and he feared and trembled before him, and he answered and said to them, "Rise up and go in peace to your monastery, for I have no dispute with you;" so the blessed men went forth and came to their cells.

[P. 243] CHAPTER XXII.

OF HOW ʿAMRAN AFTERWARDS SENT FIVE ARABS TO LIE IN WAIT ROUND ABOUT THE CELL OF RABBAN CYRIACUS AND TO KILL HIM AND TO BRING HIS HEAD TO HIM.

Then the Calumniator, the wicked enemy of the Christians, and especially of holy men,[2] gave ʿAmran counsel, and he hardened his heart, and he attributed that which had been done to sorcery, and he judged that Cyriacus had performed that piece of work which

[1] Add a point(.) after ܘܕܩܢܟ.
[2] *I. e.*, men who lead ascetic lives.

had been wrought before him by means of his enchantments. And he called secretly those five men of violence whom he was accustomed to employ to shed blood, and to do all manner of wickedness, and he commanded them, saying, "Go to Bêth 'Âbhê, and when it hath become night go down secretly to the cell of Cyriacus and take his head and bring it to me." And when those men had come without any man knowing [of their arrival], and in the thick darkness of the evening[1] had come down by the descent which is called "Way to Shîkôn,[2] and little by little had drawn nigh unto the little hill which lay to the north of his cell, they saw him walking up and down in the open space before his cell, and they lay in wait until he slept to fall upon him. Now inasmuch as the holy man turned his nights into days, and like the blessed Arsenius,[3] passed the whole night in watching, he went up to the place where he used to say the after-supper service in his cell,[4] and he began to sing the psalms from the beginning of the Psalter. And that Divine

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[1] *I. e.*, "during the evening service which was sung late in the night;" compare τὸ ἑσπερινόν, ὁ ἑσπερινὸς ὕμνος, Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 437.

[2] *I. e.*, شَيْخان. For another place of this name see Sachau, *Reise in Mesopotamien*, p. 433.

[3] See *supra*, p. 29, note 3. ܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘܘ ܥܠܘܗܝ ܥܠ ܐܒܐ ܐܪܣܢܝܘܣ܂ ܕܒܥܪܘܒܬܐ ܕܫܒܬܐ ܡܫܒܩ ܗܘܐ ܠܫܡܫܐ ܡܢ ܒܣܬܪܗ܂ ܘܦܫܛ ܗܘܐ ܐܝܕܘܗܝ ܠܘܬ ܫܡܝܐ ܥܕ ܡܕܢܚ܂ ܫܡܫܐ ܕܢܚ ܗܘܐ ܫܡܫܐ ܒܦܪܨܘܦܗ܂ ܘܥܕ ܡܠܠ ܥܡܗ ܗ܂ ܫܡܫ ܒܠܠܝܐ ܗܘܐ܀ ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ ܐܒܐ ܐܪܣܢܝܘܣ ܕܠܝܬ ܗܘܐ܂ ܕܢܣܒ ܠܗ ܠܡܫܝܚܐ ܕܢܒܥܐ ܡܢܗ ܫܢܝܢ: ܘ ܐܪܣܢܝܘܣ ܡܠܟܝܐ܀ *Sayings of the Fathers on Fasting and other labours*, Nos. 105, 134. The first of these is given in Latin by Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 613.

[4] *I. e.*, his private room for services and prayer in the Abbot's house.

power which the blessed Elisha possessed, by which there appeared to the young man his servant spiritual hosts, with their chariots and horses of fire, surrounding all the place where Elisha[1] was, according to the custom of the might of His power, which strengtheneth all things, [p. 244] likewise surrounded with fire the whole place where this holy old man sang the after-supper service, and those [men] saw the fire and marvelled. And it appeared to them, moreover, that not only fire which could not be approached surrounded him and shot out flames, but also that the whole of his body was like light, and that every [time] that he bowed himself to the earth and stood up [again], and spread out his fingers to heaven, there went forth from them ten lamps of light which were ascending unto heaven. And after these things they saw another like unto him[2] standing at his right hand, and those men were stupefied and terror-stricken, and they thought with anxiety that the fire would suddenly come forth from him and consume them. And when they wished to depart their bellies clave[3] to the ground upon which they were lying until it dawned; and when they had been perceived by certain of the brethren, they went forth to them, and asked them what was the cause of their [being there], and the men revealed to them truthfully what the reason was. Now the old man Ḥĕnân-Îshôʿ, the neighbour of Cyriacus swore, saying, "I was one of those brethren who went to the men." And when the

[1] Read "Elijah"; see 2 Kings ii. 11.

[2] *I. e.*, his special guardian angel; compare St. Matthew xviii. 10; Acts xii. 7; Daniel iii. 25.

[3] ܕܒܩܘ for ܕܒ̈ܩܝ.

men had gone to him that sent them, and had repeated to him all [these] things, he desisted from all the evil which he was ready to do to us, and at the end of his life he commanded his sons, saying, "The monastery of Bêth 'Âbhê can never be yours."[1] And when 'Amran died the earth would not receive him, but three times was he buried, and three times was he cast forth from it, according to the word spoken concerning him beforehand by the blessed Cyriacus.

[P. 245] CHAPTER XXIII.

OF ANOTHER REVELATION WHICH [MÂR CYRIACUS] RECEIVED, AND OF HOW HE NEEDS MUST BE NAMED AND ACCOUNTED BISHOP FOR A LITTLE WHILE, AND THEN DEPART FROM [THIS] WORLD.

Now when the holy man our holy father Mâr Cyriacus had laboured in all kinds of asceticism, the mother of all uprightness, in voluntary poverty, and abstinence, and fasting, and prayer, and philosophic reading in the cell, and holy meditation upon the Scriptures, and contemplation[2] [which] pierceth into things of the future, and the acquiring of things which endure, and watching which purifieth the thoughts, and bendings in double, and stretchings out at full length in making bowings of adoration, and prostrations which make the sweat to flow, like a watchful

[1] Literally "there is nothing to you and the Monastery of Bêth 'Abhê."

[2] ܬܐܘܪܝܐ, a rare word.

guardian he kept a strict watch on all sides that for no reason whatever a single duty of the ascetic life should be neglected on his part or on that of his fellow-monks, and he was like unto a wall to this godly flock. And when he was waiting and wishing that the ship of the treasures of his riches had already drawn nigh unto rest, an angel spake with him, face to face [saying], "Thou shalt be a Bishop, and then thou shalt rest from thy troubles. According to the number of the fifty years in which thou hast led an ascetic life in this monastery, for fifty days shalt thou be called Bishop; and then thou shalt by a peaceful death rest in peace. Behold I am with thee in all thy labours; let thy old age then be strong, and thy time of life[1] be renewed, and a month of days hence believing men, from the city of Bâlâdh, over whom the Spirit hath appointed thee governor, shall come for thee; go with them disputing nothing, for the matter is from the Lord, Who ordereth all thy [acts] as His will pleaseth, [p. 246] He hath helped thee that thou shouldst be saved." And when the angel had disappeared from before him, he took a reed and wrote upon the wall of his cell concerning this vision which had appeared to him, and the brethren found this writing after his departure and read it. And the old man Rabban Elisha, may his memory be blessed! used to say, "I also read these lines when I was serving in the monastery, for his handwriting was still preserved in that cell."

[1] Literally, "let thy antiquity be renewed."

CHAPTER XXIV.

OF THE COMING OF THE PEOPLE OF BÂLÂDH TO THIS MONASTERY FOR THE BLESSED MAN [MÂR CYRIACUS], AND OF HOW THEY HAD WITH THEM A LETTER OF THE PIOUS MÂR TIMOTHY PROHIBITING HIM TO REMAIN IN THE MONASTERY AFTER HE HAD BEEN CALLED.

Now therefore, when the report, which was filled with the glory of Christ, of the wonderful deeds which He was working through the son of His house, Már Cyriacus, in this monastery, had flown like a bird with swift pinions, and had been carried to every quarter of the world, and to all peoples, and his glorious deeds were being repeated in the streets and among the assemblies for the glorifying of the Holy Church, the Bishop of the city of Bâlâdh, who had arranged these holy matters, departed this temporary life. And because of the glorious things of Rabban Cyriacus, which were in the mouths of all men, the people of Bâlâdh sent letters to the holy Mâr Timothy, praying and entreating him, saying, "We have elected that thou shouldst set over us as head, and shepherd, and guardian, and governor, Rabban Cyriacus the ascetic, the head of the monastery of Bêth 'Àbhê," (now this took place, in very truth), and they took the letter and came for him here. [p. 247] Now a very old monk whose name was Bar-Ḥênânâ told me that the people of Bâlâdh made the expedition to us for the sake of Már Cyriacus, with horses of long pedigree, and baggage horses,[1] and mules for burdens, together

[1] ܒܪ̈ܕܘܢܐ. There is usually no difference in meaning between ܒܪ̈ܕܘܢܐ and ܡܘܪ̈ܟܒܬܐ but here ܒܪ̈ܕܘܢܐ must have the meaning of

with eagles, and panthers,[1] and leopards,[2] and hunting dogs, an exceeding mighty host, for the inhabitants of this city were at that time exceedingly prosperous, and their city was very beautiful and much to be admired. And when they had gone in before the temple,[3] and had made known the cause of their coming, they were received by the community with great honour. And when they gave Mâr Cyriacus the letter which commanded him to go down to the Catholicus, his eyes overflowed with tears, and weeping he lifted up his face to God like aged Simeon, and said, "Lord, dismiss Thy servant,[4] according to Thy word, in peace; for behold, mine eyes have seen, and my lips have proclaimed Thy great mercy, in that Thou hast set the limit to the close of my life and to the end of my years." And he answered and said to the believing men who came after him, "Beloved, ye have wearied yourselves for nothing, and your expectation is in vain; ye cannot rejoice at my being appointed to be your head, neither can I rejoice at the glory of rearing you, for I shall [only] live fifty days in your city, and it sufficeth. It is a mere bundle of bones which shall be brought in to dwell in your city; may its protection and generation be prolonged among all the generations of the world! And our Lord shall raise up for you

the Arab. بَرْذَون, plur. بَرَاذِن. See Dozy, *Supplément*, tom. I. p. 69, col. I.

[1] ܦܘܪܕܘܢܐ, Pers. يوز. See Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, no. 139, p. 53.

[2] ܦܕܝܡܐ i. e., "hunting panthers;" compare πάρδιον Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.*, ii. I. The native lexicons explain ܦܕܝܡܐ by النَّمِر *panther*, and by الفَهْد, *panther*.

[3] *I. e.*, into the προστῷον.

[4] St. Luke ii. 29.

after my death a good guardian, and to him will He grant an extension of life for a long time." And when they took him away to go [to Bâlâdh], a cry from all this congregation[1] went up to heaven, and they ascribed woe to themselves and to their monastery, because they were deprived of such a head and [p. 248] governor of their lives; thus he went down to Mâr Timothy the Catholicus and was consecrated, and he went up that he might come to his city. Now Rabban Elisha told me that when the boat in which he was travelling arrived at the Ḥesnâ 'Ebhrâya,[2] and was passing along on this side of it, which faceth the east, the believers of Môṣul sent and stopped it in its course, and crowds upon crowds of Christians and Arabs came forth to see that blessed man and to be blessed by him (now they gave the owner of the boat much money[3] that it might stop for this purpose), and so on the following day his boat passed on accompanied by crowds, and went up to his city. Now his entrance into the city of Bâlâdh took place on the Friday evening before Pentecost.

[1] Read ܟܢܘܫܬܐ.

[2] It is evident from this passage that ܚܨܢܐ ܥܒܪܝܐ was *not* situated on the left or east bank of the Tigris, close by the ruins of Nineveh, and it seems pretty certain that Môṣul itself, or some part of it on the eastern side of the town, and lying on the river bank, is meant by Ḥesnâ 'Ebhrâyâ. In a most valuable document published by Guidi, (*Un nuovo testo*, p. 18, at the top) mention is made of "Mâr Elîyâ who built a monastery by the side of the Tigris, close to Ḥesnâ 'Ebhrâyâ" ܡܪܝ ܐܠܝܐ ܕܒܢܐ ܥܘܡܪܐ ܥܠ ܓܢܒ ܕܩܠܬ ܠܘܬ ܚܨܢܐ ܥܒܪܝܐ (Guidi's emendation of ܥܒܪܝܐ for ܥܒܪܐ is certain). On the Monastery of Mâr Elijah, *i. e.*, Dêr eṣ-Ṣa'îd, see *B. O.*, iii. 1. pp. 263, 264; iii. ii. p. 876; and see *supra*, p. 337.

[3] For ܕܘܒܪܐ read ܕܘܪܪܐ.

CHAPTER XXV.

OF THE WONDERFUL DEED WHICH THE BLESSED MÂR CYRIACUS WROUGHT IN THE CITY OF BÂLÂDH, AND OF THE END OF HIS LIFE.

Now since I have been in the habit of making enquiries concerning every thing which relates to this blessed man with great eagerness and desire, for stories about him are sweet and pleasant to me, one year when I went on certain business which called me to the city of Bâlâdh, I asked about his holy grave, and I was blessed by it. And I went out to the porch[1] before the great temple of the church, and I found there a very old priest, whose name was Nekhwâr,[2] and with whom I was acquainted when I was the secretary of the holy Mâr Abraham [p. 249] the Catholicus in the royal city,[3] and I asked that old man to relate to me any miracles or mighty deeds which the blessed Mâr Cyriacus had wrought. And having told me of the many cures [which he had made] and of the devils which he had driven out from multitudes of men, he also told me the following:—"In the days of

[1] *I, e.*, προστῷον.

[2] ܢܟܘܪ *i. e.*, نخوار, a family name or title of tolerably frequent occurrence, which appears in Greek as ὁ Ναχοραγάν, ὁ Ναχοεργάν, and with the addition of *Sar* "Chief", ὁ Σαρναχοργάνης; see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 152, note 2. Hoffmann proposed a derivation in Feige, *Mâr Abdhîshô und Mâr Qardagh*, p. 11, note 12, but that he has now abandoned, and he believes that the word is derived from نخ *nakh* (see Lagarde, *Armenische Studien*, p. 110, No. 1583), as in نخستين, and *bar*, *i. e.*, "primam sive *anticam* aciem ducens." The form ܢܟܘܪܓܢ occurs in Guidi, *Nuovo testo*, p. 11, ll. 19, 22. Here he is called ܫܠܝܛܐ ܕܦܝܠܒܢܐ and has with him a large force of elephants.

[3] *I. e.*, Seleucia.

Mâr Cyriacus there was in this City a Bishop of the followers of Severus [of Antioch],[1] and much friendship existed between him and our Bishop Cyriacus; and after the death of Mâr Cyriacus that Bishop related to me as follows:—'One day I had risen up early in the morning, and I had come from my cell to this your church to go in and to enjoy myself with the sight and conversation of the holy man your Bishop Cyriacus. And while I was speaking in the porch[2] and was not yet inside the church, behold the blessed man himself came down, and when he saw me he answered and said to me, Why art thou standing here, master? And I said to him, I have come to see thee, and to be blessed by thy holiness. He said to me, Blessed be thy coming! If thou hadst come to me before I came out, I would have gone nowhere; but since we two have met outside, come with me, and let us go together to pray in the Monastery of Rabban Pithiôn;[3] and," he continued, "he took hold of my right hand with his left, and thus he and I singing a psalm went outside the city, and entered into that monastery. And when we had prayed, and he was still holding me by my hand, the two of us went down to the Tigris, and he answered joyfully, and said to me, Come now, let us cross over and pray in the Monastery of the holy Rabban Joseph,[4] because his shrine is very dear to

[1] *I. e.*, Jacobites.

[2] *I. e.*, in the Bishop's cell adjoining the church.

[3] This monastery was situated on the right bank of the Tigris below Beled al-Shâbushtî, and is the دَيْرُ ٱلشَّيَاطِين "which is between Balad and Môṣul." See Yâkût, tom. ii. p. 673. l. 5; and Juynboll, *Marâṣid*, t. v. p. 553.

[4] This monastery lay opposite to that of Rabban Pethion

me and because he is from my own monastery[1] [p. 250], and because I have not yet seen his monastery. I said to him, If thou hadst this intention in thy mind why did we not cross over at the ferry instead of troubling ourselves to come down to this [place]? And he looked at me smiling, and said, Hast thou any doubt that, by the power of God, we can cross over on a wooden boat only? Now shalt thou see the power of Christ our Lord. And he made the sign of the Cross upon the face of the water, and another upon his own face, and another upon mine, and we turned to cross over. And while I was afraid lest peradventure the waters would let us drop through them, I perceived that they were becoming solid under my feet[2] as if they were ice-bound, and thus we crossed over the Tigris and went into that monastery. And when we had come forth from there and he had dismissed the brethren who had come forth in honour of us, and they had returned to their cells, we remained for a little time on the bank of the river; now he did this that the monks might go away to a distance and not be able to see him. And again he answered and said to me, Let us cross over the river [to the place] exactly opposite to us,[3] and let us go and pray in the monas-

(*i. e.*, Πυθίον), on the left bank of the river, about a *farsakh* below Eski-Môṣul. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 211.

[1] *I. e.*, of Bêth 'Âbhê.

[2] Of Bessarion it is said by his disciple, "Alio quoque tempore, cum necessarium ei esset, fecit orationem, et transivit Chrysoroan fluvium pedibus; ego autem admiratus satisfeci, ei, dicens: Quomodo sentiebas pedes tuos, dum ambulares in aquâ? Et ait senex: Usque ad talum sentiebam aquam, reliqua autem erat solida sub pedibus meis." Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 649

[3] *I. e.*, "Let us cross over to the right side of the river to Balâdh."

tery of Rabban Aaron,[1] and afterwards we will go into the city. And I said to him, Do as it pleaseth thy holiness. And he made the sign of the Cross upon the waters in front of us, and holding me by the hand he led me over the river, and we went into the monastery and prayed, and we went forth from there and came to the cell of the holy man. Now these things which that holy old man[2] related to me, ʿUthmân, a believer of the confession of Jacob,[3] who was surnamed Bar-Khusrau, confirmed to us. And Rabban George, the head of our monastery[4] told me, saying, "One year I went into the city of Môṣul about the taxes, and I went to the house of this believing man ʿUthmân bar-Khusrau, that I might obtain some assistance from him by his speaking for me a good word to the government, [p. 251] and I found him reading in the book Ḥuppâkh Ḥushshâbhê,[5] of our holy Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh of Adiabene. And when I had sat down he said to me, 'I love your monastery of Bêth ʿÂbhê for two reasons; firstly, because of this teacher Îshôʿ-yahbh the Catholicus, who is in very truth[6] a great teacher and debater, and [who] standeth firmly in the strength of his demonstrations against the confession of the duality of the Natures in one Person, which those who follow the Council of Chalcedon wickedly declare, and I meditate upon his composition continually; and secondly, because of this story which

[1] See *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 878, no. 15.

[2] *I. e.*, Nekhwâr.

[3] *I. e.*, a Jacobite.

[4] *I. e.*, of Bêth ʿÂbhê.

[5] See *B. O.*, iii. i. p. 137, note 1. This work is also referred to by Îshôʿ-yahbh in his letter to Sahdônâ; see *supra*, p. 136, l. 12.

[6] Read, with BC, ܕܒܫܪܪܐ ܡܟܣܢܐ.

our Bishop who was in Bâlâdh in the days of Cyriacus, Bishop of that city, who came from your monastery, and was surnamed 'Gĕbhîltâyâ,'[1] related to me.' Now he told me this history which I heard from our priests in the city of Bâlâdh, and we must be well aware that the testimony of adversaries is more exact and more to be believed [than our own], inasmuch as[2] in such matters they have a habit of concealing certain facts, and concerning some certain and well attested deeds, which have been wrought by our holy men, they deliberately lie. Now when the celebration of the Fast of the Apostles drew near, the holy Bishop Mâr Cyriacus died on the Friday[3] evening of the commemoration of the [twelve] Apostles, with a name filled with glory, and a remembrance for good, and was buried in honour with the holy Bishops who had died before him in that city; may his prayers be for the whole world, and for the Catholic Church, and may mercy be shewn to us in the Hall of Judgment, Amen.

Here endeth the Fourth Book.

[1] *I. e.*, "the man of Gebhîltâ." The MSS. have ܠܓܒܠܬܝܐ.

[2] Read with BC ܕܡܟܣܢ.

[3] *I. e.*, on the Friday preceding the Sunday which is called Nûsârdêl, the last Sunday of the Week of the Apostles, *i. e.*, the first Sunday of the New Year. The word is compounded of the Persian *nau-sard*, 'New Year', and *êl*, 'God', meaning 'the Church's New Year'. See Rosen and Forshall, *Catalogus*, pp. 31, 50; Wright, *Cat. Syr. MSS.*, vol. 1, p. 185, col. 1, no. 101; 190, col. 1, no. 81; Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 407, note 2; Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 59, note 523; Lagarde, *Armenische Studien*, p. 111, no. 1601; Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2326; *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 383, no. 36. (ܡܚܕܬܢܐ ܕܩܘܠܒ ܐܚܘܬܐ ܕܥܠܡܐ ܘܡܕܡܘܢ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐܡܪ ܗܘ ܕܩܝܡܐ ܘܡܫܡܫܐ ܢܘܣܪܕܝܠ. ܘܡܬܩܪܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܬܐܡܪ ܐܠܗܐ).

[P. 252]

BOOK V.

CHAPTER I.

OF RABBAN MÂR SHÛBHḤÂL-ÎSHÔʿ.

O our brother [ʿAbhd-Îshôʿ], let also this discourse, which is the fifth of the books of this our history, be received upon the table of the hearing of thy understanding, for by the glorious entreaty of thy electness my feeble tongue hath run, and will further run, upon the excellent matters of the histories of holy men, those athletes of might and warriors of strength, who did battle with the body and the passions thereof and with rebellious devils, and who bound on the crown of victory and overcame, and were crowned in the spiritual contest of their lives which pleased God. And we will place at the beginning of all those histories which our speech is about to unfold the account of the victorious deeds of the ascetic priest, and victorious martyr, the blessed Rabban Mâr Shûbhḥâl-Îshôʿ, the Metropolitan Bishop; and to it we will add that of the pious and holy men who followed in his footsteps throughout the land in which he taught, Mâr Yahbhlâhâ and Ḳardagh his brother, as well as that of the blessed Bishop Mâr Elijah, the men who were ordained by the pious Mâr Timothy, the Catholicus and Patriarch, for the countries of the barbarians who were

remote from all understanding and a decent manner of life, and to whose part of the world no[1] preacher and planter of the truth had ever gone, and where the doctrine of the glad tidings of our Redeemer had never been proclaimed. [p. 253] But why should I speak of the [knowledge] of Christ our Lord [only]? for they had not even received the knowledge of God, the Creator of the worlds and their Governor, like the Jews and other nations, but they offered, and behold they [still] offer, worship to trees, graven images of wood,[2] four-footed beasts, fishes, reptiles, birds of prey, and [other] birds, and such like things, and they bow down to worship fire and the stars and planets. [Mâr Yahbh Allâhâ, and Ḳardagh and Mâr Elijah were] the men who preached the doctrine of Christ in those countries of Dailômâyê and of Gîlâyê,[3] and of the other barbarians who live beyond them, and they planted in them the light of the truth of the glad tidings of our Lord, and plucked out from the simple souls that were there all the abominable thorns and tares of evil deeds which Satan had sown in their hearts. And they taught and baptized, and wrought mighty deeds, and shewed forth wonderful works, and the fame of their acts was carried to all the ends of the East. And thou mayest learn clearly concerning all these things from the letter which certain merchants and king's scribes, who were going in and coming out

[1] The MSS. have ܡܢ ܕܪܘܫܠ, but read ܡܢ ܕܪܘܫܐ.

[2] The MSS. have ܕܨܠܡ̈ܐ, but read ܘܨܠܡ̈ܐ.

[3] Gîlân is the country by the Caspian Sea from the Russian frontier to Resht, and Dêlum, or Dailôm, is the mountainous territory behind it. See *supra*, p. 220, note 3.

from those countries for the purposes of trade and the business of the government, wrote to Mâr Timothy.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BLESSED SHÛBHḤÂL-ÎSHÔʿ AND OF HIS COMING TO THIS MONASTERY.

The family of the blessed Shûbhḥâl-Îshôʿ was descended from the race of the children of Ishmael, and his city was Ḥêrtâ-dhĕ-Naʿmân,[1] [p. 254] but his parents departed from there, and took up their habitation in Ḥesnâ Ebhrâyâ,[2] and according to what I have learned, the blessed man was born and brought up in that city. And when he had become a young man, having, by the exceeding care of his parents, been trained in the Holy Scriptures and instructed in the literature of the Arabic [language], which was their own tongue, his parents departed this temporary life, and he and one sister, who was younger than he, were left behind. Now their parents had left them much riches, and this he divided between the two of them, and to his sister he left the estate and everything that was in the house, and he took his portion and came to this monastery. And having served in the monastery and performed the exercises of the monks in a perfect manner according to the command of the fathers, he persuaded

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[1] *I. e.* Ḥêrthâ-dhĕ-Ṭaiyâyê, the ruins of which are less than half an hour distant from Meshed ʿAlî. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 97.

[2] *I. e.*, in Môṣul.

the community to give him Bêth Ḥabbâ[1] that he might sow it and give food to the brethren, according to what they should receive from the head of the monastery, from the produce of Bêth Zîwâ; and according to his wish it was given unto him. And he built a house for the ploughmen, (*i. e.*, a farm) to the south of this one of to-day, the site of which is well known, and he bought yokes of oxen, and he hired ploughmen, and he began to sow and to reap, and to be kind to and to give gifts to the monks of his congregation, and to strangers, and to the poor, like that merchant who traded with Spain with two ships,[2] and [like] the blessed Apollonius[3] who [lived] in Mount Nĕṭîrâ,[4]

[1] See *supra*, Book ii. chap. 12, p. 180.

[2] He is mentioned by Palladius in his *Hist. Laus.*; see the following page, note 3.

[3] The following is the account of this man from the Syriac version of Palladius:—

ܕܥܠ ܐܦܘܠܘܢܝܘܣ ✲ ܐܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܚܪܢܐ ܕܫܡܗ ܐܦܘܠܘܢܝܘܣ: ܬܓܪܐ ܗ̱ܘ ܬܓܪܐ ܕܐܬܬܠܡܕ
ܗܘܐ ܠܕܘܒܪܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܝܘܬܐ. ܘܫܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܕܢܬܪܝܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ
ܡܕܡ ܕܢܠܦܝܘܗܝ. ܠܐ ܐܫܟܚ. ܘܐܦܠܐ ܐܚܐ ܕܢܩܘܡ. ܘܐ ܕܢܫܬܘܐ ܐܝܟ ܫܢܝܐ ܕܚܝܘ̈ܬܐ
ܒܡܫܘܚܬܐ ܫܢܝܐ. ܒܡܫܬܡܠܝܢ ܐܫܟܚ ܗܘܐ ܒܠܝܠ ܕܡܛܐ ܒܗ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܗܘܐ. ܗܘܐ ܕܘܒܪܐ ܘܡܝܬܪܐ ܗܘܐ
ܠܗ. ܘܡܢ ܐܡܬܝ ܘܡܢ ܟܝܢܗ: ܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܒܥܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܚ̈ܐ ܢܨܝ̈ܚܐ ܕܐܬܝܐ
ܠܟܪ̈ܝܗܐ ܘܥܡ ܗܘܐ ܡܢ ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܝܐ. ܘܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܐܚ̈ܐ ܕܟܪܝܗܝܢ ܡܫܡܠ ܗܘܐ. ܘܐܝܬܝ ܗܘܐ
ܠܡܣܝܗ. ܟܠܝܘܡ ܕܡܫܬ̈ܘܬܐ ܒܕ ܢܦܫ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܕܡ ܠܐܚܐ ܐܝܟ ܒܕ ܡܬܒܥܐ ܗܘܐ
ܒܪ̈ܬܐ ܘܟܘܪ̈ܡܣ ܕܐ̈ܬܝ. ܒܕ ܩܝܡ ܗܘܐ ܥܠ ܐܒܗ̈ܐ ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܠܡܐ ܐܚ ܒܟܪܝܗܘܬܐ ܐܚܐ
ܗܕܪܐ. ܝܗܒ ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܘܡܣ̈ܐ ܘܠܠܘ̈ܩܛܢܐ ܡܢ̈ܝܐ. ܘܡܫܚ̈ܐ ܘܟܬܢܐ. ܒܗܠܝܢ ܢܨܚ̈ܐ ܐܝܠܝܢ
ܕܡܬܒܥܝܢ ܠܟܪ̈ܝܗܐ. ܗܘܐ ܠܗܘܢ ܕܘܒܪܐ ܐܚ̈ܝܢ. ܕܦܫܝܛ. ܗܘܐ ܠܗ ܠܡܣܒ ܝܡܝܢܐ ܕܒܝܬܐ
ܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܗ. ܠܡܣܒ ܠܗܘܢ ܠܐܚ̈ܐ ܕܒܫܒܥ ܗܘܘ ܒܛܘܪܐ ܗܘ. ܦܠܚܐ ܗܘܐ
ܠܡܫܡܫܘܬܗܘܢ. ܘܒܬ ܫܢܝܢ ܥܣܪܝܢ ܕܐܘܒܠܗ ܫܢܝܐ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܗ. ܘܥܠ ܡܢܗ ܕܢܦܫ
ܗܘܐ ܐܫܬܡܫ ܢܦܫܗ. ܒܗܝ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܐ ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܘܡܚܝܬܐ ܡܢ ܢܨܚܐ ܕܟܠܝܠܐ ✲ (fol. 58*b*.)

[4] *I. e.*, the Nitrian desert near Alexandria; see *supra*, p. 39, note 3.

and like that believing man,[1] the account of whom is written in the history of the blessed Paphnutius,[2] and like one of those two [brethren] Pêsîs (Paesius)[3] and

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[1] *I. e.*, the rich Alexandrian who gave all that he had to the poor monks; the account of him as given by Palladius is as follows:—

[illegible]

(fol. 184 *b*).

[2] Born about A. D. 305, died about 400.

[3] The account of these two brethren according to Palladius is as follows:—

[illegible]

Isaiah, the sons of one merchant, who did not scatter his portion, but placed it as an offering to God for the relief of the needy. And when the blessed man Shûbhḥâl-Ishô had laboured in this course of life for many years, and was pleasing Christ by means of His Saints, certain wicked men in this congregation, through the working of Satan, the father of lies, and the hater of the love[1] Christ left to His disciples, rose up craftily [p. 255] against him, like Judas among the twelve[2] [disciples], and like the seven tares who were among the three hundred and eighteen Bishops,[3] and besides these, like the disciples who were from among the people who were jealous[4] of Paul, and of his teaching, and others who were among the companies of the saints, and they were envious of that love of love which filled his holy and believing soul. First of all they began to make measures which were greater and fuller than

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ܢܟܒܘܢ. ܘܟܕ ܦܠܚܗ ܡܕܒܪܢܘܬܗ ܕܐܒܗܘܗܝ. ܗܢܐ ܫܘܦܪܐ ܗܘܐ ܠܐܒܗܘܗܝ. ܐܝܟ
ܕܐܫܦܪܘ ܠܠܚܡܐ ܒܫܘܬܠܦܐ ܕܐܒܝܠܘܬܐ. ܚܕ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܕܝܢ ܒܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܕܡܬܚܫܚ.
ܦܠܚܗ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܗܝܡܢ ܒܒܝܬܐ ܘܒܥܒܕܬܐ. ܘܒܝܕܗ ܠܡܣܟܢܐ ܘܠܟܫܝܪܐ. ܘܝܠܦ ܐܘܡܢܘܬܐ
ܕܦܠܚܘܢ ܘܢܣܒ ܠܟܣܦܐ ܕܐܘܡܢܐ. ܘܢܬܪܡ ܒܬܠܘܬܐ ܘܒܬܘܩܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܡܝܬܘܬܐ. ܗܘ ܕܝܢ ܐܡܪ
ܠܐ ܒܥܐ ܡܕܡ. ܐܠܐ ܒܢܐ ܠܗ ܕܝܪܐ. ܘܐܬܐ ܡܠܐܟ ܚܕ ܢܛܘܪܗܘܢ. ܘܗܘܐ ܫܘܬܦܘܬܐ
ܗܝܟ ܠܗ. ܒܟܠ ܐܘܪܚܐ ܘܡܢܚܕܐ. ܘܟܠ ܗܢܐ ܘܟܠ ܒܝܫܘܬܐ ܕܢܬܒܣܡ ܗܘܘ ܠܘܬܗ.
ܡܬܒܥܠ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܬܒܣܡ ܠܗܘܢ. ܘܟܠ ܡܫܒܚܐ ܘܡܬܕܟܪ ܐܝܟ ܦܐܘܣܬܐ ܡܢܗܘܢ ܗܘܐ. ܘܡܬܒܣܡ
ܠܟܠ ܕܡܬܦܫܛܝܢ. ܘܗܟܢܐ ܢܦܩ ܠܟܠܗ ܥܠܡܐ ܀ (fol. 59*a*.)

[1] Read ܕܡܫܝܚܐ. [2] St. Matthew xxvi. 48.

[3] The allusion appears to be to the three hundred and eighteen bishops who were assembled at the Council of Nice, A. D. 325, to discuss the Arian heresy. The "tares" were the bishops Menophantus of Ephesus, Patrophilus of Scythopolis, Theognis of Nice, Narcissus of Neroniadis, Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais in Egypt. See Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.*, i. 7; Socrates. *Hist. Eccles.*, i. 8. [4] Acts xv. 1—35.

those which were in current use everywhere among the merchants, now this he endured cheerfully, but finally they began to make him hear cruel words, saying, "Let our corn lands alone, and depart." And having sown much seed in the past year, and the harvest being near, certain sinful men and evil livers, when no one perceived, devised an artful plot to slay that holy man, having forgotten all the good deeds which he had done unto them; and [the words], "They rewarded me evil for good, and hatred instead of love,"[1] and again, "The eater of my bread upon whom I trusted greatly, hath acted craftily against me,"[2] were fulfilled in very deed in the matter of that holy man. But since our Lord God willed that those evil men should not be partakers in that innocent blood, His graciousness did not in any wise allow that man to be alienated from His household. And moreover, he that feareth the Lord, even though it be but a little, and would dare to commit some evil act, the holy angel which cleaveth to him alloweth not that evil act to be wrought successfully as he would wish, but he extinguisheth and hindereth and confoundeth the manner of his work, even as he wrought in the case of that blessed man who saw in the country [of Egypt] the daughter of a priest of idols, and by the agency of the Evil One he lusted after her. [p. 256] And when he asked her from her father, he promised to give him to her, but after he had denied God, and the garb with which he was clothed, and baptism, the holy angel which clave to him compelled the Satan who dwelt in the idol, and he returned answer to the priest, saying, "Thou shalt not give him

[1] Psalm xxxv. 12. [2] Psalm xli. 9.

thy daughter, for God is with him, and He aideth him."[1] Now therefore in this manner did that merciful Lord act, Who beareth with all our obstinacy, Who endureth our wickednesses, and Who doeth good unto us, until in the righteous judgment which is to come He will reward us according to our deeds with a measure pressed down[2] and running over.

Now Rabban Îshô'-yahbh the Long, from whom I have received much material for these histories, told me, saying:—"When I was serving in the monastery, I was sent secretly by the monks who held the affairs

[1] This story according to Rosweyde (*Vitae Patrum*, p. 579, no. 38) is as follows:—"Frater quidam impugnabatur à fornicatione. Contigit autem eum venire in vicum quemdam Aegypti, et videns filiam sacerdotus paganorum, adamavit eam, dixitque patri ejus: Da mihi eam uxorem. Ille autem respondens dixit ei: Non possum eam tibi dare, nisi rogavero deum meum. Et abiens ad daemonem, quem colebat, dixit ei: Ecce quidam monachus venit ad me, volens accipere filiam meam; do ei eam? Respondens daemon, dixit: Si negat Deum suum, et Baptismum, et propositum monachi, interroga eum. Et veniens sacerdos dixit ei: Nega Deum tuum, et Baptismum, et propositum monachi, et dabo tibi filiam meam. Ille verò consensit. Et statim vidit velut columbam exire de ore suo, et volare in coelum. Pergens autem sacerdos ad daemonem, dixit: Ecce promisit se tria illa facturum. Tunc respondens diabolus dixit ei: Non des ei filiam tuam in uxorem, quia Deus ejus non recessit ab eo: sed adhuc adjuvabit eum. Et veniens sacerdos dixit illi fratri: Non tibi possum eam dare; quia Deus tuus adhuc adjuvat te, et non recessit à te." What follows in Rosweyde says that when the monk had returned to his senses he went and dwelt in the desert with a certain old man who prayed to God on his behalf. At the end of a fast of three weeks the dove again entered his body by his mouth.

[2] St. Luke vi. 38.

of the community in their hands, saying, 'Go to Rabban Shûbhḥâl-Îshô῾ at Bêth Ḥabbâ, and inform him, saying, If thou dost not save thyself by flight this night thou wilt certainly be slain by the assiduity of such and such persons, who have taken themselves out of everything which is seemly for the sake of thy destruction.' And that truthful old man swore to me, saying, "When I had told him those things, he began to weep bitterly; and he answered and said, 'Am I worthy of the reward of being a participator in the sufferings of Christ? This day hath it been pointed out to me that the labours of my loving-kindness have reached unto heaven before God for an everlasting memorial. I entered Bêth ῾Âbhê with earthly riches, and I have spent them at the word of the mouth of Christ, according to His command, and this day I shall go forth from it without even a wallet."' And Îshô῾-yahbh the old man said, "When I saw that I was obliged to make him set out on the road to flee to the city[1] without bread, and without a wallet, inasmuch as he had nothing with him except his tunic and his cloak, I gave him my own wallet, and I put inside it three loaves[2]

[1] *I. e.*, Môṣul.

[2] ܩܠܘܪ̈ܝܢ. ܩܠܘܪ̈ (see Land, *Anecdota*, ii. p. 46, l. 13) = κολλύρα; compare Talmudic קילורין, Buxtorf, ed. Fischer, p. 1018. See also Du Cange, *Glossarium*, *s. v.* κολλούριον, col. 684; and Kayser, *Die Canones Jacob's von Edessa*, p. 107. Brit. Mus. MSS. Rich 7203, fol. 156*a*, col. 2, and Orient. 2441, explain ܩܠܘܪ̈ by قُرْصَة '*a round, flat loaf*,' and by جَرْدَقَة. Concerning this last word Dozy (*Supplément*, tom. 1, p. 185) says, "A Damas on donne le nom de *djardaca* à une pâtisserie de froment, qui est mince, puisqu'elle est à peine de l'épaisseur du dos d'un couteau, grande, ronde, cuite dans de l'huile d'abricots et arrosée de *dibs* tirant sur le brun."

of bread, and he departed; [p. 257] and he went down to the pious Mâr Timothy the Catholicus, and informed him what had been done to him."

CHAPTER III.

OF THE PUNISHMENT WHICH THIS MONASTERY JUSTLY RECEIVED FOR THE PERSECUTION OF THE HOLY SHÛBHḤÂL-ÎSHÔ'.

If now earthly judges should do unto those who work wickedness according to what the sword of justice which they hold demandeth, and should award good things to good men, this would be according to the testimony of the scribe of the Spirit, the blessed Paul, [who saith] "How just then and righteous is our good God! for He chastiseth and punisheth, and judgeth, and correcteth in such wise that we may not become altogether without perception [of sin], having trodden down conscience and cast out from our minds the [retribution of] justice which is to come".

Now when [those men] thought that behold they had slain the righteous man, and they would inherit his labour, and were making ready to go out and reap the fields which they had not sown, and to gather in that which they had not scattered, the Lord brought up against them only, a huge cloud of locusts, which devoured all the crops of Bêth Ḥabbâ, and which did not leave them a remnant; and year after year God sent this punishment upon them because it was as if the innocent blood of that innocent man had been shed by them by murder. And if God would judge a man

for his readiness of intention, and would take vengeance upon him for what he wished to do, and would punish him according to His word, "He that looketh upon a woman to desire her, [p. 258] hath straightway committed adultery with her in his heart, and is already accounted an adulterer"[1]—although [as in the case of the blessed man who lusted for the daughter of the priest], it is natural that the man who had subjected himself to that which was unnatural should be moved with desire[2] for the beauty of a woman—[how much more would He do so in this case]? And although murder is an abominable thing, and ten thousand evil punishments are reserved for those who commit it, yet those men were prepared to slay him if an opportunity for doing so had come into their hands, and they were therefore strictly speaking murderers and men guilty of the blood of that holy man.

Now when, according to their custom, the monks of this monastery were going down to the blessed Timothy the Catholicus that he might give them help —for he loved this monastery greatly, and honoured it with many gifts, because it was here pointed out to him that he should become Catholicus—he asked how they and their crops did. And they made answer to him, saying, "They are going on poorly and badly, for behold, for some years [past] the locusts have eaten up our crops in particular [and those of no one else]". The blessed man said to them, "My sons, the locusts which devour the fields, and those which eat up the hidden fruits of your souls, shall not be scraped away from you, because ye were the cause of the persecution

[1] St. Matthew v. 28. [2] Read ܒܪܓܬܐ.

and driving away of the holy Mâr Shûbhḥâl-Îshôʿ from among you. For our Lord and His holy angels have testified to me [concerning] these things which I have learned from old monks in this monastery, and which I have not imagined out of my own mind, but have judged according to that which is said by the holy man, 'If an act of sin which happeneth accidentally is deserving of seventy and sevenfold[1] punishment, how many times seventy and seven shall an act of wilful sin be punished?'" [p. 259] Assume [if ye will] that for a man to look upon a woman is an act of accidental sin, but the going out of those wretched men to commit murder is certainly an act of wilful sin; even so are these things.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE LAYING ON OF HANDS WHICH THE BLESSED MÂR SHÛBHḤÂL-ÎSHÔʿ RECEIVED TO BE THE METROPOLITAN OF GÎLÂN AND DAILÔM.[2]

If now according to the goodness of his master, and according as he is able, a servant shall endeavour to measure the steps of his course of life along the smooth paths of his commandments, and shall arrange every thing concerning himself for the good will and pleasure of his master, he will be glorified with the glory of his master, and will be made ruler over all his treasures, for the treasure shall be added unto and increased by his industrious trafficking, like the man who received five talents and made them ten, and him that

[1] Compare Genesis iv. 24. [2] See *supra*, p. 220, note 3.

|received| two and made them into four, and both heard |the words|, "Well done, good and faithful servants, ye have been faithful in little, and much shall be entrusted into your hands"[1]. According to the might of every man it is required of him: from him that hath received much that he should labour much |is required|, and from him unto whom little hath been given little [is required]; every man according to his might, saith our Lord, to Whom be glory. And a certain holy man testifieth |to this|, saying, "One man converteth a mighty people, and another a small district, and another hath acquired his own soul only; yet in excellence [all three] are equal."

Now in respect of this man of whom we speak, inasmuch as he was exceedingly able, very much was entrusted into his hand. [p. 260] And when he went down to the holy Mâr Timothy, who having learned concerning all his affairs, and seen that he was instructed in the Syriac language and learning, and also in the Arabic and Persian tongues,[2] determined to anoint him with holy oil, and to make him hold the pastoral staff, and to send him as a shepherd and teacher to the barbarian nations who had never received the bridle of the teaching concerning God, and into whose country none of the preachers and evangelists of the kingdom of heaven had gone since the time of the Apostles until the present. And when he advised him to undertake this thing, relying upon the Lord and upon the Divine help which would cleave to him and which would convert those erring nations by his hand,

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[1] St. Matthew xxv. 21.

[2] This passage is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 16.

inasmuch as this work to which he was called was from the Lord, he undertook [it] with fear and joy. And the day of the consecration of the blessed man was celebrated with the great ceremony which belongeth to a festival full of all joyous things, and all the chief men, among the believers who heard that he had undertaken the conversion of those countries, provided him with much money, and with the necessary clothing, and together with the Divine power and the venerable disciples who accompanied him, he set out for those countries. Now Mâr Abraham, the Catholicus, a holy man in very truth, related to me fully concerning all this matter [of Mâr Shûbhḥâl-Îshôʿ], and he told me that he made his entrance there with exceeding great splendour, for barbarian nations need to see a little worldly pomp and show to attract them and to make them draw nigh willingly to Christianity.

[p. 261] And when he had entered those countries he began to teach and to shew them the true knowledge of his doctrine, and while he was teaching with these words, Christ our Lord was confirming them by the miracles which he worked, by cleansing the lepers, by healing the sick, by opening the eyes of the blind, by making the lame to walk, by raising the dead, and by making barren women fruitful, for the Divine dispensation is accustomed to shew forth mighty works at the beginning of Divine operations, more particularly in the case of those barbarians who from their earliest times and throughout all their generations had been led captive by evil devils to the worship and service of their corrupt things. And by the sight of the miracles which our Lord worked by the hands of the blessed man, he taught many cities and thickly peopled

districts,[1] and baptized [their inhabitants], and brought them near to the doctrine of Divine life. And he built churches, and established priests and deacons in them, and he set apart some of the brethren who were with him to teach them psalms and spiritual praises, and he himself went further and further into the country, until [he arrived at] the ends of the East in the great teaching which he made among the heathen, and Marcionites,[2] and Manichees,[3] [against] every object

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[1] The rest of the chapter is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 491, col. 2.

[2] ܡܪܩܝܘܢܝ̈ܐ. The heretic Marcion lived in the second century of our era. He held that there were four unbegotten existences, and that an irreconcileable opposition existed between the Creator and the Christian God. He condemned marriage, he fasted on the Sabbath, he rejected much of the Old Testament, and only accepted the Gospel of St. Luke, which he mutilated. For the history of the man, his views, his blasphemies and his sect, see Tillemont, *Mémoires*, t. ii. pp. 122—130. Ephraim, Zenobius and Paul, disciples of Saint Ephraem, Bôd, the Periodentes, Daniel of Ras ‘Ain, and others wrote treatises against the heresy of Marcion. See *B. O.*, iii. 1. pp. 43, 63, 170, 219 and 223.

[3] Mani or Manes, the founder of the sect of the Manichees, sprang from a family of the Magians, but embraced Christianity about the middle of the third century of our era. According to Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, vii. 31) he first proclaimed himself to be Christ, and afterwards to be the very Paraclete and the Holy Spirit. He selected twelve disciples and sent them out into the world to preach his doctrine. For a history of the sect and its title see Tillemont, *Mémoires*, t. iv. pp. 152—171. Akin to the Manichees in belief was the famous (or infamous) Bâbaki sect البابكيّة led by Bâbak al-Ḥurrami بابك الخرّمىّ. He is first mentioned A. H. 201 (see *Ibn al-Athîr*, ed. Tornberg, tom. vi. p. 231, l. 7), and he was slain A. H. 223 (see *Ṭabarî*, ed. de Goeje, ser. iii. tom. ii. p. 1015, l. 10). The

of worship and every impure thing; and he sowed among them the glorious light of the doctrine of the Gospel, the mother of life and peace.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE MURDER OF THE HOLY MÂR SHÛBHḤÂL-ÎSHÔ' AND OF THE GLORIOUS TESTIMONY OF HIS CORONATION.

If the covenant of our freedom from death, and sin, and Satan was written with blood on the top of the mount of Golgotha[1] in the body of Jesus, [p. 262] Who collated it, and signed it and gave it to His disciples, and if they also sealed their dispensation among all nations —for Stephen was stoned,[2] the head of James[3] was cut off, the brains of James the brother of our Lord[4] were crushed by a blow, Simon [Peter] was crucified,[5] Paul

doctrines and belief of this sect resembled those of the Magians in many particulars. The Arabic text of the history of Bâbak and his parentage, etc., is given by Flügel, *Kitâb al-Fihrist*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 343; see also *Bâbek seine Abstammung und erstes Auftreten*, by Flügel in *Z. D. M. G.*, Bd. xxiii. p. 531 ff.

[1] St. Matthew xxvii. 33; St. Mark xv. 22; St. John xix. 17.

[2] At Jerusalem, and he was buried in Kĕphar Gamlâ.

[3] *I. e.*, James the brother of John. Herod Agrippa slew him one year after the Ascension of our Lord. He was buried in Âkâr, a city of Marmârîkâ. See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, t. ii. 2, p. 26.

[4] He was slain by a blow from a fuller's staff, and by stoning. See Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, tom. ii. 2. p. 231.

[5] Head downwards (ܪܫܗ ܠܬܚܬ), by Nero, A. Gr. 376. See *Book of the Bee*, ed. Budge, p. 104.

was slain,[1] Bartholomew was flayed,[2] the side of Thomas was torn open,[3] and Mâr Simon,[4] Shâhâdôst[5] and Barba'shĕmîn,[6] the heads of the throne of the Eastern Church were slain, and others in all countries—it is then a glorious thing for disciples to be like unto their masters, and to be shepherds slain for the sake of their flocks, and keepers of treasure stoned for the sake of the sacred things [under their charge]; and this is what happened also to this person worthy of all good things, our holy father Mâr Shûbhḥâl-Îshô'.

Now when he had remained in those countries for many years, while God planted and watered and nourished by his hands, like the blessed Paul, he was wishing to come [back] to the Bethel of his fathers,

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[1] For the Nestorian account of his death see *Book of the Bee*, ed. Budge, p. 107.

[2] According to the *Book of the Bee*, ed. Budge, p. 106, Bartholomew was crucified by Hûrsṭî King of Armenia, where he had been an apostle for thirty years. See also Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, tom. ii. 2, pp. 59, 99 and 104.

[3] Thomas taught the Parthians, Medes and Indians. The King of India stabbed him with a spear because he had baptized his daughter. The body of Thomas was brought to Edessa by Ḥabbân. See Wright, *Apocryphal Acts*, vol. ii. p. 297; *Acta Thomae*, ed. Bonnet, p. 83 ff.; Lipsius, *Apostelgeschichten*, t. i. p. 236.

[4] A martyr who suffered in the second year of the persecution of Sapor; see *B. O.*, i. p. 188.

[5] *I. e.*, Pers. شاهدوست "King's friend." He succeeded Mâr Simon in the Bishopric of Seleucia, and was beheaded in Bêth Lâphaṭ, the metropolis of the Hûzâyê, in the second year of the persecution of Sapor; see *B. O.*, i. p. 188, col. 1.

[6] He succeeded Shâhâdôst in the Bishopric of Seleucia, and was beheaded in Ledan, a city of the Hûzâyê, in the sixth year of the persecution of Sapor; see *B. O.*, i. p. 190, col. 2.

namely, to this monastery, and to pay back the gifts of honour due [from him] to the monastery from which he had gone forth, and was esteeming that which had happened [to be] a benefit [to him]—as was the selling of Joseph by his brethren[1]—and he forsook the fields of the doctrine of life which he had sown, and the churches which he had founded, and the temples which he had established to the Lord, until he could come and worship and return there.[2] But when the Enemy, the hater of all truth, saw that his own doctrine was made a mockery, and that the fire-temples[3] and the fire-altars[4] of his cakes[5] were pulled down, he plotted death against the blessed man by the hands of certain workers of evil, a remnant that remained. And when they saw that he was provided with every thing which befitted the honour of his monastery, and that he began to go forth from thence, they went before him craftily, and sat down in ambush waiting for him, [p. 263]

[1] Genesis xxxvii. 28. [2] *I. c.*, to Bêth 'Âbhê.

[3] ܒܝܬ ܡܘܩܕܬܐ, literally, "things in which fire was placed."

[4] ܐܕܪܘܟܐ, a word which in A is wrongly glossed by ܒܝܬܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ, but which is rightly explained as things ܕܡܬܛܫܝܐ ܗܘܬ ܒܗܘܢ ܢܘܪܐ ܡܢ ܡܓܘܫܐ ܒܟܣܝܐ; see Feige, *Die Geschichte des Mar 'Abhdîshô'*, text, p. 57, translation p. 39, at the top. The word ܐܕܪܘܟܐ is composed of *âdâr* = 'fire', and *ûk* a derivative termination; compare ܕܡܒܘܟܐ (*Kalilag und Damnag*, ed. Bickell, p. 13, ll. 11. 13; *Z. D. M. G.* Bd. xxx. p. 768) from Persian رس; *ûg* in ܩܪܘܓܒܕ, but read ܩܪܘܓܒܕ *Ḳârûgbad*, (*Act. Mart.*, I. 345; Patkanian, *Journal Asiatique*, 1866, I. p. 187) "chief of the workmen" ܦܪܢܘܟ, φαρνοῦχος (Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 95); ܕܕܘܟ (Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 34); ܦܪܘܟܐ from *parr* 'feather'; ܡܟܘܟܐ ܡܫܘܚܐ مَكّوك طسّوج.

[5] See *supra*, p. 390, note 1.

and at a terrible spot on that road they surrounded him, and crowned him with swords. Thus the blessed man departed from [this] laborious life, flowing with the blood of the reproach and disgrace of the Cross, to the greatly desired chambers of Paradise. And certain Christians who had become his disciples, when they had learned [these things], went out to search for him and took his holy body, and according to their power and knowledge, they buried him hastily in a church, and mourned for him greatly; and they gathered together from the men who had murdered him the things which had been made for him, vails,[1] curtains,[2] and stoles[3] in which the priest administers the sacrament, which they had taken from him, and sent them to Mâr Timothy, and some of them were handed on to this monastery. To Christ our Lord, Who made that

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[1] ܒܹܝ̈ܠܐ = βῆλα, the vail or curtain with which the door or doorway of the choir is covered. See *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 532, chap. 13; p. 533, chap. 16; p. 528, chap. 15; Kayser, *Die Canones*, p. 6, l. 13.

[2] ܒܹܠܘ ܬܘ̈ܪܐ = βελόθυρα, (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 186) and καταπετάσματα (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 611).

[3] ܡܦܛܠ̈ܬܐ. The sing. ܡܦܛܠܬܐ occurs in *Liturgia Sanctorum Apostolorum Adaei et Maris*, Urmia, 1890, 4to. p. 27, l. 7 (ܘܡܦܛܠܐ ܠܗ ܡܦܛܠܬܐ ܘܦܬܪ ܦܠܘܢܐ ܥܠ ܟܬܦܘܗܝ). See Duval's review of ܟܬܒܐ ܕܚܘܕܪܐ ܕܚܘܕܪܬܐ ܘܕܝܩܕܐ in *Revue Critique*, June 20, 1892, p. 483. The ܡܦܛܠܬܐ seems also to be called ܟܘܣܝܐ and ܙܘܦܠܐ which the deacon or other ministrant uses for picking up any particle of the wafer, or for wiping up any drop of the wine while administering the Eucharist to the laity. See Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. 1. p. 225; and Grant in Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Bd. ii. p. 611. Compare also the ὡράριον, Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1792; and the ܙܘܕܐ in Assemâni, *Codex Liturgicus*, tom. viii. p. 47, ll. 12, 13, 16.

noble athlete to be victorious, be glory and honour, and praise, and worship, and may His mercy be upon the assembly of His worshippers and friends for ever and ever, Amen, and Amen.

CHAPTER VI.

OF MÂR YABHLÂHÂ, AND OF MÂR ḲARDAGH HIS BROTHER.

From the whole circle of the Holy Scriptures we may learn that the piety of the acts of [men's] lives which are wrought secretly, and of all the good qualities[1] of the soul which are perfected spiritually in the hidden man, is not by any means hidden [on the contrary, for] God, for the gratification of Whose will [these things] have been wrought by righteous and holy men, [p. 264] maketh [them] manifest straightway; and [this we know] especially from the living mouth of our Redeemer, [Who] saith, "When thou prayest, enter into thy chamber and shut thy door, and pray to thy Father Who is in secret, and thy Father Who seeth in secret will reward thee openly."[2] And He will increase and make to rejoice those of His household[3] in this world, and He will shew that they are His glorious [subjects] and men united in concord[4] by the signs and powers of healing which are wrought by them and by their hands in every kind of way, and will reward them in the kingdom of heaven by making them to live before His face with everlasting happiness. And this was

[1] Read ܘܕܘܒܪ̈ܐ.

[2] St. Matthew vi. 6.

[3] Read ܠܒܝܬܝ̈ܘܗܝ.

[4] All the MSS. have ܐܘܕ̈ܐ, but read ܐܘܝ̈ܐ.

what was wrought upon that holy union in blessed brotherhood of body and of spirit, Rabban Yahbhlâhâ and Abbâ Ḳardagh his brother, the Metropolitans of the countries which have before been mentioned in writing.[1] Now these two blessed men [came] from Rêsh Ainâ,[2] a village of Saphsâphâ, in this country of Margâ, and both became disciples together in this holy monastery. And they excelled in chastity and in all the various kinds of observances which the sublime monastic life demandeth, the keeping of the tongue and of the passions, the evening fast, the watching all night, the prayer for collecting the thoughts, and the [keeping] pure the dwelling-place[3] of Godhead, even according to the words of the blessed Mark the monk who in these three virtues included the whole ascetic life, namely, "Let a man cleanse his thoughts, let him pray without ceasing, and let him endure those things which shall come [upon him];" with these three virtues were these brethren adorned. Now the old man Ḳardagh was younger than his brother, and he was a beautiful writer; and Yabhlâhâ was a book-binder, like the blessed Mâr Aḥâ and his brother.[4] And they were praised by the tongues of all men, [p. 265] according to what the holy Mâr Abraham told me, saying, "In the beginning when I came [here] to be a solitary, I worked in the monastery for the whole of the specified space of three years,[5] and I did not know

[1] *I. e.*, Gîlân and Dailôm, and the remote countries beyond them.

[2] Lying between Akra and Gunduk; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 199, 225.

[3] Read either ܕܒܝܬ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ or ܕܒܝܬܐ ܕܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ.

[4] See *supra*, p. 252.

[5] See *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 858.

if Ḳardagh had ever lifted his eyes or opened them to look upon me; and I thought, concerning him," he was saying to me, "perhaps he is blind. The labours and humility[1] of Rabban Yahbh Allâhâ were," he was saying to me, "more excellent than [those of] his brother, but in each one of them there was some one thing in which the one was superior to the other."

Now inasmuch as the holy Mâr Shûbhḥâl-Îshô' had finished the course of his testimony, it was necessary that another man should be chosen to succeed him, to go and rear the flocks which had been brought into the fold of life by the care of that holy man. And when Mâr Timothy, of pious memory, had urged this [service] upon every man who was able to do this, and there was no one who would undertake the work for God's sake like unto that man, the blessed Mâr Catholicus was obliged to send to this monastery for these two blessed brethren, that he might consecrate them bishops, and send them to those countries.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE CHOICE OF THE HOLY MEN TO BE SENT TO THOSE COUNTRIES (*I. E.*, GÎLÂN AND DAILÔM).

We must learn and recount that many shepherds have been chosen for all parts of the world from this holy monastery, who, through their splendid triumphs, have appeared in their generations like unto lamps set upon the candlestick the of Church, [and we must also

[1] Read, with Vat., ܕܡܟܝܟܘܬܐ.

learn and recount that this monastery | hath been named by the ancients the "house of the priesthood," and the "father of the pillars of the holy Church" by reason of the men who have in all generations gone forth |from it|, and who have become shepherds set over the flocks of Christ. [p. 266] And they did not only accept established and princely[1] thrones, which were |situated| in flourishing towns and civilized countries, but also |those of| the countries which were destitute of all knowledge of Divine things and holy doctrine, and which abounded in sorcery and idolatry and all corrupt and abominable practices, that they might uproot the evil and sow the good, and drive out the darkness of error and make to shine upon them the glorious light of their doctrine, and cast forth the devils |who were| teachers of all uncleanness. And that this was so we may learn from the blessed Mâr Shûbhḥâl-Îshô`, and from these blessed men[2] who succeeded him, and who because of their labour in other matters of the ascetic life, did not wish to depart. And [Mâr Timothy| wrote[3] here[4] that the blessed Yahbhlâhâ[5] and Ḳardagh should go down to him, saying that it was meet for them to preserve and rear the [fruits of the| teaching of Mâr Shûbhḥâl-Îshô`, like a goodly inheritance handed on from one brother to another, according to what is said, "If the brother of a man die and leave a widow without children, let his brother take his wife and raise up seed to him;"[6] in this latter case according to the body,

[1] [illegible]. See Hoffmann, *Syr. Arab. Gloss.*, No. 1542, p. 54; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 303; Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 401.

[2] For [illegible] read [illegible].

[3] Read ܟܬܒ?

[4] *I. e.*, to Bêth 'Âbhê.

[5] Read [illegible]?

[6] Deuteronomy, xxv. 5—9; Genesis xxxviii. 8.

and in the former according to the spirit. So the two went down according to the rule of the Church, and [Mâr Timothy] anointed them both Metropolitans, Ḳardagh of Gîlân and Yahbhlâhâ of the people of Dailôm. And when they came up to this monastery to put their affairs in order, there went with them according to what I have learned, fifteen monks [who were] holy and enlightened men, that they also might be companions with them in the spiritual labour of the Gospel of Christ, [p. 267] and among those men were those who were appointed to be Bishops of the countries beyond Gîlân and Dailôm.[1] For I have read the letter of Mâr Timothy the Catholicus to Mâr Yahbhlâhâ and the letter which was sent by him in answer to the Catholicus, saying, "Through thy prayers, O our father, by the grace of Christ, many nations have been converted to the belief of the truth, and we want to appoint Bishops over them from among the ascetics who have come with us." And Mâr Catholicus wrote to them this, "Inasmuch as the ordination of a Bishop doth not absolutely require [the presence of] three persons, and ye in your country are free from this [regulation], ye have permission [to do so] by the power of the word of our Lord, in which every thing standeth and is directed. Appoint as Bishops whomsoever ye and the pious Ḳardagh shall choose, and in the place of the third [person who should be present], let the Book of the Gospels be laid on the [episcopal] throne on the right hand; thus by the hand of God perform the ordination of the first Bishop, and let others be

[1] The next fourteen lines are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. I. p. 163, col. I.

appointed by means of [this] third [person].[1] May the Divine Spirit direct and govern His sanctifications by your means even as He did with the blessed Apostles." And when the blessed men had received this permission from the Patriarch, they ordained and made Thomas, Zacchaeus, Shem, Ephraim, Simon, Ananias and David, bishops of the countries which had been taught by their hands, through the signs and mighty deeds which had been manifested by them, no one of which, on account of their number and the remoteness of the countries in which they were wrought and completed, have we been able to distinguish clearly how it was worked, or in what village or city, or in whom a healing was performed, or from whom devils and sicknesses were expelled. [p. 268] And I think, if we were to make false or incorrect statements, and to attempt to paint a picture of miracles which were never manifested to us, that this presumption would bring great danger upon him that should write down something with which he was not acquainted. Now the names of those persons among them who were elected and anointed for the episcopacy were handed down to me by venerable old men—but more especially by the holy old man Elisha—for they heard concerning them from the mouth of Mâr Yahbhlâhâ, who twice came to this holy monastery from Dailôm, and paid to the holy monastery[2] of his fathers the honour which he was bound [to give]. Mâr Ḳardagh, however, because he had penetrated far into the countries which were beyond

[1] For the service for the consecration of Bishops and Metropolitans see *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 683 ff.

[2] For ܠܥܘ݂ܡܪ̈ܐ read ܠܥܘ݁ܡܪ̈ܐ.

those where his brother was, never came back here. But now if thou wishest to learn in part[1] concerning the wonderful deeds which took place at their hands, consider in thy mind, that not without cause and simply through words divorced from deeds did those barbarian nations of daring thieves, and plunderers, and worshippers of devils turn from their polluted religions, which were established without the labour of fasting and prayer, and despise the customary acts of the service of hateful things, and bow their necks to the submission of the yoke of fasting and of prayer, of vigil by nights, and of abstinence from every [kind of] food on the stated fasts and holy festivals. How fitting is it to quote here the words of the holy monk Ammonius, the chosen Bishop in the Church of God, who wrote in one of his letters to his disciples, saying, "For this reason the fathers lived apart in the desert, whether it be Elijah[2] the Tishbite or John.[3] Do not imagine that these men who were righteous among men were able to cultivate righteousness while they lived among men, [p. 269] for they first of all dwelt in great solitude, and thus received the power of God that it might dwell in them, and then, possessing all virtues, God sent them among men to be His stewards, and to heal the sicknesses of men. It was, then, only when all their own sicknesses had been healed,[4] that they were sent, for it is not possible that a soul possessing any defect whatever should be sent among mankind for edification. And I, your father, also say, because I have written these

[1] ܡܢܬܢܐܝܬ *partly*. [2] See I Kings xix. 9.

[3] *I. e.*, John the Baptist. See St. Matthew iii. I.

[4] Read ܡܕܒܪܝܢ.

things to you, that I endured a great fight in the desert and in the mountain, and then [only] did I arrive at this condition [of perfection]." Thus far according to the words of the blessed Ammonius.

Now this pair of holy men having been first of all healed [of their own sicknesses], and having gathered together treasure of the good things of heaven by tranquil solitude and by labours of asceticism in this holy monastery, were then sent forth as apostles by God to the countries of the heathen to make their souls to live. And they became like rays of light from the height of the eminence of their course of life, and the pure lamps of their doctrine were shining brightly, being set not under the bushel and measure of sluggishness, but upon a candlestick, and they lightened all the ends of the East. And like the blessed Apostles in their days, they also taught the erring nations by the piety of their daily life, and by abstinence from every [kind of] food, as the canon of the doctrine of our Lord requireth, Who when His disciples asked Him, "Why were we not able to heal him?" said distinctly, "This kind goeth not out except by fasting and by prayer."[1]

And, moreover, the bread which is in those countries is made of rice, [p. 270] for the blessed family of wheat and barley is not found there, and there is nothing except rice[2] and other kinds of dry grain,[3] and this we have

[1] St. Matthew xvii. 21.

[2] See Ritter, *Erdkunde*, t. viii. pp. 431—434.

[3] Read, with Vat., ܪ̈ܘܙܐ. See Hoffmann, *Syr. Arab. Gloss.*, No. 3203, p. 114; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 587; Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 938; Ahrens, *Das Buch der Naturgegenstände*, p. 41, l. 9; Loew, *Aram. Pflanzennamen*. p. 55, foot note.

learned from the mouth of Mâr Yahbhlâhâ, of holy memory, for the old men Ḥĕnân-Îshô' and Elisha told me that he said, "As I began my journey to come here I arrived at [the dwelling of] the pious Mâr Ḥabbîbhâ, the Metropolitan of the city of Râi,[1] and when I had partaken of food and bread made of wheat I became exceedingly sick, because I was accustomed in those countries to a diet of rice-bread." And when [these men] had laboured in that uncultivated country for many years, and had spread abroad the Gospel of our Lord in those rational[2] countries, and had taught, and converted, and baptized and sanctified many, they all of them ended their days there, and [their names] were written down with the first-born, [whose names] are written down in heaven, in the Book of the Kingdom, and happiness is laid up for them with the Prophets, and Apostles, and teachers, and martyrs, by whose prayers may our Lord make priesthood to be at peace with royalty; and may wars be abolished from the ends of the earth, and may our Lord give to the whole world, and especially to His Holy Church, of His hope, and rest and peace from all conflicts, and may we all lift up praise to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, for ever, Amen.

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[1] *I. e.*, Ῥαγαί, Rhages (see Tobit. i. 14; iv. 20; ix. 2) a town the ruins of which are situated about 25 miles S. E. of Teherân. It seems to have existed in the time of the last Babylonian Empire; it was rebuilt by Seleucus Nicator who called it Europus; and it was finally destroyed in the XIIIth century of our era. See Strabo, xi. 9. 1; xi. 13. 6; and Ker Porter, *Travels*, vol. 1, p. 358.

[2] The MSS. have ܡܠܠܬ̈ܐ but read ܡܠܝܠܬ̈ܐ. See p. 278, l. 13 (text).

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE BLESSED MÂR ELIJAH, BISHOP OF MÛḲÂN [AND OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE BARBARIANS].

Now having walked along the path of words in the histories of holy men, step by step, as along a ladder, and having revealed according to the sufficiency of my feeble knowledge, certain of their triumphs and noble deeds, [p. 271] I have now arrived at, and drawn near to enter into the Paradise, full of the blossoms and the beautiful odours of the glorious acts of our holy father Mâr Elijah, the simple but wise man, the untutored but full of understanding, the ignorant in speech but enlightened in mind, for he lacked nothing in his humility [to prevent my] speech[1] from exalting him above teachers. And, moreover, when the scribes and priests [of old] considered that the simple fishermen, the Apostles his fathers, were unlettered and ignorant men, the Apostles rejoiced that they were worthy to be spoken evil of for the sake of their Lord. Now this blessed twig was the produce of the gardening[2] of the divine Mâr Jacob, and his village was 'Ain Bakrê[3] in the country of Margâ; and having forsaken it and all the things of earth, his city to-day is heaven, and his companions are the Prophets and Apostles and Martyrs and all the ascetic Fathers, the glorious manner of whose lives he emulated. Now when he had elected to devote himself to the labours of the ascetic life, he himself[4]

[1] Read ܡܢ ܕܡܡܠܠܢܘܬܐ ܡܠܬܐ.   [2] ܦܪܕܝܣܩܘܣܘܬܗ, a rare word.

[3] The form 'Ain Barḳê occurs on p. 59, l. 6 (text); see *supra*, p. 103, note 3.

[4] Read ܕܝܠܗ: ܠܚܝܘܗ̈ܝ ܢܦܫܗ.

invented a distinct manner of life, and held fast to it from the beginning of his discipleship; for he possessed neither cell, nor place for storing his things,[1] nor [any house] built with mud walls, and having a roof with thick beams and a framework with strong rafters,[2] nor any place which needed repairs, or expenses, or watching [against] falling down suddenly,[3] or shocks, but [he built a hut] of reeds and grass[4] and of bands [made] of the thin, pliant branches[5] of trees similar to that which watchers of vineyards, and husbandmen and gardeners make for themselves, of sufficient [width] to cover his body, and of sufficient [height for him] to stand up and pray, and to perform those things which must needs be done by all those who are fettered by the flesh and its needs. [p. 272] And he surrounded his booth with a hedge made of reeds and narrow [strips] of wood, and [he made] a door of reeds similar to that which they make for sheep-folds, and whether he was inside or out, it was always fastened by a fastening and shut. Now he possessed no utensils,[6] for having

[1] ܒܝܬ ܣܝܡܬܐ = ἀποθήκη.

[2] The use of ܪܗܛܐ (which usually translates רְהָטִים "running waters", see Genesis xxx. 38, 41; Exodus ii. 16) for "rafters" is very unusual; compare רָחִיטֵנוּ בְּרוֹתִים (Ḳerî רהיטנו) Canticles i. 17.

[3] ܕܘܒܕܪܐ, compare Arab. نَدَر.

[4] See Loew, *Aram. Pflanzennamen,* No. 121, p. 166.

[5] ܪܘܒܛܐ, but read ܪܘܛܒܐ Strictly speaking ܪܘܛܒܐ are the long, thin, young branches of poplar or willow trees. Compare رَوْط *longue branche détachée d'un arbre*, p. e. d'un peuplier (Dozy, *Supplément*, t. i. p. 571). In *Muḥîṭ al-Muḥîṭ* Buṭrus Bistânî says والرَوط عند العامّة عود طويل من الشجر كالحور ونحوه.

[6] The MSS. have ܓܕܘܦܐ, but read ܕܕܘܦܐ; see Hoffmann, *Syr. Arab. Gloss.*, No. 4880, p. 190.

reduced himself to the lowest depth of voluntary poverty, such things, which were held to be of great value by others, appeared to him superfluous; but he had a broken vessel, in which he used to put the dry crust of bread upon which he lived, and an earthenware jar into which he cast salt seasoned with wild thyme.[1] In [the court-yard of] his cell he had a well without a rope and without a bucket, and he made use of a long reed to supply the place of a rope, and on the top of this he tied a small jar, and each evening he used to take his crust of bread, and sit by the well, and draw up water and pour over it, and he ate and it was sufficient for him; but as for [other] foods or wine they never entered his cell, neither did he make use of them. The garments which were on his body were alike his clothing and his bed, though his ascetic mode of life did not need a bed; but a seat against the wall—according to what I have learned from the pious and holy Mâr Abraham—served as a sleeping place for him, even according[2] to the words of the holy Mâr Evagrius, "Voluntary poverty is this, that a man shall possess nothing except a cloak, a tunic,[3] a Bible,[4] and a cell." Now when he went to the con-

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[1] ܨܥܬܪܐ See Loew, *Aram. Pflanzennamen,* No. 270, p. 325; and Hoffmann in *Z. D. M. G.*, Bd. xxxii. p. 752; Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 3450.

[2] Read ܐܝܟ.

[3] On the dress of monks see *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 898: compare also Land, *Anecdota,* tom. ii. p. 156, l. 22; and Usener, *Der Heilige Theodosios*, p. 171.

[4] Compare "Dixit abbas Evagrius, fuisse quemdam fratrem, qui nihil habuit in substantiâ suâ, nisi tantùm Evangelium, et ipsum vendidit in pauperum nutrimento. Dicens quodam verbo, quod memoriae dignum est commendari: Ipsum etiam, inquit,

gregation[1] on stated days, [p. 273] he used to take[2] the Bible which he read with him in his cloak, and lay it upon the Ḳestrômâ[3] of the temple until he went back to his cell [when] he took it with him; but his cell he left [unguarded] without fear, according to the words of the blessed Evagrius, "The man that hath prepared himself for voluntary poverty dwelleth in peace of mind," and again he saith, "The monk who hath embraced voluntary poverty is a swift traveller; let him dwell wherever he wishes without fear." Such things concerning his voluntary poverty and asceticism we have thus briefly related.

verbum vendidi, quod jubet, vende omnia, et da pauperibus." Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 582, No. 5. "Interrogatus est senex quidam à fratre, quid faceret ut salvus esset. Ille autem exspolians se vestimento suo, et cingens lumbos suos, atque extendens manus, dixit: Sic debet nudus esse monachus ab omni materià saeculari, et crucifigere se adversus tentationem atque certamina mundi." Rosweyde, *op. cit.*, p. 583, No. 16. The quotations from Evagrius made by Thomas of Margà probably form part of the Μοναχὸς ἢ περὶ Πρακτικῆς, extracts from which are given by Cotelerius, *Eccles. Graec. Monumenta*, tom. iii. pp. 68—102; by Bigot, *Palladii De Vita S. Joh. Chrysostomi dialogus*, 1680, pp. 349—355; and by Galland in his seventh volume of *Bibliotheca Patrum*: see also Φιλοκαλια των ἱερων Νηπτικων, 1782, fol. pp. 41 and 46ff. Ὑποτύτωπις μοναχικὴ διδάσκουσα πῶς δεῖ ἀσκεῖν καὶ ἡσυχάζειν and Κεφάλαια περὶ διακρίσεως παθῶν καὶ λογισμῶν.

[1] *I. e.*, to the service in the church.

[2] Read ܘܫܩܠ.

[3] *I. e.*, the space on the right and left above the three steps leading to the choir. See *supra*, pp. 342, 431.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE SUBLIME KINDS OF PRAYER WITH WHICH HE ENRICHED HIS SOUL.

Among all the virtues cultivated by holy men[1] there is none greater and more excellent than the wonderful work of prayer, for prayer maketh the pure mind at one with God, and maketh the whole man a deified and spiritual being. It removeth him that giveth himself continually to it from earth, and from the anxious care which is upon it; it made the Prophets to be victorious; it sanctified the Apostles; it entered with the Martyrs into every kind of contest, and by it they conquered the threats of kings and terrible torments; it made them like asbestos[2] before the fire, and they became like wood and creatures without feeling under the various tortures of every [kind of] affliction; [p. 274] and it protected the recluses, and anchorites, and ascetics in desert places, which were full of every [kind of] harmful assaults of devils, and evil animals, and noxious reptiles. For when our Lord Jesus, the Cause of the redemption of our nature, walked upon earth on our behalf in the days of His dispensation,[3] and was teaching, and commanding, and exhorting the keeping of all the virtues which are in His Gospel with His living mouth, He shewed forth in His own Person the effectual

[1] Read, with BC, ܕܒܢܝ ܩܕܝܫܐ.

[2] ܐܡܝܢܛܘܢ, אמִיַנְטוֹן, ἀμίαντος. See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 230; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 186; and compare Ahrens, *Das Buch der Naturgegenstände*, No. 117, p. 80 (text p. 63).

[3] *I. e.*, His incarnation. See Hoffmann, *Kirchenversammlung von Ephesus*, p. 94, note 184.

working of prayer, going at one time to the mountain desert [by day], and at another to a solitary wilderness to pass the night alone, so that by His immunity from the sounds and sights which confuse the understanding, and by His solitude, He might assist [His] occupation in divine things. On account of this the holy fathers the monks were more anxious about this than any other virtue, and they have taught us to do as they did, for the blessed Mark[1] the monk saith, "Being men subject to passions it is meet that we subject ourselves to prayer; he that subdueth himself with the subjection of prayer is a wise athlete, for by means of his remoteness from things which can be felt by the senses, he sheweth forth openly the strife which is hidden." And again he saith, "There is nothing so powerful to help as prayer, and there is nothing which profiteth like unto it in respect of the Will of God, for it containeth the whole doing of the commandments; the prayer which is without wandering[2] is a sign of the love of God to him that endureth patiently." And again the holy Evagrius saith, "We are not commanded to watch and fast at all times, but that we should pray continually[3] is a law laid down for us; [p. 275] for those who would heal the part which is liable to affections and passions need the labour of the body."

[1] He lived in the Nitrian desert at the close of the IVth century of our era; for his works which are extant see *B. O.*, iii. i. p. 45; and Wright, *Catalogue Syriac MSS.* p. 1306.

[2] Or *distraction.*

[3] Compare "Nocte et die laborat monachus vigilans, in orationibus permanens: pungens autem cor suum producit lacrymas, et celerius provocat Dei misericordiam." Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum,* p. 566, No. 17.

And again the blessed Abbâ Macarius, on being asked by the brethren, "Which of the labours of the ascetic life hath a reward?" answered thus:—"There is nothing more sublime than the continuing in prayer. To the very end the devils will wish to abolish [prayer], for they know that their artifices[1] are made of none effect thereby." And the holy Abbâ Isaiah places endurance in prayer above all the glorious acts of the ascetic life, and thus also saith the blessed Expositor[2] in his book on the Mysteries,[3] "Every prayer that is [made] is a teaching concerning life to every one who is careful and knoweth [how] to regard that which is fitting." And again he saith, "Let him that is solicitous for [a life of] excellence, and is careful to do those things which please God, have anxious regard unto prayer more than unto any [other] thing; for it is manifest that the man who is not careful for even one virtue, and is not anxious to do those things which please God, will also be sluggish in respect of prayer." Wherefore also the holy Rabban Mâr Elijah, to whose noble deeds we bring back our simple narrative, aiming at the mark of the holy fathers, or rather having already entered into the experience of its efficacy, and felt through it all the hidden treasures [which are] hidden in the Books of the Spirit, knew and understood that without it a man was not able to be perfect in the service of the ascetic life. And he yoked himself to it from the

[1] "Dum enim voluerit homo orare Deum suum, semper inimici daemones festinant interrumpere orationem ejus, scientes quia ex nullà re impediuntur, nisi per orationem fusam ad Deum". Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 613, No. 2.

[2] *I. e.,* Theodore of Mopuestia.

[3] See *B. O.*, iii. i. p. 33.

beginning of his going into the cell, and he joined to it bodily labours and the concentration of the mind, [p. 276] having learned from the blessed Mark the monk, that every prayer in which the body hath not laboured is accounted to be an abortion[1] and imperfect in its bodily form. And because these two fierce contentions resist the man who has yoked his mind to the concentration which is in prayer, that is to say, disturbed wandering of the mind, and vacillating perplexity, Elijah was armed mightily, for he listened to the blessed Evagrius, who said, "If thou hast overcome the wandering of the mind, the aim of all aims, thou art worthy of perfection." Now concerning the pious and holy man [Mâr Elijah], Mâr Abraham the Catholicus told me that he had made himself accustomed to live in a dark spot in his cell, and that in it he used to perform all his seasons of prayer. And to every verse of the psalm which he said he joined a "Hallelujah! Glory be to Thee, O God," in such a way that his mind was compelled to think about the verse which was coming next and that he might not be distracted in prayer. And he used to do this so that by reason of [his] too ready facility in calling the verse to mind, it might not be too easy for his mind to wander during his prayers, and to forget[2] the verse which should follow, and that when, at the end of every verse, the mouth followed with, "Hallelujah! Glory be to Thee, O God," his mind might be compelled to make [one] verse follow the other in proper order. And because without the concentration of the mind divine intuition doth not give itself to the understanding so that the understanding

[1] Read ܢܦܠܐ. [2] Read ܘܢܛܥܝܘܗܝ.

may enter into the bosom of a divine intuition and the ascetic cannot find the shadowless Galilee,[1] he made his understanding prepared for seeing [God], even as one of the saints saith, "The moon is not equal in all its periphery except at full moon," and he asked those who observe[2] the mind by prayer if there were any corners in their country.[3] And because it hath been said by the holy fathers [p. 277], "One word near is better than a thousand afar off," he cared less about the quantity of the Psalms [which he sang] than for the doubling of the riches and concentration of the thoughts which were in his mind,[4] and it was superfluous to him that others said the psalter of David twice in a day and night, while their minds were building up, and hiding, and judging, and condemning, and buying, and selling. Such were the advantages which this most praiseworthy man learned for himself, who although he was little cultivated in the Scriptures, and only [knew] the psalms, and responses, and the ordinary lessons for the day, yet included all[5] the commandments in one [act, viz.,] voluntary renunciation of every thing, and the crucifixion of the mind against all [disturbing] thoughts. And when by means of great wrestling after many years he was freed from this defect of wandering [in prayer], he cleansed and purified his heart, and from this time and onward he

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[1] The allusion is to St. Matthew xxviii. 10, 16; St. Mark xvi. 7.

[2] *I. e.*, he asked the angels to tell him of his shortcomings.

[3] *I. e.*, if there were any inequalities to be observed from the places where they stood.

[4] We must read ܕܒܗܘܢ̈.

[5] We should perhaps read ܕܟܠܗܘܢ.

forsook the first step of the ascetic life, and he changed his manner of life to the singing of psalms without ceasing, being silent neither day nor night. For the holy Mâr Abraham, who more than any was acquainted with every thing concerning him, told me that even when he was wearied in sleep his mouth was not silent, but was singing psalms audibly, and that whilst his soul was answering with secret hallelujahs, his mouth sang psalms as he dreamed. And as that holy soul was [engaged] in all the spiritual and external service of the Spirit, and was dwelling in that aged and ascetic body, that strife which existed between the spirit and the flesh, and the flesh and the spirit, ceased, and his two natures (lit. manhoods) were swallowed up in the desire for the happiness of the life which is to come. And in proportion as the body languished, and his labour became [p. 278] less, his soul was lifted up to heaven on the wings of the spirit, as the holy Abbâ Isaiah wrote, saying, "The soul[1] that hath walked worthily by the might of Christ, and hath departed from [this] world, delighteth itself in these countries whither pinions incapable of sufferings have borne it."

CHAPTER X.

OF THE ELECTION OF THE HOLY MÂR ELIJAH TO BE BISHOP OF MÔḲÂN A CITY OF THE BARBARIANS.

There is a certain city[2] called Môḳân, which is [situated] in a country to the north-east, near to the

[1] Read ܕܢܦܫܐ. [2] See *B. O.*, iii. i. p. 492, col. 1.

border of the peoples of Dailôm, and its inhabitants are barbarians, and they worship dumb animals. Now when the pious Mâr Timothy had anointed and sent the holy Metropolitans Mâr Yabhlâhâ and Ḳardagh to Gîlân and Dailôm, he wisely determined that he would appoint to the city of Môḳân also a shepherd and prosperous husbandman to cultivate the rational souls that were therein, which had been led captive by the Calumniator from days of old. And because he knew by experience, and had found out in very deed that men of might and athletes of valour had gone forth from the divine congregation of the holy Mâr Jacob, and because from these men Mâr Catholicus had appointed fitting persons to all regions and cities [of the world], and because by them wonderful acts of power and glorious cures[1] had been made manifest, he chose from this stock to send to that city also a rod of power as out of Zion,[2] [p. 279] that he might obtain dominion over the demons and devils which were in that wretched city, [where] the sore of destruction had spread abroad. And because he had heard about the extraordinary manner of life of the blessed Elijah, he wrote a letter to him with love and patience,[3] like a wise father to a son who can be easily persuaded, [telling him] to come down to him and he would appoint him Bishop of the city of Môḳân. And the pious Elijah answered, saying, "I cannot receive consecration except in the holy temple in which I am, and

[1] The MSS. have ܘܐܣܘ̈ܬܐ, but read ܘܐܣܘܬܐ.

[2] Psalm cx. 2.

[3] ܡܓܪܓܪܢܐܝܬ *patiently*, but C and Vat. have ܡܓܪܓ̇ܪܢܐܝܬ *incitanter*, which is probably the better reading.

I would that this [rite] be performed upon me on the holy first day of the week of Pentecost," [wishing] in his simplicity that [he might receive the rite] on the day in which the blessed Apostles received the gifts of the Holy Spirit. And although the time which Mâr Elijah appointed [appeared] to be afar off to the quickened readiness of the Catholicus, Mâr Timothy put off the time until the day of Pentecost, and he wrote to the pious Nestorius, Metropolitan of Adiabene, who came here (*i. e.*, to Bêth Âbhe) and ordained Mâr Elijah in this temple according to his will; and Mâr Elijah went down to Mâr Timothy who confirmed him, and sent him off with certain merchants who were going into the countries in which Môḳân was situated. And[1] the blessed Mâr Abraham the Catholicus related to me concerning him, that instead of a cross on his neck he used to hang upon his breast a complete Book of the Gospels in a small size; and he took with him a cross of brass which, when he required to sing the psalms where he passed the night, he placed on the top of the staff which was in his hand, [p. 280] and he used to drive it into the ground in front of him and pray, and in this manner he acted when he was travelling in terrible places. Now when he was going along the road with the merchants in several companies, and he was following at some distance behind that he might have an opportunity of [singing] a psalm, a certain man had a mule which he was [trying] to keep close to the other animals (now this mule had a heavy load upon his back), and when he was going up through a high, rough and rocky pass, his foot slipped off the

[1] See *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 493, col. 1.

rugged rock, and the hoof of his foot was wrenched off and put out of its place. And when the holy Mâr Elijah came up to the man and asked him the reason of his staying behind his companions, behold he wept, and cried and rent his garments, and shewed the spiritual physician the hoof of his animal which had fallen off. Now because that holy old man in the time of his old age made use of olive oil with his dry crust by reason of the cold and feebleness which had fallen upon his stomach through [eating] dry bread and salt, he had with him in his cloak a phial of oil. And he answered and said to the owner of the mule, "Weep not, my son, neither be mournful, for God will heal thy mule easily." And he said to him, "Bring me the hoof," and he took it, and poured upon it [some of] the oil for his food, and salt of wild thyme[1] which he ate, and he laid it upon the leg of the mule, and made the sign of the Cross over it, and said to the man, "Lead on quickly in the name of the Lord, that he may not remain behind his companions;" thus he bestowed healing on the animal and joy upon his master. And this was known to all that company of people which was journeying with him into that country, and they praised [p. 281] and confessed the mighty power of Christ by Whose disciples sicknesses were healed without medicines and without drugs.

[1] See *supra*, p. 497, note 1.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE GOING IN OF THE BLESSED MÂR ELIJAH TO THE CITY OF MÔḲÂN, AND OF HIS PREACHING IN IT, [AND OF HIS RETURN TO THIS MONASTERY, AND OF THE END OF HIS LIFE].

Now when by the hand of God his helper the holy Mâr Elijah arrived at that city of the heathen, and went into it, and saw that the name of God, the Lord of all, and confession of Him did not exist therein at all, but that all the people that were in it offered up worship to dumb trees and senseless stones, and that it was destitute even of the Arabs and Jews who confess One God, the Creator of heaven and earth, he offered up prayer ceaselessly to Christ our Lord on their behalf, that He, Who according to the custom of His graciousness and longsuffering had brought all nations to the worship of His Godhead, might by his means, as by the hand of the Apostles, give to those people a new heart and a new spirit, that they might despise the images and senseless forms which they worshipped, and be converted to the knowledge of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. And together with all these [prayers] which he made on their behalf he bore suffering in his heart, and he placed the cross which [he had] with him upon the top of the staff which was in his hand, and during the whole day he went round about in the streets and lanes[1] of the whole city, and preached to the inhabitants with a loud voice,

[1] The Urmî New Testament of 1846, p. 234, col. 1. (St. Luke xiv. 21) has ܠܟܘ̈ܟܐ.

saying, [p. 282] "O men, who have erred from the true knowledge of God, God the Lord of all hath sent me to you to turn you from the error in which ye live. Ye have served enough those things which from their nature are not gods, for without knowledge, and by the agency of daring devils, have ye offered the worship which was due to your Lord to the trees which the earth maketh to grow up for your honour." And having gone round and about the whole day in this preaching of Life, every evening he used to go forth outside the city, and fix the cross [upon his staff], and sing the service for the night and pray until dawn; and when it was morning, and they opened the gates, and [the people] came forth, and saw that he sat openly before the cross they marvelled and were astonished. Now in those days when he came to them, according to the Divine command and the curse of Jeremiah,[1] the evening wolves gained the mastery over them, and all persons who were left outside the [city] wall were devoured mercilessly. And the people having compassion upon him said to the blessed man, "Pass the night with us inside the wall that the wolves devour thee not." And he answered and said to them, "The God Whom I serve will protect me from the wolves;" and this [thing] became to them a great wonder. And when he had tilled, and ploughed, and thrown up [the furrows], and cast the grains of the living wheat of the doctrine of our Lord into their ears, and had covered them up and made [the ground] smooth, he did not gather from them the fruit which he expected, but at one time they mocked at him, and at another they laughed at

[1] Jeremiah v. 6.

him. [p. 283] Then the good and merciful God Who saw his labour and toil on their behalf, brought upon them the sickness which is called "*Shar'ûṭâ*",[1] and their bodies were smitten with ulcers and tumours. And when Mâr Elijah saw them in the depth of their infirmity and saw that they were nigh unto death, he demanded from them that [in return for] the healing of their bodies, [they should] worship his God, and they by reason of the affliction which they were suffering promised, saying, "We will do this at once, and we will become servants of that God Who is able to give us healing, and we will cast aside all our [present] objects of worship, and elect Him [in their stead]." And he blessed the oil [taken] from the phial which he had upon him, and by prayer, and the sign of the Cross, and the making mention of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, he healed them all. Now when they were healed[2] of this sickness by the grace of God, and they had seen[3] the mighty deeds and miracles which [Mâr Elijah] worked among the sick, and the devils which he drove out of many [people], their hearts were softened to hearken unto his doctrine. And[4] he began to speak before them concerning God,

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[1] ܫܪܥܘܛܐ. Compare الطاعون المسمّى الشرعوط *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 437, col. 2, l. 7; Baethgen, *Fragmente*, pp. 36, 37; Wright, *Joshua the Stylite*, pp. 17, 19; Bar-Hebraeus, *Hist. Dynastiarum*, pp. 93, 95, 96, 182; Bar-Hebraeus, *Chron.*, ed. Bruns, p. 85, l. 3, Bedjan, p. 80, l. 22 (ܘܡܝܬܘ ܕܐܬܦܠܓܘ ܡܢ ܡܘܬܐ ܕܫܪܥܘܛܐ: ܒܫܢܬܐ ܗܕܐ ܕܐܬܚܙܝܬ ܕܒܝ ܒܩܘܣܛܢܛܝܢܘܦܘܠܝܣ: ܘܡܝܬ ܫܪܥܘܛܐ) and Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 452. Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 190*a*, col. 1, explains the word by الطَاعُون وَهُو الورم.

[2] Read ܐܬܐܣܝܘ. [3] Read ܘܚܙܘ.

[4] See *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 493, col. 2.

the Lord of all, and concerning the coming of our Lord Christ into the world, and they were converted by his words, and by the love of his God, and they answered him with one voice, saying, "We have Yazd, whom our grandfathers, fathers and ourselves have worshipped, and we are afraid of the injuries which he may do unto us, lest peradventure when we deny him, he may destroy our lives. If, however, thy God, in Whom thou hast made us to place our trust—for He is [God alone], and there is none other besides Him, and we also have chosen to be His servants and worshippers—is able to slay and destroy him, behold then we are before thee like matter before the handicraftsman, and it is in thy power to do with us according to thy will." [p. 284] Now the holy Mâr Abraham told me—even as if he were standing before God the Lord of all, with His holy angels as witnesses, and I set down [here] his words without alteration—that when those people had said this to the blessed man, he answered and said to them, "Where is this Yazd, the son of a whore, whom ye and your fathers have served?" And they went with him and shewed him from the top of a hill a mighty oak[1] tree, situated in a valley, which was called the "chief of the forest," and which owing to length of time and the care with which they had tended it, had grown to a great height,[2] and had acquired great breadth in its girth, and great density[3] of foliage. And he asked for an axe, and they brought him [one], and he girded up his loins, and

[1] [illegible] See Loew, *Aram. Pflanzennamen.*, No. 9, p. 41; and Payne Smith. *Thes.*, col. 41.

[2] Literally "held the height of heaven by its stature."

[3] Literally "strength."

rolled up the sleeves of his tunic, and he took the axe like a warrior, and went down to the tree, more especially, however, against the devil which dwelt therein, and lifting up his voice in the courage of his confidence, saying, "The voice of the Lord moveth the hinds to calve, and uprooteth the trees of the forest,"[1] he lifted up his axe and brandished it against the tree. And he did it a second time, and a third time, and the tree fell, and he hewed down all its ancient strength and thickness with three strokes of the axe; and he smote and cut down also the rest of the branches which were round about it, and which those erring people called the "children of Yazd." And he lifted up his voice, and with his hand he made signs to those people to come down to him, and they did so, and they gathered together reeds, and pieces of bramble and pieces of dry wood, and laid them on the tree and upon its branches, and burnt them up, and thus the error of that devil ceased. And they all lifted up their voices and glorified God Who had made the blessed Mâr Elijah to preach to them, as did those [men] who in the days of Elijah the Prophet mocked at Baal and destroyed all his priests;[2] [p. 285] in that case heathen priests were destroyed, and in this case false gods, which by the error of their reproof made devils to abound to the destruction and annihilation of those who were obedient unto them. And after the burning of their images of accursed devils they all went up to that city, being glad and rejoicing in the victory which the soldier of Christ, who had been sent for the conversion and life of their souls, had wrought. And they all began to build the glorious building of a church,

[1] Psalm xxix. 9.

[2] I Kings xviii.

and Mâr Elijah ordered it with all its arrangements, and he baptized many of them, and ordained them priests and deacons, and he wrote out psalms for them, and taught them the responses, and thus little by little they became virtuous, and increased, and the grace of Christ grew and dwelt in them. And they received the conviction in their hidden nature that they were in very truth converted from error to the light of life, and they laid fast hold upon the ordinances of the seasons of prayer, and the receiving of the Holy Mysteries, and they were sanctified in their manner of life, and the sun of the mind of God shone upon them, Who called them and brought them near, and made them members of His household. And when they were confirmed in their hope, and had become members of the household of this man in all the ordering of the Christians, that blessed man praised and glorified [God], and gave thanks unto our Lord, that the first seed which he had sowed in his plot of ground had come up in seed buds,[1] and had given birth to ears, and had produced wheat and a granary full of wheat and grain.[2] And when he had tarried with them for many years, the holy man was minded to come to this

[1] ܦܩܕܢ̈ܐ, a rare word.

[2] The MSS. have ܘܐܘܠܕ̈; but this must be a mistake for ܘܐܘܠܕ ܡܕܘܫ̈ܬܐ "and a heap of winnowed wheat and corn stored up in subterranean pits." Compare بِئار الغلّة described by Wetzstein in Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Book of Job*, Edinburgh 1876, vol. ii. p. 152. For the word ܐܘܠܕܐ or ܐܘܠܕܐ (which Nöldeke derives from a root אלד Eth. አለደ፡ [Dillmann, *Lex. Aethiop.*, col. 720] *to collect, gather together*,) see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 65; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 62; and for ܡܕܘܫ̈ܬܐ see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1200, at the top.

country to worship in the holy monastery of the house of his fathers, and to return. And when he had done this, and had come here,[1] he shewed to all his brethren the conversion of those erring nations which, by his hands, had been converted to life and redemption, and how he had built for them a church, and how he had baptized and sanctified them, and [how] they had become participators [p. 286] in his joy in divine gratitude for these things. And Mâr Jacob the Bishop of the country of Margâ, came to this monastery with certain well-known believers of this country, and he and the whole assembly of monks entreated him not to leave this country to return there before he had gone round about through it, and had blessed its inhabitants, and healed the sick, and visited the smitten that were in it; and certain old and venerable brethren of the congregation were appointed to go round about with him from village to village. And the pious Bishop Jacob wrote to all the believers, saying, "Behold I have entreated the pious and holy Mâr Elijah, Bishop of Môḳân, the strenuous soldier of virtue and the doer of mighty deeds, to go forth and round about among all the villages which ye inhabit that ye may be blessed by his holiness. Now therefore any one of you who hath any [cause for] judgment, or who wisheth to receive the laying on of hands for grades of the Holy Church, hath the power to settle the idle matters of his contention before Mâr Elijah and to receive ecclesiastical ordination." And the venerable old man Sergius said to me, "I was one of those who accompanied him from the monastery, and when all the believing

[1] *I. e.,* to Bêth 'Âbhê.

men heard [of him] they came out to meet us from a great distance, and they brought us into their churches with service and honour, and a great crowd accompanied us from one village to another; and he healed and made whole the sick and the afflicted, and cast out devils by the word of his mouth. And heathen and Jews came to be blessed by him, and by his means the [p. 287] praise of God increased in the mouth of the inhabitants of this country who saw the sick that were made whole, and the deaf and the dumb who heard and spake." Now of all his wonders and mighty deeds which he wrought in this country I can only describe and write down one or two, but from these the reader will understand concerning all the mighty deeds of his wonderful acts and boldness of speech[1] with Christ Who made him victorious. And that trustworthy old man Sergius, who went about with him through the whole country said, "He never sat upon an ass during the whole [time] of our going round about through this country. Now he acted thus all his life, for he walked upon his feet at an easy pace, and a psalm was never absent from his mouth. And at the words "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost," which [came] between each *marmîthâ*,[2] he used to bow down and prostrate himself

[1] ܦܪܗܣܝܐܣܛܘܬܐ from the infinitive παρρησιάσθαι; see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 3242.

[2] The Psalter is divided into fifteen ܡܪܡܝ̈ܬܐ, and each ܡܪܡܝܬܐ into four ܫܘ̈ܒܚܐ, and each ܫܘܒܚܐ into three or four psalms. See Lagarde, *Praetermissorum*, p. 100. 38; Dietrich, *Comment. de Psalterii usu publico et divisione*, p. 9; *B. O.*, iii. 1, p. 529. Bickell, *Conspectus*, p. 88. Unicuique marmithae oratio praefigitur et *Gloria Patri* annectitur.

to the ground as a mark of honour, and he did not refrain from this even when he was [walking] upon stones, or briars or any other [thorny] growth, and at every place [in the psalm] where he ought to say the *Gloria*, he bowed down until he touched the ground with his head. Now when he had arrived at the city of Shaḥrai, the people saw him and came forth to meet him from this village, and they begged and entreated him to go into the house of a poor Arab woman who was afflicted with an evil devil, and pray for her, and he did so. And when we had gone in he commanded me to say, 'Peace', and he himself prayed and made the sign of the cross before the woman, who was in great affliction and was beaten so mightily by that devil that four women were [obliged to] hold her and to kneel upon her that the devil might not break her to pieces with the blows [p. 288] and beatings with which he rent her. Now the devil through the mouth of that woman began [to give utterance] in the Arabic tongue to wicked blasphemies and horrible abuse of the blessed man. And since he wore hung round his neck the Book of the Gospels instead of a cross", (even as I have written in a preceding passage[1]), "he brought it forth from his bosom, and laid it on the breast of that woman, at the same time anathematising and adjuring the devil to come forth from that woman. And when the devil had acted with great insolence, and had contended against the command of the holy man,—now the holy man was ordering him to depart from her with quietness,—his answers began to fail little by little. And he answered in the Arabic tongue

[1] See *supra*, p. 506.

and said to the blessed man, "Where dost thou command me to go, O bishop?" And the blessed man answered and said to him, "For the sake of our Lord, thou wilt not be restrained until thou goest to Harran, and moreover, by the word of our Lord thou art bound not to return to this woman again." And as the entire village being gathered together, was listening to the words of the holy man, and the answers of that devil to his speech, the devil began to go forth from her, and he cried out in Arabic, saying, "Ho,[1] let us go to Harran, ho, let us go to Harran," many times, "the road is before us, let us go to Harran."[2] And we heard his voice as he cried out in the air, going towards the west, for a long time, and [then] little by little his voice died away and became inaudible to us in the distance. And fear and trembling laid hold upon all those that were there, [p. 289] and they began to glorify Christ and to magnify his servant the blessed Mâr Elijah; and that woman received a complete cure, and she confessed the power of Christ, and lived freed from the attacks of the devil a life of gratitude to Christ our Lord, and she proclaimed, "There is no true belief except among the holy Christian people."

And again, another woman entrusted an exceedingly valuable pledge to a neighbour, and when she demanded it back from her she denied her, saying, "Thou hast never given any pledge to me, and I cannot pay

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[1] ܗܘܕܐ = هُوذَا = ܗܐ = הִנֵּה. See Hoffmann, *Syr. Arab. Gloss.*, No. 3251, p. 116; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 599; Neubauer, *The Book of Hebrew Roots*, p. 178, note 32.

[2] هُوذَا نَذْهَب الى حَرّان الطريق من قُدّامِنَا.

it back." And the defrauded woman drew nigh to this blessed man, and he sent and called the other woman, and said to her, "Behold, the pledge which thy neighbour gave thee is lying in such and such a place in thy house, bring it hither, and defraud her not lest the anger of the Lord come upon thee;" and when she saw that she was made a mockery, she at once returned to that woman the things which belonged to her, that she might not be exposed in other matters also. Now very many other things were wrought by the holy man which I need not take the trouble to write down, because I only wish to receive some small blessing from the glorious deeds of these holy men, and to pass on. And when he had gone round about throughout all this country, and had been blessed in his holy steps and had made judicial decisions, and ordained priests and deacons, he came into this monastery. Now when God the Lord of all saw his troubles and afflictions, and the length of his years, and the greatness of his age, in order that he might not die in exile, far away from the house of his fathers, like the blessed Moses whom He buried on Mount Nebo[1] [p. 290] that he might not be disturbed by the war of the Canaanites, and the slaughter of insolent kings, He willed that this blessed man also should rest from a life full of anxiety and care; and he fell sick of a slight ailment, and so departed from [this] temporary life to the enjoyment of everlasting life. And our holy father Mâr Abraham the Catholicus told me, saying. "While many of us were gathered together about him at the hour of his departure, he sat and spake with

[1] Deuteronomy xxxii. 48—50.

us concerning his separation from us. And he commanded us to say the response of baptism [which runs], "The[1] doors of the spiritual marriage chamber are opened for the absolution of men," while he sat with his hands laid upon his knees. And when we had come [to the passage] "Enter in then ye that are called to the joy which hath been prepared for you," he opened his mouth three times [to join in the singing], and his soul departed from his body with the joy which was prepared for him. And marvelling we understood that he actually saw and beheld with the hidden eye of his mind the happiness which had been prepared for him, and that it was because of this he had asked us to sing this baptismal response, and that the rest and happiness which is laid up for the righteous baptized firstborn whose [names] are written[2] down in heaven had assumed a visible form. And he was buried with great ceremony and honour by all the congregation of

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[1] The passage reads, "Open unto me the gates of righteousness—The gates of heaven are opened. The gates of the spiritual chamber of the Bridegroom are opened for the forgiveness of the sins of men, and through the gift of the Spirit from on high mercy and peace are now vouchsafed to all mankind. Enter in, therefore, O ye who are called; enter into the joy which is prepared for you, and with pure and sanctified hearts, and true faith, give thanks unto Christ our Saviour. Glory be to the Father, etc. O Thou true Door, open to the lost, and call us to enter Thy treasury on high." See Badger, *Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. ii. p. 196; Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Ritus Matrimonii apud Nestorianos, p. 419ff.

[2] The allusion is to the words, "In the Jerusalem above, before the seat of Christ, there may the names of Thy servants be written." See Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 211.

his sons and brethren, and he was laid with the rest of the Bishops and Metropolitans who were before him in the martyrium of this monastery; and is made ready for him with those who are of like rank and garb the enjoyment of heaven, namely the just and righteous in whose footsteps he walked, and in whose manner of life he triumphed. Glory be to Christ our Lord Who made him victorious, and may mercy be shewn upon us sinners by his prayers in this world, and may we participate in his enjoyment in that which is to come, Amen.[1]

[P. 291] CHAPTER XII.

THE HISTORY OF THE BLESSED MÂR NARSAI (NARSES), BISHOP OF THE CITY OF SHENNÂ.[2]

Now every spiritual gift cometh down from above from the Father of lights, according to the words of the divine James in the Catholic Epistle,[3] and the light which shineth upon our holy temples beareth the mark of spiritual knowledge, according to the affirmation of Evagrius the spiritual philosopher, and according to David, the prophet of the Spirit who said to God, "Thy word is a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto

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[1] Read ܐܘܣܡ.

[2] *I. e.*, Shennâ dhĕ Bêth Rammân, the Sinn Bârimmâ of the Arabs, *i. e.*, Ḳârdâlîâbhâdh, a town distant ten *farsaḥ* from Tekrit on the east bank of the Tigris. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 189.

[3] St. James i. 17.

my path,"[1] and the Lord of the Prophets and Apostles stated definitely that He was 'the Light of the world',[2] and that, even as the Scriptures say, "Rivers of living water should flow from the belly"[3] of whomsoever believeth in Him. It is well known then that all the holy men who were authors of works upon the healthful doctrine of orthodoxy, whether of history, or doctrine, or prayer, or admonition, have drunk from the abundant streams of the sweetness of the Gospel, which like the breath of life is placed for the cooling of their bitterness. And they have filled the Church with the spiritual light of the glorious rays of their understanding, and they have enlightened the assemblies of its children, and they have made them to know and to understand that while they make use of those footsteps they must set their own feet in the paths which lead to the height above, where Christ our Lord sitteth on the right hand [of God], and maketh intercession for them, although they do not actually make perfect this ascent except by mysteries and types. [p. 292] And I also, who am subject to all passions, have been obliged through the entreaty of many to write down also the history of the blessed[4] and holy Mâr Narses, Bishop of the city of Ḳardilâbhâdh,[5] which is Shennâ dhĕ Bêth Rammân, and to teach it together with those of the holy men his companions. And because I am a man lacking all wisdom, from the Light, the Father of light, according to the words of the holy and wise Dionysius, I ask for a gift and the bestowal of power, to enable me to

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[1] Psalm cxix. 105.

[2] St. John viii. 12.

[3] St. John vii. 38.

[4] Read ܕܛܘܒܢܐ.

[5] For Ḳârdâlîâbhâdh.

speak[1] and to enter into the sanctuary of the victorious deeds of the holy man concerning whom our speech hath made ready to praise. And I beg and entreat that as He hath bestowed a gift upon others to the praise and glorification of His saints, he will also bestow upon me a sinner, full of hypocrisy through his hateful deeds, a gift that I may speak, if it be only in part, concerning some of the noble deeds of the blessed Mâr Narses, the member of His household. Moreover, I would make known unto those who come across these histories, that according to what I have learned from the gentle-souled Eustathius, the Archdeacon of the holy Mâr Abraham the Catholicus, at the time when he and I were deacons of the Catholicus in the city of the kingdom of the world,[2] after the death of the elect and holy Mâr Narses, that by the encouragement of Bûrzâdh[3] his father, the head of the church at Shennâ, he collected the [accounts of] his noble deeds and sent them to Rabban Ḥabbîbhâ, the teacher of the monastery of Mâr Gabriel,[4] that he might weave them into a crown, and glorify them in a history. Now Rabban Ḥabbîbhâ having departed from the manner of diction which historical narrative requireth, composed an account in metrical discourses which were to be sung to the 'fourth tone'—a style of composition which doth not at all aid [the writer] to make known acts

[1] Read ܠܘܬ ܡܠܐ. [2] *I. e.*, Seleucia.

[3] Probably abbreviated from ܒܘܪܙܝܙܕ Pers. Burzyazd = Burzîzad = ܒܪ ܝܙܕ; compare ܒܘܪܙܝܙܕܘܢ = ܒܪܙܡܘܢ text, p. 238, note 5.

[4] Thomas of Margâ probably refers to the Monastery of Mâr Gabriel near Môṣul; see *B. O.*, iii. 1. pp. 277, 284, 618; and Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. xxii.

of piety and persecutions, and moreover this style is appropriate for hymns [p. 293] and for the sweet penitential compositions which are sung to tunes, but not for history. "And when we had seen it", he saith, "we rejected it, and we did not miss it, and the leaves were torn by reason of the lapse of time, and because it was not suitable we have not copied it into our book." But I will now set down in writing, for the gratification of those who have commanded me, some of the things which I have learned from Eustathius, and from the monks who lived in the holy Monastery of Abbâ Simon[1] of Shennâ, but more especially from the aged monks who were to be found in my days in the holy monastery of Bêth 'Âbhê, and from the Tigris boatmen and fishermen whom I have seen; and taking refuge in the prayers of those who told me the stories, and of those who commanded me to write them, and of readers, and listeners, I will go into the sweet-smelling garden laid out and cultivated by the holy Mâr Narses, and I will write briefly about him, even as I have written about his companions, some few matters to commemorate his holiness.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BLESSED MÂR NARSES AND OF HIS COMING TO THIS MONASTERY.

There was in the country of Bêth Bêghâsh[2] a famous village called Zârn, the inhabitants of which were

[1] See *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 225, col. 1.

[2] See *supra*, p. 236, note 2.

warriors, and they all were mighty men of valour. Not only did they pursue thieves, and make raids, but they also shewed themselves fierce and disobedient to the royal officers who came to them for the imperial taxes, and many of them they fearlessly drove away with blows. [p. 294] From this village then came the blessed man, whose noble deeds I am about to relate, and he and his brother whose name was Shalmân, and his only sister sprang from a family of believers, and from people who were prosperous as regards the affairs of this world. And the manner of life of each brother was as different as that of the blessed Jacob and of Esau, for Shalmân carried a sword and shed the blood, not of the good but of wicked men. And because the Khartĕwâyê[1] had at that time begun [to commit acts] of destruction and theft, Shalmân armed himself, and having gathered together a body of men, he put an end to many of the Khartĕwâyê by cutting off their heads. And the rumour is reported of him that every day in which he did not lie down upon the skull of some malefactor whom he had slain with his own hands as upon a pillow, his food was without taste and unpleasant to him. And like Esau he was a man of the chase and a man of the desert, but his brother, the holy Narses, elected to live the ascetic life in an admirable manner, and he firmly stamped into himself—like the impression on a dînâr—the [qualities] of the blessed Jacob, gentleness and sweetness, and praiseworthy obedience to his parents. Now their sister be-

[1] The Kartaw Kurds, القرتاويّة lived in the region to the west of the Lower Zâb above Arbela; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 207; and Baethgen, *Fragmente*, p. 66.

came the wife of the honourable Shâhdôst[1] from the country of Dâsen,[2] who was born[3] at Beth Gâwzâ, and who begat by her the honourable Na'mân, that great and famous and rich man, who accepted many offices of government and received dominion over countries from Zuraiḳ[4] and [from] his fathers [who were] gover-

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[1] Pers. شاهدوست "king's friend;" see *supra*, p. 262, l. 6 (text); and Guidi, *Nuovo testo*, p. 11, l. 9.

[2] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 202–207.

[3] ܐܘܪܝܐ = perhaps ܐܘܪ̈ܝܐ, *cunae, praesepe*.

[4] ܘܙܪܝܩ. Ṣadaḳa bin 'Alîya the freed man of Azd (صدقة بن علىّ مولى الازد), also called Zuraiḳ of Môṣul (زريق بن علىّ بن صدقة الازدىّ الموصلىّ), who ruled over the mountainous district between Môṣul and Adhôrbâigân, together with Wagnâ al-Azdi, did great mischief in Adhôrbâigân in the time of al-Rashîd when, perhaps A. H. 183, Ḥuzaima bin Ḥâzim, خُزَيمة بن خازم, who drove the Ḥazars through the gates of the Caucasus and who fortified Marâga (see Al-Belâdhorî, *Liber Expugnationis Regionum* [ed. de Goeje, Leyden 1863], p. 330), was appointed governor of Adhôrbâigân to resist his might (see Ibn al-Athîr, tom. vi. p. 111; Ṭabarî tom. iii. p. 648). Zuraiḳ conquered Urmiya, and together with his brother, built castles there (Belâdhorî, p. 331; Ibn al-Faḳîh al-Hamadhânî [ed. de Goeje 1885] p. 284, l. 10). Zuraiḳ was appointed governor of Armenia and Adhôrbâigân by al-Mâmûn, A. H. 209, to fight against Bâbek al-Ḥurramî بابك الخرّمى, by whom, however, he was vanquished (Ṭabarî, tom. iii. p. 1072; Ibn al-Athîr, tom. vi. p. 338). Previous to A. H. 211, Zuraiḳ made war against al-Sayyed bin Anas, السيّد بن أنس, who had been Emîr of Môṣul and Margâ since A. H. 202, and attacked him in that year with 40,000 men and slew him (Ibn al-Athîr, tom. vi. p. 248). Muḥammad bin Ḥumaid al-Ṭûsî (الطوسى), who had been made Wâlî of Môṣul by al-Mâmûn (see Ibn al-Athîr, tom. vi. p. 287; al-Ya'ḳubî, *Historiae* [ed. Houtsma], tom. ii. p. 564) conquered Zuraiḳ on the Zâb A. H. 212, and compelled him to ask for protection

nors of Môṣul and of all the north, and who during the time of his rule made great gifts to the Church, and to her children, and to her directors. And when Rabban Mâr Narses had become a young man, having by the care and pains taken about him by his parents been trained in the Holy Scriptures [p. 295] in the church of their native village, at which time each man turneth to the right hand or to the left according to the nature which is implanted in his earthy composition, and sheweth in his manner of life either nobility or depravity of nature, he elected to become a disciple [of purity], and left the house of his fathers, and all the wealth of their possessions; and he despised the love of brethren and of relatives, and came to the holy monastery of Bêth Âbhê, and worked in the monastery, as the canons of the Fathers order; and it came to pass that an accident happened to the advantage of himself and for the benefit of the purity of the body with which he was clothed. Now when he was with the other monks his companions shaking down the olives from the olive trees in the large garden of the community, having gone up into one of the trees he slipped down between the fork of the branches, and his testicles were crushed. And he fell into a severe illness and these members had to be cut off from him altogether, and

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and a safe-conduct, الامان (Ya'ḳubî p. 564, l. 18). When Zuraiḳ came to him he sent him to the court of the Khalîfa, who at once ordered that all the wealth and possessions of Zuraiḳ and of his family should be confiscated. This order was not, however, strictly carried out, for Ḥumaid entered into negotiations with Zuraiḳ's brethren, and part of Zuraiḳ's wealth was returned to his family.

he became a eunuch.[1] And as it is written concerning this matter by the fathers, and concerning those who cut off their members, "If [the members] have been cut off by sickness or by barbarians, the canon of the Church doth not reject a man, but let him take upon himself the grades of priesthood, and let him minister, and this shall become to him the merchandize of virginity;" and according to that which the wise man spake, "Woe to the man that worketh impurity upon his couch;" and that which the blessed Evagrius spake warningly, "At the time when [thou art] striving against impurity, excuse thyself from going to thy friend when he shall ask thee;" and from the fact that the fathers commanded us to be remote from the sight of these members—for by the sight of them the fire of desire which is implanted within us is stirred up, and it may happen that we shall not be able to hold ourselves against the force of passion—by the sickness which happened[3] to him Christ our Lord freed him from the necessity of handling and touching those parts which is an absolute loss of chastity. [p. 296] But perhaps the Divine dispensation arranged beforehand these things concerning him, so that when afterwards he should be appointed to act as shepherd to the city of his flock, he might rest in peace from the sight of the beautiful things of this world and its losses.

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[1] St. Matthew xix. 12.

[2] *I. c.,* Jesus, the Son of Sirach; compare ܠܓܒܪܐ ܕܡܥܒܕ ܟܠ ܐܣܘܦܬܐ ܕܒܨܥܪܗ܆ ܘܡܕܡ ܒܢܦܫܗ ܗܘܐ ܢܘܪܐ ܠܗ cap. xxiii. 15.

[3] See the extract from Bar-Bahlûl on St. Matthew xix. 12, quoted by Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 234; and Wright, *Catalogue Syr. MSS.*, p. 568, No. 7, col. 1.

And when he had gone forth from service in the monastery, he built himself a little cell far away from the community (which is well known to this day and in which there still exists an olive tree which the holy man himself planted), to the east of the monastery, and below the [Little] Fortress;[1] and when he had come to dwell in it, he made himself a place for weeping, and as he regarded himself as living in a grave he hid himself therein with humility and weeping of tears. And although he excused himself from the society of those who wished to increase in virtue by reading and conversing and singing the Psalms [with him], yet because he was a neighbour of the holy Mâr Cyriacus, whose history I have written a little above,[2] he visited him, and it was sufficient for him. For they had been fellow-workers in the monastery, and contemporaries; they were the children of one love, for they were to become the children of one kingdom;[3] they were the sons of one monastery, for they were about to become heads of the monasteries which are in heaven; one was their communion, for they lived under one directorship; one was their doctrine, for they had been made wise by the Master of teachers; fellows under one yoke were they, for they had both ploughed the same spiritual furrow; two mighty arms were they of one body, and two[4] brilliant eyes were they of one body; and both of them were appointed shepherds of cities, which are [situated] on the great river Tigris.

[1] See *supra*, p. 404, note 5.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 414—466.
[3] *I. e.*, the kingdom of heaven.
[4] Read ܕܬܪܬܝܢ.

the one to Bâlâdh, and the other to Shennâ. Now the blessed Narses so devoted himself to solitary meditation that he was never seen outside his habitation, |p. 297| and for many days according to the report which I heard handed down from one to another, he never went out even to his outer chamber;[1] but the gain and sweetness from this art with which a man enricheth and enjoyeth himself is only known and made manifest to those who have tasted it, and who have been consumed by the vision of beauty which is produced from thence. "For quietness of the body," saith the blessed Abbâ Isaiah,[2] "begetteth peace of the mind; for by the peace of the mind, and the keeping watch upon the body which resulteth [therefrom], and by prayer and reading, and by the other works of the ascetic life, the soul acquireth unity with Christ, and becometh with Him one spirit. Blessed is the man who endeth his life in such employments, for, being crowned with diadems of light, as it is said, he entereth into heaven." For living in solitude did not magnify and glorify the saints[3] of the new [dispensation] and

[1] The MSS. have ܠܒܪܕܘܣܬܗ, but read ܠܒܪܕܘܣܬܗ.

[2] For quotations from Isaiah the work Περὶ τηρήσεως τοῦ νόος in twenty-seven chapters should be consulted. See Φιλοκαλια των ἱερων Νηπτικον 1872, p. 33 f.

[3] ܠܩܕܝܫ̈ܐ. Note the construction of the subject with ܠ, which Thomas of Margâ seems to have copied from Biblical language; compare ܘܐܝܬ ܠܗܘܢ ܡܠܟܐ ܥܠܝܗܘܢ. ܠܡܠܐܟܐ ܕܬܗܘܡܐ Revelation ix. 11. See Gesenius, Thesaurus, p. 732, col. 2 (in the middle); Ewald, *Gram.*, p. 310; Agrell, *Supplementa syntaxeos Syriacae*, 1834, p. 132, § 60, and in *Appendicula ad supplementa sua Syntaxeos Syriacae*, Greifswalde, 1838, p. 5; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gram.*, § 307; and Hoffmann, *De Hermeneuticis apud Syros Aristotelis*, p. 185, col. 1. 29 ff.

the righteous men of the new [dispensation only], so that they became gods among men, but heathen philosophers also, before the coming of our Lord, and before the revelation of His dispensation, gained therefrom the riches of sublime and glorious knowledge, and they enriched others [thereby]. Pythagoras[1] the master of philosophers, from the experience which he had gained during a long [interval of] time, said, "Without the lying fallow of the body in restraint, and the silence of the tongue from speaking, philosophy can never be acquired." And he commanded all those who were being taught in his school to keep silence for five years, and the entrance to wisdom was taught by him in that school by hearing and sight only. And the wise man Homer,[2] having lived in the desert for many years making his mind to fly about collecting knowledge, [p. 298] arrived at a subtle perception which he received through solitude and silence; and by means of chemicals, and fire, and a furnace he transmuted lead into silver,[3] and brass into gold, and formed precious stones

[1] Pythagoras, the son of Mnesarchus a merchant or seal engraver, was born at Samos about B. C. 570. He is thought to have visited Egypt, Syria, Babylonia and India. The Pythagorean theory of happiness was that it consisted of the science of the perfection of the virtues of the soul.

[2] *I. e.,* Homer the Poet, who was reputed among the ancients to possess a great knowledge of medicine and physical science. See Fabricius, *Bibliothecae Graecae*, Hamburg, 1714, tom. ii. Bk. 2, cap. 6, § 13; and Tiraquellus, *De Nobilitate*, Frankfort 1597, tom. I. cap. 31, pp. 133, 138. For Homer the physician who flourished about the time of Melanthus, King of the Athenians, see Fabricius, *Bibliothecae Graecae*, tom. xiii. Bk. VI. cap. IX.

[3] For the theories of Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles,

by means of a preparation of herbs, from these common things [about us], and other things from other materials. And concerning Plato,[1] who was wiser in philosophy than all [other men], and who obtained a splendid reputation among the Athenians, it is said and written that he built himself a cell in the heart of the wilderness, beyond the habitation of man,[2] and that he took the covenant of the blessed Moses, and

Aristotle, Anaxagoras and others upon metals and their alloys, etc., see Hoefer, *Histoire de la Chimie depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à notre époque,* Paris, 1842, tom. i. pp. 65, 108 ff. On the whole subject of ancient Alchemy (الكيمياء *al-kîmiyâ*, from Gr. χημεία or χημία, which in its turn seems to be derived from an Egyptian word meaning "preparation of the black),"see the excellent article *Chemie* by Hoffmann in Ladenburg's *Handwörterbuch der Chimie* (in the *Encyklopaedie der Naturwissenschaften,* Breslau 1884), Bd. XVI. p. 2, pp. 516—530; Kopp, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chemie*, 1869; and the article *Pierre Philosophale* in Migne, *Encyclopédie Théologique*, tom. 46, col. 1173.

[1] Πλάτον δὲ ὁ φιλόσοφος, ἐκ τῶν τὰ περὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν ὠφεληθεὶς; see Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, i. xxv; and compare the quotation from Numenius the Pythagorean in Eusebius, *Praepar. Evang.*, xi. 10., at the end (Migne, *Patrol. Cursus.* Ser. Graec. tom. xxi. col. 873). Thomas of Margâ here repeats one of the many mythical stories related of Plato. Lactantius (*Institut.* iv. 2) made him travel to the Magi and Persians; Clemens (*Cohortationes* 46) made him travel to the Babylonians, Assyrians, Hebrews and Thracians: others declared that he was acquainted with the doctrines of Zoroaster and with Persian magic; but all thesestatemen ts are pure inventions, as we may see from Brucker, *Historia critica Philosophiae a mundi incunabulis ad nostram usque aetatem deducta*, Leipzig, 1742—67, tom. i. p. 635, and Zeller, *Plato and the Older Academy* (trans. by Alleyne and Goodwin), London 1876, p. 14.

[2] Read ܡܥܡܪ ܒܢܝܢܫܐ.

meditated on the verse, "Hear,[1] O Israel, the Lord thy God is One," for three years, until God, the Lord of all saw his toil and trouble and granted His mercy unto him, and he wrote, saying, "The God of the Jews is one in nature, and three in Persons," and behold this composition on His similarity of nature and unity, and on the Trinity of Persons and their attributes is [extant] in the books of the Church. And it is said concerning him, and written also in another [place], that once when he was occupied in trying to think out some speculation concerning created things, he travailed in [his] mind, and was brought low, and [fell] into great toil and affliction; but when he had plucked out[2] his [earthly] desires, and had become aware of his contemplative power, and had been persuaded from within, [saying] "Verily I have attained unto some of it", he remained silent in joy three whole nights and days without any movement whatever. And the master of physicians, and the teacher of great doctors,[3] Hippocrates[4] the philosopher, by means of all the wisdom which he received from solitude and silence, penetrated deeply with his mind sagaciously into the strife[5] of mental investigations, and he learned to understand how the child is nourished in the womb of its mother. [p. 299] And if upon the heathen who are aliens, and who are remote from spiritual knowledge,

[1] Deuteronomy vi. 4.

[2] Hoffmann would read here ܘܟܕ ܢܬܦ ܠܪ̈ܓܝܓܬܗ ܦܣܩܗ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܢܝܘܬܐ.

[3] ܪܒܐܣܘ̈ܬܐ = ἀρχίατρος. See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 386.

[4] Born at Cos about B. C. 460.

[5] ܒܡܨܘܬܐ does not give very good sense, but we might read ܒܡܨܥܝܘܬܐ "by means of."

God the Lord of all bestowed the wisdom which they sought after, or by reason of their affliction, or as it were for the benefit of others by the labour of the deepest tranquillity and silence and absence from mankind, made them glad, how much [more] to the holy men who keep His commandments, and who train themselves according to His will by hunger and thirst, and suffering, and tears, and prayer day and night, will He give not [only] the wisdom of [this] world, which they have not sought after, but the kingdom for which they suffer, and make them to enjoy the pledge of it here?

Now the holy man Mâr Narses received a gift of the fruits of a tranquil life which is beloved by all the fathers, and which is the completion of all excellence, that is to say a constant flowing of tears which never ceased from him. And an old man from this monastery whose name was Tûmânâ, whom I have mentioned in the history of Rabban Cyriacus, told me that when the blessed Narses came to the congregation he used to wrap himself up in the covering of his cap[1] so that the flowing of his tears might not be seen; now this was also said of him by the believing men of Shennâ. And when one of the brethren asked a certain old man, saying, "How is it, father, that although my soul desireth tears they are not given to it?" he replied to him, "My son, tears are the land of promise, for as long as a man is without tears he journeyeth in the wilderness with the children of Israel; but when he arriveth at the gift of tears he entereth

[1] ܟܘܒܥܐ = الْقُبْع, الْبُرْنُس, البيرون and التَسْمير See Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. fol: 326*b*, col. I.

into the land of promise.[1] And because this great gift, for which not every man is sufficient, is much needed for the watching of humility,[2] [p. 300] a man should train himself to despise himself and to hold everything in contempt in such a manner as not to be deprived of this great wealth and gift." And let him hearken unto the advice with which the blessed Evagrius ordereth him, saying, "Even though thou shouldst have a fountain of tears in thy prayer, be not in any wise exalted in thyself, [thinking] that thou art greater than many [other men], for thou wilt [only] have received help from thy prayer [when] thou hast discovered [how] to confess thy sins with diligence, and to pacify thy Lord by thy tears. Do not then turn to the passion of pride that which is the destroyer of the passions, lest peradventure thou shalt offend the more Him that hath bestowed grace upon thee; for there are many who have wept for their sins, but because they have forgotten the end and aim of tears they have been smitten with madness." And the blessed Mark the monk saith, "If thou hast tears in thy prayer be not lifted up, for Christ hath drawn near to thine eyes, and thou hast

[1] Interrogavit frater quidam senem, dicens: Quomodo desiderat anima mea lacrymas, sicut audio senes lacrymantes, et non veniunt, et tribulant animam meam? Et dixit senex: Filii Israël post quadraginta annos intraverant in terram repromissionis. Lacrymaė igitur sunt sicut terra repromissionis, ad quas si perveneris, jam non timebis bellum. Ita enim vult Deus affligi animam, ut semper desideret ingredi in terram illam." Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 567, No. 27. "Adversus eum qui te impugnat, gladium lacrymarum exacue". Rosweyde, *op. cit.*, p. 613, No. 5.

[2] For ܕܡܟܟܘܬܐ; compare text p. 308, l. 5.

obscurely seen the Light." And because in proportion as the soul is exalted to the height of excellence, mighty adversaries make attacks upon it, according to the words of the holy Evagrius, |let a man| spiritually adorn himself with the deepest humility, and with watchfulness of every thing round about him through abstraction and contemplative power, lest peradventure when he conquereth in the war of fornication, he whom he hath overcome may accidentally ensnare him, and he be led captive by the Evil One to the cruelty of wrath, or even if he endure this he fall[1] into the abyss of envy and anger, or if he be free from these things he be led astray by avarice and vain-glory. For it is more difficult to preserve excellence than it is to labour for it, even as saith a certain holy man, |p. 301| "If thou shouldst put all the labours of virtue on one side, and the observance[2] of them on the other, the observance of them would outweigh them;[3] for the glory of the actions of a man's life and the purity of his heart are like unto the entrance into the love of his Lord, and Christ will thus sanctify him to be a pure temple unto Him." For in this manner doth act that gracious Lord Who doth not withhold the hire of those who labour in the garden of His Gospel. And when He findeth a pure spot He sanctifieth it for the dwelling of His Will, and crowneth it with the glorious honour of the revelations of His wonders, and when it is manifest to His inscrutable wisdom that the hidden pupils of the eyes of a man, which are within, cannot be injured by the glorious brightness of the beauties

[1] Read ܢܦܘܠ. [2] Read ܘܡܛܘܪܬܗܝܢ.

[3] Put a point after ܢܓܗܝܢ.

of his splendours, He maketh him to be an altar of His revelations, and He maketh the mind to be a priest in the holy of holies of the heart,[1] which is within, with secret hymns of praise which are akin to the holy hymns of spiritual beings. And this holy man concerning whom our insipid narrative relates lived in the enjoyment of such things as these for many years and excelled; but the time draweth nigh, indeed hath already come when he must receive the ordination[2] of the five talents,[3] and must administer like a wise servant the treasures of his master to the members of the house.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE ELECTION OF THE HOLY MÂR NARSES TO BE BISHOP OF THE CITY OF ḲÂRDÂLÎÂBHÂDH WHICH IS SHENNÂ.

[P. 302] Now since the spirit of the Prophets is subject unto Prophets, and [since] revelations conceive a fulfilment before the time for their being carried out hath arrived, because they are made manifest and pointed out by a hand which is of the Holy Spirit, so also according to[4] the spiritual vision which the blessed Mâr Cyriacus, Bishop of Bâlâdh, had seen some years before—as I have made known above—concerning the election of the holy Mâr Narses and of many others, the time drew near and came for him to be

[1] Read ܕܠܒܐ.

[2] On the ordination of bishops see *B. O.*, iii. II. p. 684ff.

[3] St. Matthew xxv. 15.

[4] Read ܗܘ ܐܝܟ.

appointed to the direction of the Church. Now he[1] was made manifest by the hand of God through the blessed father, Shûbhḥâl-Mâran, the ascetic and head of the Monastery of Shennâ, the murder of whom we are about to describe in this history, and he made known to those believing men that the Spirit of the Lord had set apart the holy Mâr Narses, the ascetic from Bêth 'Âbhê, to be a shepherd and governor of their church. And Christ also urged them through him to go after him without delay, and they went down to the pious Mâr Timothy, and made known to him that he must ordain as their Bishop Rabban Narses the solitary and ascetic. And Mâr Timothy wrote [and sent] by their hands a canonical letter ordering Mâr Narses not to dispute the Divine choice, and when this blessed man had read it,[2] and saw that in any case he was bound and compelled to appear before the Patriarchal throne, he assented to the Divine Will and departed with them, and was consecrated by the Patriarchal hands and by the prayers of the chief priests, and he was reckoned like Matthias[3] in the series and company of the priests of the Church. How very fitting is it to introduce in this place the Divine word which was spoken by the Lord to the holy prophet Zechariah,[4] saying, "Take of [them of] the captivity, [even] of Hûldî (Heldai), of Ṭûbhyâ (Tobijah), and of Idha'yâ (Jedaiah), and go into the house of Josiah the son of Zephaniah, who hath come from Babylon; take his silver and his gold, and make a crown and put [it] on the head of Îshô' bar-Yôzâdhâḳ, the high priest."

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[1] *I. c.*, Narses.

[2] Read ܩܪܐܗ.

[3] Acts i. 23.

[4] Zechariah vi. 10.

[p. 303] Now when [Mâr Narses] had gone into his city, and had been received with the ceremony and honour of which his piety was worthy, the city of Shennâ became enviable[1] in the sight of the other cities, and [it was] as if the psalm of the blessed David[2] had been said of them, "The Lord hath multiplied to do these [things] for us," and they had answered, "The Lord hath multiplied to do for us, and we are glad," and again, "The Lord hath brought back upon us His good gifts together with His gracious acts like the water brooks that are in the South."[3] And the holy [Mâr Narses], like a vigilant watchman of the flock which had been entrusted to him, kept a strict and careful watch on all sides upon the sheep of his flock that none of those believing men under his pastoral care might stray in the slightest degree from what was right. And he became like a wall to that flock, and like a spiritual boatman he held the oars of that spiritual ship, and guided it through the storms and waves of [this] world, and brought it to the mansions of heaven. And like a wise gardener he cleansed and purified from it as from a garden all the bad shoots and stubborn roots, and he drew water for the fruit-bearing trees, and he made the sweet herbs to grow up and to flourish, and he protected their fruit that

[1] ܡܬܚܣܡܢܘܬܐ. No example of this word seems to be recorded in the *Thesaurus* of Payne Smith.

[2] Psalm cxxvi. 3, 4.

[3] Thomas seems to be quoting from memory, for the text reads:—

ܕܐܣܓܝ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܥܡ ܗܠܝܢ ✡
ܐܣܓܝ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܡܥܒܕ ܠܢ: ܘܗܘܝܢ ܒܚܕܘܬܐ ✡
ܐܗܦܟ ܡܪܝܐ ܫܒܝܢ ܐܝܟ ܦܨܝܕܐ ܕܒܬܝܡܢܐ ✡

they might not be injured[1] by the wiles of Satan their adversary, who is accustomed to put tares in the place of choice wheat. And in order that when the account of their reckoning and what they had lost should be demanded from them, he might in very truth give an answer on their behalf, he diligently examined and scrutinized and looked carefully into all the affairs of those under his pastoral charge. And while he was occupied and employed in working with such care as this, and was meditating upon everything which belonged to it by right, [p. 304] the Holy Spirit bestowed upon him another gift of the power of healing, so that every pain and sickness to which his blessing and holy right hand drew near departed without delay from the body in which it was. And he received the spirit of revelation, and attained unto the knowledge of things which were afar off, and as the Prophets and Apostles in their times, the times when justice, and righteousness, and chastity, and piety of life had fled from the world, proclaimed peace upon all men and departed, so the holy man triumphed,[2] and in his days restored the gift of miracles which had been taken away from the world, and the name of Christ was magnified in the mouth of the heathen, and honour was accorded to the solitary and ascetic life through which his holiness had flourished; and until the end of his life his city remained unharmed by any injury either secret or manifest.[3]

[1] ܕܟܠ at the beginning of line 15 should begin line 16.

[2] Read ܐܬܢܨܚ

[3] *I. e.*, he extirpated heresies which were the hidden diseases of the minds of his people, and he healed their bodies of the wounds which were open to the light of day.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE SPIRITUAL CONTEMPLATION AND OF THE INTELLECTUAL PLEASURE IN THE THREE [KINDS OF] SPIRITUAL MEDITATIONS, ON THE CORPOREAL, ON THE INCORPOREAL, AND ON THE HOLY TRINITY, IN WHICH THE HOLY MÂR NARSES WAS TRAINED AND MEDITATED PHILOSOPHICALLY.

Certain of the fathers have written in their books that there existeth in the heart a glorious intellectual mirror which the Creator of natures formed from all the visible and spiritual natures which are in creation for the great honour of His image, and as a means for discovering His invisibility; and He made it a tie, and a bond, and a completion of all natures. Now the fathers call it the "beauty of our person," and by Saint Paul it is called the "house of love," and by the doctors the "house of peace," and by the wise the "house of goodness," and by others the "house of joy," [p. 305] in which dwelleth the spirit of adoption which we have received from holy baptism, and upon it shineth the light of grace. And whosoever hath cleansed this mirror of beautiful things from the impurity of the passions and from sin, and hath renewed it and established it in the original condition of the nature of its creation, can see by the light of its glorious rays all spiritual things which belong to natures and to things of creation which are afar off and which are near. And he is able by the secret power of the Holy Spirit to look into them closely as if they were all arranged in order, without any covering whatever, before his eyes. And when the working of God dawneth upon the souls of holy men there dwelleth and

abideth[1] upon it this gift of the Holy Spirit, and He bestoweth this gift upon the good, and maketh them to possess life and happiness for ever. And even thus, according to what I have heard from those who saw his glorious deeds, was the holy man of whom we are about to speak worthy [of this gift].

Now there was in the Monastery of the holy Abbâ Simon of Shennâ,[2] an old man whose name was Mârî, and this man related to me concerning[3] the holy man, that inasmuch as the blessed man was endowed with the knowledge [of God], and his mind was continually carried away towards God, he was unable to keep himself from this holy contemplation; and as in [the case of] many [other] things he was prevented from going down to the service of the Holy Mysteries on the first days of the weeks, it was thought by the believers that he acted thus by reason of the weight of his old age. And it came to pass on a certain first day of the week, when he was forced by the elect of God, Rabban Shûbhḥâl-Mâran, the head of our monastery, to be with him in the pulpit for the performing of the service of the church, that Mâr Shûbhḥal-Mâran saw that he was occupied in meditating upon this subject and in doing so he saw that he became unconscious of every human feeling and movement, so much so that he was utterly unmindful of the necessary acts which

[1] Read ܘܡܫܟܢܐ.

[2] This sentence is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 225, col. 2. According to 'Abhd-Îshô' Simon composed certain Metrical Homilies and Funeral Orations (*B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 226); he died before A. D. 790.

[3] The MSS. have ܡܛܠܠܬܗ but read ܡܛܠܬܗ.

the service of psalmody required, [p. 306] to sit down[1] for the *keryânê*[2], and to lead off in the *exordia*,[3] and he saw that his eyes were closed and that he did not know where he was. And as soon as Rabban Shûbhḥâl-Mâran had gone up with him to his cell, he fell at his feet and took an oath, saying, "I will not stand up again until thou shalt have revealed unto me concerning the vision which was seen by thee in the church." And the holy Mâr Narses having required the head of the monastery to keep this matter secret until his death, answered and said to him, "Every time I am in the church during the service of the Mysteries, my mind is lifted up above the sight of these things which are done during the service, and above the church and its congregation, to the things

[1] "Before the reading of the *Keryânâ* the deacon exclaims aloud: 'Sit down, and be silent;' and when it is ended, the people rise at the bidding of the same minister, who then gives notice of the short psalm which is to follow, and which is then taken up and sung by the officiating priest. This psalm is called *Shûrâyâ*, and generally consists of two verses taken from the Psalter to which the *Gloria Patri* is added. The Shûrâyâ, therefore, appears to hold the same place in the Nestorian liturgy, as the tractus does in the Roman, the προκείμενον in the Constantinopolitan, and the *psalmellus* in the Milan liturgies." Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 20.

[2] The *keryânê*, *i. e.*, "Readings", consist of extracts from the Old Testament and the Acts of the Apostles. The first *keryânâ* is always from the Old Testament, and in a few cases the second Lesson also; but this latter is more generally taken from the Acts of the Apostles. See Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 19.

[3] See Wright, *Catalogue of Syriac MSS in the British Museum*, p. 131, col. 2, No. 4.

which are in heaven; and these things which are before my eyes are explained [mystically] by the things which are secret and hidden from every man. The church which is depicted before me [represents] that of Jerusalem[1] which is upon earth; the platform (βῆμα) which is in it [represents] Zion; the altar which is in it represents the ark of the Old Covenant; the cross which is upon it, and the Book of the Gospels [represent] the New Covenant and the throne[2] of Christ at the time of His dispensation here, and the connexion[3] which both Covenants possess, each with the other; the body of priests which are in it [represents] the companies of the Apostles; and the path[4] [leading] from the platform to the cupola[5] above the platform the narrow path which goeth up to heaven.[6] The three steps which are before the platform [symbolise] the third heaven whither the blessed Paul was taken up;[7] the *ḳesṭrômâ* the place [which extends] from this [earth] to the firmament; the screen[8] which is over the door of the chancel, and the veils which are upon it indicate to me a type of the firmament.[9] The chancel [symbolises]

[1] Compare the mystic comparison of parts of the temple quoted in full in *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 534, col 2. ܐܡܪ ܠܗ ܕܫܠܝܡܘܢ ܠܡܫܟܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܫܠܡܐ. ܫܘܠܡܗ ܠܗܝܟܠܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ: ܠܥܕܬܐ ܕܝܢ ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܘܡܬܒܠܗ ܠܥܕܬܐ ܕܡܫܝܚܐ: ܠܡܠܟܘܬܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ. ܘܡܛܐ.

[2] Read ܘܠܟܘܪܣܝܐ.   [3] Read ܘܠܚܝܠܘܬܐ.

[4] The ܫܒܝܠܐ seems to have been a narrow staircase leading from the ground up to the cupola where there may have been a gallery.

[5] ܩܘܢܟܐ = κόγχη.   [6] St. Matthew vii. 14.

[7] 2 Corinthians xii. 2.   [8] ܦܪܩܛܐ = φράκτη.

[9] The ܦܪܩܛܐ, *i. e.*, "screen" or "lattice," which formed the middle opening part of the wall of partition, separated the

the place which is above the heavens;[1] [p. 307] the naos[2] [symbolizes] the heaven of heavens and the Divine Shechinah;[3] and the veils[4] which are upon it [indicate] that the Godhead is hidden even from the angels. The altar [represents] the throne of the Deity; the priests [represent] the angels, the three congregations of which are in heaven divided into nine companies. The Cherubim, Seraphim and Thrones [which form]

chancel from the nave. It stood either upon the third or highest step leading to the ܡܕܒܚܐ, or by the side of the lowest step on the floor of the nave. The ܩܢܟܠܝܣܐ seems to have been the partition wall to the right and left of the door of the ܡܕܒܚܐ, and its width must have been equal to the depth of the three steps. According to this theory the ܩܢܟܠܝܣܐ would very well represent the ܬܪܥܐ ܕܫܡܝܐ.

[1] We should expect ܫܡܝܐ.

[2] Here ܢܘܣܐ seems to = κιβώριον (see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 653), called also ܦܬܘܪܐ, the coffer or chest in which the eucharistic elements were placed; it also was veiled. See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 3240. The ܢܘܣܐ must have been a central part of the nave.

[3] See the Targûm of Onkelos on Exodus xxix. 45, 46; and Buxtorf [ed. Fischer], *s. v.* שְׁכִינְתָּא.

[4] Compare τετράβηλον, Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 186.

[5] Compare ܩܢܘܢ ܗܝܟܠܐ ܕܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܘܟܬܐ ܗܝ ܕܠܥܠ ܡܢ ܫܡܝܐ ܘܩܕܘܫ ܩܘܕܫܐ ܕܝܠܗ ܫܡܝ ܫܡܝܐ. ܘܫܟܝܢܬܐ ܐܠܗܝܬܐ ܕܐܦ ܡܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܟܣܝܐ ܗܝ ܐܠܗܘܬܐ: ܡܕܒܚܐ ܕܝܢ ܟܘܪܣܝܐ ܕܐܠܗܘܬܐ: ܟܗܢܐ ܕܝܢ ܡܠܐܟܐ ܗܢܘܢ. ܕܬܠܬ ܬܓܡܝܢ ܘܬܫܥ ܛܟܣܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܒܫܡܝܐ ܟܪܘܒܐ ܘܣܪܦܐ ܘܟܘܪܣܘܬܐ. ܘܡܪܘܬܐ ܘܚܝܠܘܬܐ ܘܫܘܠܛܢܐ ܘܪܝܫܢܘܬܐ ܘܪ̈ܫܢܐ ܘܡܠܐܟܐ ܘܪ̈ܒܝ ܡܠܐܟܐ. See *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 355, col. 2, cap. VIII. For a long discussion on the nine orders of angels by Solomon of al-Basra see Budge, *Book of the Bee*, pp. 9—11. "The Cherubim are an intellectual motion which bears the throne of the Holy Trinity, and at their head stands Gabriel; the Seraphim

the first congregation represent to me Patriarchs, Metropolitans and Bishops; the second congregation [which consists] of Powers, Lords and Rulers [represents] priests, and deacons, and solitaries; and the third congregation [which consists] of Principalities, Archangels and Angels [represents] sub-deacons, readers, and believing laymen. The lights which are in the chancel fill the place of Divine splendour, and the knowledge Divine in all things by which all the companies of spiritual beings sparkle and shine. The censer which hath been transmitted by the priests, from hand to hand, in order, from the priests of the early [period] to those of the middle [period], and from the priests of the middle period to those of these last times, [represents] the doctrine of the things which are about to come to pass, and of the things which must needs be, and which the Divine dispensation demandeth, and which the angels receive by teaching from one another. And the knowledge of things which are about to come to pass, and the insight into things which are hidden, and the

are a fiery motion; and the Thrones are a fixed motion. The Lords are a motion which is entrusted with the government of the motions beneath it; the Powers are the minister of the will of God; and Rulers are a motion which hath power over spiritual treasures. This class of angels governs the luminaries, the sun, moon and stars. The Principalities are a defined motion which possesseth the direction of the upper ether, of rain, cloud, lightning, thunder, whirlwinds, tempests, winds, etc.; the Archangels are a swift operative motion which governeth the animal creation and everything that hath life, from the gnat to the elephant; and the Angels are a motion which hath spiritual knowledge of everything that is on earth and in heaven. The number of each one of these classes of angels is equal to the number of all mankind from Adam to the resurrection."

gratification and joy which we receive therefrom are like unto the sweet scents which the censer breatheth forth in our holy temples. The gathering of us all in the church [symbolises] the universal assembling which [shall take place] before the face of our Lord in the celestial heights. Our choirs which face each other, and the service which is sung by two choirs,[1] represent those which cry each to each, and say, "Holy, Holy, Holy, is the Lord the mighty One,"[2] etc. So then by reason of the contemplation of these things which are before my sight,[3] O chosen one of Christ, I am exalted to the incorporeal congregations of the spiritual beings, and I forget myself, and I pass over by the mental faculty[4] which I abstract from these typical objects[5] to the prototype[6] which is depicted upon my understanding by these things which are above the world. [p. 308] And on account of this many, many times I have kept myself back from going into the holy temple on days of assembling for holy feasts, and since I am occupied in this enjoyment every first day

[1] *I. e.*, "antiphonally". See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 673, *s. v.*, ܠܘܕܪܐ; and ᾿Αντιφωνα and χορός in Du Cange, *Glossarium*, coll. 89, 1756. On the two choirs in modern Nestorian churches see Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 23.

[2] "And one cried unto another, and said, Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory." Isaiah vi. 3.

[3] Read ܚܙܝܢ.

[4] ܗܘܢܝܘܬܐ. An example of this word seems to be wanting in Payne Smith, *Thes.*

[5] ܛܘܦܣܢܝܬܐ. See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1448.

[6] ܦܪܨܘܦܐ *i. e.*, "exact image". See Payne Smith, *Thes.* col. 3113.

of the week, in order that I may not be accounted a drunkard and remote from knowledge and understanding of those things which are being performed during the festivals, I remain in my cell that I may not appear to be such to the simple and pure minds of the saints. For our Lord when pronouncing the Beatitudes spake, saying, Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see the living God;"[1] and again, "I and my Father will come, and we will make a dwelling with them";[2] and again, "I will dwell in you and walk in you, and they shall be one with us, even as Thou and I, O my Father, are one".[3]

And moreover this same very aged man Mâri who related to me the things [above] concerning [Mâr Narses], also told me saying:—"Once Abbâ Shûbhḥâl-Mâran asked him concerning the questions and answers of the old men which are written in the Book of Paradise,[4] saying, 'How is it, master, that the excellent Palladius was able to carry in his memory an innumerable multitude of questions and to set them down in writing? Have they not been altered since the time when they were spoken by the fathers and by those who asked them?' And the holy Mâr Narses answered him, saying, 'The histories of the holy fathers which have written above them [the statement] that they were composed by him, were actually written by him, but the questions and their answers he gathered together from the collections of the books of the Fathers. Now on the holy days of the Passover, [p. 309] and the Passion, and the Resurrection, when they were going forth

[1] St. Matthew v. 8. [2] St. John xiv. 23.
[3] St. John xvii. 21. [4] See Bk. ii. chap. 15, *supra*, p. 192.

from the restraint of fasting, between one service and the other, the holy fathers were accustomed to sit down with the novices before them, and scribes wrote down the questions which were asked and the explanations of them, and counsels, and answers, and they placed them in writing for their own benefit, and for the benefit of those who should come after them; and Divine grace worked upon the holy Bishop Palladius, and he gathered them together[1]. And this thought hath at times greatly troubled me also, but it was shewn to me secretly that these things were written down in this manner; and it is well known to us that the revelation and knowledge of this [matter] became known unto him by the hand of the holy angel which clave unto him."

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THOSE THINGS WHICH WERE WROUGHT BY THE HOLY MÂR NARSES, SOME BY SPIRITUAL VISION, AND SOME BY THE WORKING OF MIRACLES, AND OF THE END OF HIS LIFE.

If any man desireth to learn concerning all the wonderful acts and mighty deeds of healing which the holy man ever wrought, let him go to that believing city [of Shennâ,] and he will hear about all the glorious and excellent things which were performed by the hands of that holy person, not only from priests and deacons, and ordinary believing men, [p. 310] but also from a host of women and children, for behold, to this day his wonderful acts are spoken of daily. I, however,

will write down a few pleasant memorials [of him] out of the many things which I have heard concerning him, even as I have done in the case of the histories of the holy men his companions, leaving out the remainder which are beyond counting, for I must bring the writing of my history to a close. Now the venerable Eustathius told me that there were certain believing people[1] in the royal city of Bagdad who had an only son about twenty years old, who when he was three years of age had fallen sick of the palsy, and he was grievously afflicted by severe pains for seven years until he became abhorred by his parents by reason of this disease. And they would even have preferred his death [to his being alive]; for he received no benefit at all from the physicians, and he found no relief from the prayers and gifts which his parents distributed on his behalf among the needy. Now the blessed Mâr Narses had a man sick of the palsy in the house of a certain rich God-fearing believer in Bagdad, and one year the holy man went down to see the Catholicus Mâr Timothy. And when those people learned and heard from many concerning the gift of healing which the blessed man possessed, they went to Mâr Catholicus and entreated him to write to the holy man Mâr Narses to command that the boy should be brought to him, so that he might pray over him, that peradventure by [his] help he might receive healing. And

[1] ܗܘܦܠܐ, the common people as opposed to the nobility. Compare ܘܗܘ ܕܟܪܐ ܡܫܠܟ ܗܘܦܠܐ ܥܠ ܦܪܫܐ: ܒܡܫܡܘܫܐ ܣܓܝ ܕܝܢ ܡܫܪ. (Land, *Anecdota*, tom. ii. p. 315, l. 5); Brit. Mus. MS. Oriental 2441, fol. 327*b*, col. 1, where ܗܘܦܠܐ is explained by ܥܡܐ and ܠܗܘܢ ܕܡܣܟܢܐ; and Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 3580.

he wrote through them [to him], saying, "Inasmuch as thy holiness hath received the gift from the Holy Spirit, which hath prepared for itself the working of mighty deeds, [p. 311] and cures of sicknesses according to thy piety through the virtues of the spirit and of the body which it hath gathered together and placed [in thee], and inasmuch as our Lord hath trusted thee to be steward of His household, and to work wonderful deeds, and hath set me in the third[1] grade of teaching, as the blessed Paul glorieth, and inasmuch as these believing people have required of me to write to thy holiness to command them to bring to thee their sick son who is struggling with disease, I entreat thee to do this, and to let the young man be brought to thee, and to let him be blessed by thy holy right hand; and our Lord Christ shall heal him also of the infirmity which hath become confirmed in him, even as He hath healed others by thy hands". And when the blessed man had read the letter, he commanded them to bring the young man to him. And Eustathius swore that they took the young man, who was lying in his bed[2] upon his back and was unable to turn upon either side, to the upper chamber of the blessed man, and Mâr Narses commanded them, saying, "Go to your house, and at mid-day come and take away your son." And when they had come back according to his command and the masters of the house had informed him, he commanded the young man, who had been made whole and sound by the might of the prayer of the blessed

[1] "First apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles". 1 Corinthians xii. 28.

[2] ܠܩܛܝܩܘܢ = λεκτίκιον; see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 801.

man, and he went down the steps of the staircase of the gallery with leaps, like the paralytic whom the Apostles healed in Jerusalem;[1] and he induced and moved all men to give praise to God, the Lord of all, Who had visited our evil generation in the person of this holy man; and this thing was known throughout all the city.

[p. 312] And again there lived in the city of Shennâ a well-known believer, who had an only son, who when he was eight years of age departed from this world through the destructive work of magic. And when the blessed man heard the sound of the funeral service with which the boy was being carried to the cemetery, and the noise of the crowd, and the weeping of his parents as they arrived at the door of the church, he stood at the door holding the stick upon which his old age was supported, and commanded them, saying, "Enter in all of you, and [bring] the dead body with you, that we may perform a short service over it in the church"; and the people did so, and the bier was set down in the place where the services were held.[2]

[1] Acts iii. 1—10.

[2] ܒܝܬ ܬܫܡܫܬܐ, literally, "the place of the liturgy." It seems to have been that part of the church which was just in front of the ܒܝܡܐ, which was called by the Greeks σωλέα (see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 1513), and to which the Nestorians to-day give the name of ܒܘܕܘܣ. The bodies of laymen are not carried into the church as a general rule; see Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. ii. p. 297. The leader of the singing was called ܪܒ ܬܫܡܫܬܐ *i. e.*, κανονάρχος (Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 583). Some interesting remarks on the singing of the Psalms and their division into *kathismata*, and the hours for prayer will be found in Usener, *Der heilige Theodosios*, p. 45, l. 19

And the blessed man commanded every one to bow down in worship and to kneel, and he commanded the parents of the boy to untie the cords and bandages with which he was bound, and he took hold of his hand, and said to him, "By the might of our God, rise up", and the boy sat up alive. And the blessed man answered and said, "The death of your son was an act of magicians, but henceforth fear not, for he shall not suffer this mischance a second time;" and every one glorified God and returned to their houses.

Now the blessed man had as a disciple, a certain priest whose name was Cyprian, and this man told [me], saying, "One night while I was sleeping in the outer courtyard [of the house] of the holy man, and he was inside, he came out to me hastily, and stirred and roused me up, and he answered and said to me sadly, 'Rise up, my son, and take with thee a little bread and a jar of water, and a rope, and take with thee a donkey, and go quickly to the ruined village of Ḥammîmâ, and go into a ruined house which is in such and such a place, and behold there is there a dry well into which a man has fallen, and thieves threw him into it two days ago; draw him up and lift him out, and feed him with bread and water, and set him upon the animal and bring him hither'. [p. 313] And I answered and said to him, 'Be patient a little, master, and with the dawn I will set out, for I am afraid lest some harm should happen to me on the road during the night time.' And the holy man answered and said to me, 'My son, go quickly before that stranger die, and

(and note on p. 150); p. 154, and p. 49, l. 5 (and note on p. 153).

I will be a pledge to thee that neither evil hap nor injury shall befall thee.' "And", said Cyprian, "through [my] confidence in the word of the blessed man I did what he commanded me, and I went to the ruined village according to the indications which he had given me. And I stood above the well, and I cried out, and there answered me [a man] who chattered like a bird, and I drew him up, and lifted him out, and I brought him to the city to Mâr Narses. And he remained with him until he was healed of the bruises and wounds in his limbs, and with a blessing he bestowed upon him a prayer for the way, and sent him away from his house."

"And again, one day at dawn he called me, and said to me, 'Go to-day to the banks of the Tigris and command the sailors that not one of them unmoor his boat to cross over to the other side, that their ships be not broken and sunk, for a violent storm is about to arise through a mighty wind'—now this wind actually arrived—; 'and the boat and all the cargo of every man who doth not receive what I have said shall perish', now it was the season of the great flood when the rivers Tigris and the Little Zâb overflow."[1]

[1] The overflow of the Tigris and Zâb rivers is caused by the melting of the snow in the mountains where they rise. The first spring flood takes place about the middle of February and in a few days the river rises several feet and floods all the low-lying country on each side of its banks. In February 1889, while I was at Môṣul carrying on excavations at Kouyunjik for the Trustees of the British Museum, the water reached nearly to the mound of Kouyunjik, and about two months later it actually touched its base which is several feet above the normal height of the river. The little river Ḥôser (in Assyrian

"And again, on another occasion, there began to be a pestilence in the city of Mâr Narses, and the believers entreated him to allow them to decree a solemn supplication to God on account of this. And he said to them, 'That we should make a solemn supplication is a good thing to do, but death, which is your master, [p. 314] will not be stayed unless he hath taken from among your souls according to the number which God hath decreed shall be taken from you as a punishment.' Now he privily made known the number to his disciple, and when this limit was reached the sword of death rested and stayed."

) became a mighty stream, and it was not hard to understand how very materially this river which Sennacherib tells us he brought to Nineveh (Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia,* vol. iii. pl. 14, l. 11), must have helped to destroy the palaces of his great city. The yellow Tigris flowed along with its swollen stream at the rate of 5½ or 6 miles an hour, and small rafts reached Bagdad in 4½ days, including stoppages of a few hours each night. The distance from Môṣul to Bagdad viâ Kerkûk is about 300 miles, and I believe the distance by river to be about 400. The greatest flood of the Tigris and Zâb takes place in April. It may be noticed that Thomas of Margâ used the Syriac form of the Old Assyrian word for "flood"; *i. e.*, ܡ̈ܠܘܐ = Assyrian *mi-lum;* see Strassmaier, *Wörterverzeichniss,* No. 5294, p. 658; Bruno, *A Classified List,* Leyden 1887, p. 466, No. 11538; Smith, *Sennacherib*, p. 146, l. 52; Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. 1. pl. 57, col. vii. l. 51; and Norris, *Assyrian Dictionary*, pt. iii. p. 789. Floods on the Tigris are often accompanied by violent south-east winds which literally blow craft *up* the river or into the banks, and it is necessary to cut the bridges of boats until the wind and stream subside.

"Now there was an exceedingly wicked Arab who surpassed all those who lived in his time and after him in his cruelty and plunderings, and his name was Ya'lê bar-Ḥimrân of Beni-Taimlah,[1] which is in this country of Adiabene. And this man having brought himself to execute all wickedness, the [shedding of] blood and the slaughter of men were regarded by him as the slaughter[2] of snakes and scorpions, and his conscience never pricked him because of the blood of the holy men which he cruelly shed. And this man destroyed the Monastery of the holy Rabban Mâr Job, and the Monastery of Bêth Nestorius and the Monastery of Margânâ,[3] and he left many places without an inhabitant. He rode a mare without saddle or bridle, and none of the governors was able to overtake him because he could travel in one night twenty *farsaḥ*, more or less, at a rapid rate, and while he was heard of in this country to-day, to-morrow he was heard of in a very distant one. Now[5] this utterly wicked man went down to the Monastery of the holy Abbâ Simon, and he went up covertly to the cell of Rabban Shûbhḥâl-Mâran, the head of the monastery, and slew him. And it was revealed to the blessed Mâr Narses, and Cyprian his disciple said, 'When deep sleep falleth

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[1] *I. e.*, يَعْلَى بن حمران من بنى تَيْمُ اللّه. For the name يعلى see Ibn al-Athîr, tom. xiv. p. 663; and for تيم الله الاات see Ibn al-Athîr, vol. xiii. p. 197.

[2] Hoffmann suggests that we read ܕܩܛܠܐ ܗ̄ܘ ܕܚܘ̈ܘܬܐ.

[3] Hoffmann would point ܡܰܪܓܢܳܐ, Μαραγνα?

[4] The ܦܪܣܚܐ, Arab. فَرْسَخ, Gr. παρασάγγης = about three English miles.

[5] The next three clauses are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 225, col. 2.

upon man,[1] with sadness and tears he cried to me, saying, [p. 315] 'Rise up, my son, and follow me, and let us go to the Monastery of Abbâ Simon;' and we went forth from the church and arrived at the Tigris, and he made the sign of the cross over the water and he took hold of me with his hand, and said to me, 'Come with me, and fear not.' And we crossed over, and went into the monastery, and he sent me to cry out and to knock at the door of the common-room, and the brethren came out, and I took them to him. And he answered and said to them, with tears, 'Woe to you my brethren, for your chief Shâbhḥâl-Mâran is slain;' and we all went to his cell, and we found that blessed old man smitten with knife and sword wounds. And upon this a great uproar arose, and that murderer from the top of a hill answered and said to us, 'I am Ya'lê bar-Ḥimrân, and I have slain the head of the monastery; after a time I will come and destroy you all.' The holy Mâr Narses said to him, 'If thou dost ever return here I will dry up the mighty river Tigris. The decree of the Highest hath gone forth against thee, and thou wilt be slain by the governor of the city of Ḥadhattâ in the village of Esṭrenyâ.' And thus our Lord actually did to that murderer, for wishing to come back again to Shennâ, the governor of Ḥadhattâ slew him in Esṭrenyâ according to the word of the holy man'."

"And also, one year when I for some reason or other was coming up from the low countries with the boatmen along the banks of the Tigris, there met me

[1] Compare Job iv. 13, and see Hoffmann, *Syr. Arab. Glossen*, No. 2481, p. 88.

above the city of Ḥadhattâ a certain fisherman whose name was Hêshîm,[1] and who having tied up his large net was wishing to cast his *gâwpâ*[2] into the river.

And he lifted it up in his right hand, and spake with his mouth, saying, 'In the name of the living God, and by the prayer of the holy Mâr Narses.'[3] And I said to him, 'How is it that being an Arab thou didst call upon the holy Mâr Narses, a Christian teacher, to help thee by his prayers?' [p. 316] He said to me, 'Upon which Mâr Narses thinkest thou that I called?' And I said to him, As I think, Mâr Narses the teacher who lived in Nisibis.'[4] He said to me, 'That Mâr Narses upon whom I called was the blessed Mâr Narses who was Bishop of Shennâ. For[5] when I was a boy with my father and we were fishing there, we used to see him continually crossing over upon the water at night-time from his city to the Monastery of Rabban Simon, and back again from the monastery to the city. And when he perceived that we had seen him, he sent his disciple after us early one day, and called my father to him, and he prayed and entreated of him that he would reveal [this] to no man until [after] the holy man's death. And he blessed us, and said to us, 'Every time

[1] Read ܗܐܫܡ (هاشم)?

[2] The ܓܘܦܐ was a long, narrow net with spikes of palm branches fixed in it from one end to the other.

[3] The custom of casting the net in the name of a stranger passing when fishermen are fishing is to this day common along the Tigris.

[4] For Narses, "the harp of the Spirit," and his work in the school of Nisibis see *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 63ff.

[5] The next seven clauses are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 226, col. 1.

ye fish, and ye make mention of the living name of God, the Lord of all, and the name of my sinfulness, an abundant catch of fish shall be brought back to you in a full net;' and from that time to this, whenever we have made mention of that holy man, we have made a large haul of fish in the Tigris.'"[1]

"And again, there was a certain Arab[2] who had never taken anything from any man by fraud or injury, and he was in want, and he went out one night to go and plunder and steal. And after the death of the blessed man he said, 'I went out to steal, being in want, and I crossed over the Zâb and went to the neighbourhood of Ekrôntâ,[3] I and two members of my household, and we took from there many sheep, and a quantity of other things, and we left the guardians who were there strongly bound and beaten. And when we were in the plain opposite Shennâ, behold the blessed man himself was coming towards us, and he met us above the Monastery which is named after Bar-Gâmêsh.[4] [p. 317] And when the mare which I was riding saw him—now it was a dark night without a moon—she pricked up her ears, and threw up her neck, and I knew that something had appeared to her; and I laid the pointed end of the spear on [her head] between

[1] Literally, "with an overflowing hand have we taken prey from the Tigris.

[2] ܛܰܝܳܝܳܐ On the form of this word see Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, p. 95. 6.

[3] ܥܩܪܘܢܬܐ *i. e.*, "little 'Akra," العُقَيْر.

[4] Assemânî gives ܕܝܪܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܓܡܫܐ (*B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 495, col. 1. l. 2), but all the MSS. known to me read ܕܝܪܐ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܕܒܪ ܓܡܫ.

her ears, and let go of the bridle, and she charged straight ahead against the blessed man who was coming on towards us without fear. And when I saw him I lifted up the spear and wished to drive it into him, and he answered in the Syriac tongue, and smiling said to me, 'O thou that hast a spear and a mare, smite me not.' And I answered and said to him, 'Who art thou?' And he said to me, 'I am Narses the Bishop.' And I got down from the mare and fell at his feet, for I was acquainted with the beauty of his holiness. And I said to him again, 'How hast thou come hither at this time [of night]? and who ferried thee across the river? and for what cause hast thou troubled thyself [to come out] at this time [of night]?' He said to me, 'I have come out for thy deliverance, and the Lord Who desireth not that thou shouldst live before Him a life of theft and fraud hath sent me; now take back everything which thou hast with thee, and go and set free those men from their bonds, and hand over to them everything which thou hast taken, and come[1] to me to my cell to-morrow privily, and I will give to thee more than that which thou hast taken by wickedness.' And when I saw that the man possessed so great renown that God had informed him concerning the iniquity which had taken place by my hands, and that God had not allowed me to be polluted by sins which I had never committed in the days of my youth, I promised[2] him that I would readily do it, and I did according to his will. [p. 318] Next morning I went to him without delay, and he brought out five hundred *zûzê* and gave to me, and he said

[1] Read ܘܠܡܫܟܢܬܝ ܠܘܬܝ. [2] Read ܐܫܬܘܕܝܬ.

to me, 'Buy thyself two yoke of asses, and buy wheat and sow a field, and behold thou shalt gather in a crop a hundredfold, and our Lord will make thee rich, and thou wilt not need to perform this disgraceful work; and it came to pass according to his word, and I gathered fruit a hundredfold, and by his blessing from being a poor man I became rich.'"

Now if I were to write down all his acts, how many sick he healed, how many evil devils he drove out from men, and what temptations and trials he endured from bad and vicious men, as well as all his glorious deeds, I think that much time would not be sufficient for this, and that many volumes[1] would not contain the multitude of mighty deeds and wonders which Christ wrought by his hands; and from the time when we began to write our history until now, it hath not been our intention [to do this], but only to give a brief account of each one of the holy fathers. So [Mâr Narses] finished the rest of his days, and rested in peace with all the just and upright men, and his holy body was laid in the holy church of that city, where the holy fathers [who were] Bishops before him lie; and his holy body in that holy church in which he performed the duties of priest, became a haven of help and a fountain of healing for all those who were attacked by any kind of pain and temptation, whether of bodily sickness, or affliction by cruel devils. May our Lord also shew compassion upon us by his prayers, that the remainder of our days may be made perfect according to His good will and pleasure, and may we

[1] Literally, "many rolls of paper." ܦܢ̈ܩܝܬܐ = ܡܓܠ̈ܬܐ.

make praise to ascend to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, now and always, and for ever and ever, Amen.

[P. 319] CHAPTER XVII.

THE HISTORY OF THE HOLY ABBÂ JOSEPH.

The greater number of the histories which I have written before this I have written down in order from hearsay and from tradition handed down from one [man] to the other; but the present history, which is now in my hands and which my discourse wisheth to set forth clearly, concerneth the holy and blessed life of Rabban Joseph, of whom I was a contemporary. And moreover I have been blessed by that God-worthy old man, for he departed from affairs of this mortal life to the everlasting[1] house of light in the first[2] year of my coming to this holy monastery [of Bêth 'Âbhê]. Now this blessed man came from the country of Bêth Garmai, from the district called Bêth Mĕshainânê, which is situated on the Lower Zâb, and from his youth up he was a disciple in this your monastery of Bêth 'Âbhê. And from the beginning of his coming out from the world he expelled from his heart all noxious thoughts and emotions, and he renounced every material thing absolutely, and he built himself a cell in that valley which is called Dakhyâ; and he dwelt therein all the days of his life with absolute poverty of the spirit, and he did not possess, according to what is said [about him, the quality] which may be called friendly affection.

[1] The MSS. have ܠܒܝܬ ܥܠܡ, but read ܠܒܝܬ ܥܠܡ.

[2] According to Bk. ii. chap. 40, Thomas of Margâ came to Bêth 'Âbhê A. H. 217 = A. D. 832.

During the whole period of his life he had neither companion nor disciple, and he either collected wheat from a little plot of cultivated ground which he had before his cell, or he went out to harvest with his fellow [monks], and from this he supplied his want in a very sparing manner. And in addition to all his excellent virtues, I observed also in that holy person, of whose prayers I am in need, the following method which he observed for guarding his feelings: namely, that he always looked straight before him, [p. 320] and that even when he was in his cell he never moved his neck to this side or to that to look at any place, so that the nerves of his neck and shoulders which went up his head, according to the arrangement of our natural construction, had become dried up, and he was only able to see such things as were quite near him at his feet, but other things which were a little way off, either to this side or to that, he could not see at all. The very old solitaries whom I found told [me] concerning him: "For forty years[1] he has neither lifted up [his head], nor seen the ceiling[2] of this temple," even as it is written of a monk like unto himself, "His eyes were destroyed, and his eyelids[3] were worn away, and the

[1] According to Palladius Abbâ Hôr of the "Cells" dwelt for twenty years in the church, and during this time he never lifted up his eyes or saw the ceiling.

[2] See Bk. ii. chap. 38, *supra*, p. 261, (text p. 122. 16).

[3] According to Brit. Mus. MS. Rich 7203, fol. 202*a*, col. 2, ܛܠܦ̈ܐ = الاَجْفَان and جُفُون "eyelids." Compare also [illegible]
[illegible]
Land, *Anecdota*, tom. ii. p. 24, l. 19; and Neo-Syriac *tilpâpê*, Socin, *Die Neu-Aram. Dialekte von Urmia bis Mosul*, Tübingen, 1882, p. 138, col. 1, l. 21.

flesh beneath them was seared and blackened by reason of the perpetual flow of his tears;"[1] and he ended his life peacefully, wishing to be known to no man, nor to be considered by any.

At that time when I was his contemporary the thievish Kartĕwâyê[2] came against us in great numbers, and they spoiled and seized all the monastery, and they went into all the cells, and took everything which they found; now since we all had taken refuge in flight to every hill, there was the greater opportunity for them to go about[3] quietly through all the common-rooms of the monastery and the cells, for it was daytime. And when they had set out and departed from the monastery, we all went back, and one of the brethren [who were] the neighbours of Abbâ Joseph went to see what had happened to that holy old man, and he found him sleeping the mid-day sleep in the little doorway[4] of

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[1] Thomas of Margâ here refers to Arsenius, of whom the following description is given by Palladius:— [Syriac text] (fol. 216*b*).

[2] See *supra*, p. 224, note 1.

[3] For the root [Syriac] see Bickell, *Carmina Nisibena*, p. 63, col. 1; Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 3571.

[4] ܐܒܘܠܬܐ fem. of ܐܒܘܠܐ Chald. אֲבַל, אוּבַל or אֲבוּלָא. The Syriac word ܐܒܘܠܐ seems to be derived from the Babylonian and Assyrian [cuneiform] *a-bul-lum* "gate," which is the Semitic translation of the Accadian **KA-GAL**; see Bruno, *A Classified List*, p. 172,

his habitation with the door open upon the old man for coolness. And he asked him, saying, [p. 321] "Father, whither didst thou flee from before the Kartĕwâyê who came against us this day, and who have carried off all our property?" And being astonished he answered and said, "My son, I did not perceive that thieves had been here;" thus did God guard that man from harm and trouble by those thieves.

Now the pious Ḥakîmâ, Bishop of Ghâwkai[1]—now one day I went to this blessed man to ask for his prayers, and to be blessed by him—told me [saying], "When I knocked [at his door] and he opened [it] to me, I sat down with him for a little, and [as] he dismissed me to go forth he brought out and gave me a small bowl,[2] the like of which for manner of make and appearance I had never seen. And he answered and said to me, 'Give this, my son, to such and such an old man, and take it for him as a gift of grace and say to him, Thy gift of grace is accepted, for since thou didst bring me cooked food in this bowl for three days [at a time] nothing was lacking to me.' For behold the Angel of the Lord had brought food to him even as He sent food to Daniel by the hands

No. 3892; Strassmaier, *Wörterverzeichniss*, No. 59, p. 13, and for the form *a-bu-la* see *The Tell el-Amarna tablets in the British Museum*, p. 87, No. 42, l. 39. For the Greek ἔμβολος see Du Cange, *Glossarium*, col. 378, and for native explanations of ܐܒܘܠܐ see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 11; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 12; and Hoffmann, *Syr.-Arab. Glossen*, No. 30, p. 6.

[1] ܓܘܟܝ was a town of Bêth Garmai which was situated near or on the Lower Zâb; see B. *O.*, iii. ii. p. 749.

[2] The MSS. have ܟܒܟܒ̈ but read ܟܒܟܒ.

of Habakkuk, from Judah to Babylon.[1] And I am certain that such was really the case, for when I had taken the bowl to that old man, and had repeated to him these things which Abbâ Joseph had said to me, he swore to me and assured me with an oath, saying, 'It is more than a year since I went to the cell of that blessed man.' Now the angel of the Lord in the form of that old man, had appeared to Abbâ Joseph, who bore hunger inside the door of his cell and who never went outside to knock at any human door to supply his need."

Now there was in this monastery a man whose name was Pâlôḥâ, and he was a hireling of the monastery, and was sent by those who were over the affairs of the monastery to cut wood [and to bring it] in a boat. Now Rabban Joseph had the day before gone to the holy Monastery of Rabban Mâr Îshô'-Zĕkhâ, which is called Gâṣṣâ,[2] [p. 322] and at the break of day he turned to come back, and Pâlôḥâ saw the holy man on the other side of the river, and he recognized that it was he; and he saw that when he had drawn near to the Zâb he made the sign of the cross and crossed over upon the top of the water, and he drew near to him and saluted him. And when the old man saw and knew that Pâlôḥâ had perceived him care afflicted him, and he was troubled, and he adjured him, saying, "Thou art forbidden by the word of our Lord to make

[1] Compare ܘܗܘ ܐܝܬܝܗ ܠܚܒܩܘܩ ܠܒܒܠ ܒܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܐ ܡܠܐܟܝܐ, Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 77; and see Delitzsch, *Der Prophet Habakuk ausgelegt*, Leipzig, 1843; *History of the Destruction of Bel and the Dragon*, 33—39; Epiphanius, *De Prophetarum Vitis*, in Migne, *Patrol. Cursus*, Ser. Gr., t. 43, coll. 415—427.

[2] See Bk. ii. chap. 17, *supra*, p. 210.

known what thou hast seen until I depart [this] life;" and he left him and came to his cell. And Pâlôḥâ, paying no heed to the ban, neither fearing the oaths, related this before the whole brotherhood.

Now when I[1] lived in the service of the monastery I used to pasture a few cattle which we had in the monastery in the woods [which were] in the valley near the cemetery, and I heard from within the thicket the sound of bitter weeping, like that of one fastened in the stocks.[2] And at the noise of the mournful outcries I went softly into [the thicket] and found Abbâ Joseph sitting on the ground among the grass and plants and flowers—now it was the time of the month of Îyâr—and I saw him gathering dry grasses from among the green grass, which he brought with his hands before his face, and weeping bitterly he said, "The days of man are like the grass, and he groweth up like the herb of the field, which when the wind hath blown over it is not, neither is its place known;"[3] and again, "Man is like unto a vapour, and his days pass like a shadow;"[4] and he laid them down upon the ground. And again he gathered other grasses and after he had weeded out all the old, he passed his hand softly over the new, and embracing them said, "Verily the generations of flesh and blood are like unto the leaves of trees,[5] some of which fade and fall, and some of which grow up;" and he repeated these

[1] Thomas of Margâ is now speaking of himself.

[2] ܩܘܠܒܪܐ ܪܒܐ ܘܥܒܝܐ = ܣܕܐ "a large and thick fetter for the feet;" see Hoffmann, *Opuscula Nestoriana*, 153. 16.

[3] Psalm xc. 5, 6. [4] Psalm cxliv. 4.

[5] Compare Isaiah lxiv. 6; Psalm xc; Isaiah xl. 6, 7.

[words] with mournful sighs and groans while tears flowed down from his eyes abundantly. [p. 323] And again he took some of the beautiful flowers, and looking at them sweetly he groaned, and said to God, "Glory be to Thee, O Creator of all [things], how beautiful are Thy works."[1] Now I standing silently above him marvelled at the wonderful things that I saw, and how that holy old man was able to weep over such contemptible and despicable matters with so great a weeping which others could not have wept even had they been beaten. And after his great weeping and his bitter outcries, he started up with gratitude to God, and there sprang up gladness within him, and like David, his mouth was filled with laughter, and his tongue with praise,[2] and he took some of those flowers which were in front of him in his hand, and bringing them near to his nose, he lifted up his voice and sang in metre the whole of the hymn of Hosannas, "The rose, and the lilies, and the blossoms, and the spring flowers are very lovely in their appearance;" and without being perceived, for he would have been angry, I left him and went away. There are many things about him [which I could tell], but I pass over them all that I may not burden this discourse with too much weight, and that it may not become longer than its fellows. Now when this holy man died he was alone in his cell, and he departed this life without a servant, for no man ministered unto him during his illness; but the holy Rabban Peter his fellow-soldier knew of it, but whether by divine revelation, or whether because he went to

[1] Compare Psalm cxi. 3; cxlv. 5.

[2] Psalm cxxvi. 2.

visit him is hidden from us, and he made known to us concerning his death. [p. 324] And the funeral service was said over his venerable body and it was laid in the common sepulchre of the monastery near the oratory; may we receive a blessing through it, and may we be helped by his prayers, Amen.

Here endeth the history of the holy men who lived in the Monastery of Bêth ʿÂbhê.

Permit me to inform thy love, O Mâr ʿAbd-Îshôʿ, and every one who shall peruse these lines that I am not to be blamed[1] because I have not been able to write these histories with polished speech and with learned words skilfully strung together. For I have not done it as well as I could have wished, but according to my power and as I was able, and that which [is done] according to [a man's] power is beloved by God and [resteth] upon Him. To God the Cause of all things, the Supporter of all things, and the Administrator of all things, be glory, and honour, and praise, and worship, and thanksgiving, now and always, and for ever and ever, Amen.

Here end the five Books of the triumphs of the holy Fathers.

[1] Read ܪܒܒܠܐ.

[P. 325]

BOOK VI.

[CHAPTER I.]

THE HISTORIES OF RABBAN CYPRIAN AND OF RABBAN GABRIEL THE HOLY HEAD OF THE MONASTERY WHICH IS IN THE DISTRICT OF BÎRTÂ, IN THE COÛNTRY OF MARGÂ, COMPOSED BY THE PIOUS THOMAS.

According to what the holy fathers say, the rational soul possesseth three powers, desire, anger, and thought, and from these, as from fathers and mothers, are produced the other powers. From desire spring chastity, love, and patience; from anger, strength and fortitude, and from thought understanding, wisdom and knowledge. From these, according to what say the holy writers on the ascetic and monastic life, is propagated in the God-loving heart every work upon which as by stories, the spiritual building riseth and with which the mind, which is wise in Divine matters, buildeth up and completeth the whole tower which mounteth up to heaven. Now the labours and habits of life which are wrought by holy men and which have repentance as their aim, namely, fasting, watching, bowing of the whole body and head to the ground, and[1]

[1] The MSS. have ܒܩܝ̈ܕܡܝܢ but read ܘܩܝ̈ܡܝܢ.

prayers themselves, are the primary matters and materials for the ascetic life; and services of Psalms, self-denial, tears,[1] contrition, readings of the Scriptures, patience, seriousness, chastity, voluntary poverty, silence, meditation on divine matters, the despising of self, the fleeing away from men, the struggling, and the sitting apart quietly in the cell: [p. 326] these are all the various things which purify the understanding [which] loveth prudence. These, and more than these, needeth the labour of monks which is performed with correct aim and for the sake of the glory of the world which is to come. And the blessed Mark the monk grouped these things under the three comprehensive heads of the ascetic life, namely, "that a man should pray without ceasing; that he should cleanse his thoughts; and that he should endure those things which happen." Wherefore when the soul of him that would be perfect in these things hath entered into them, it hath already become a dwelling-place for the Holy Spirit; and hath trodden the passions under foot; and hath become exalted above the body; and hath yoked[2] it beneath itself like a chariot; and like a strenuous charioteer it pursueth after the passions and treadeth under foot the desires of the body; and like a fire blazing with the love of our Lord it burneth up all humidity [of the body] which is placed as an obstacle in the burning path of Christ; and it is filled with love towards its neighbour, from which love for God is produced, and concerning which the divine Apostle John saith in his Catholic Epistle, "He that thinketh he

[1] The MSS. have ܕܡ̈ܥܠܐ, but read ܕܡ̈ܥܐ.

[2] Read ܘܫܥܒܕܗ.

loveth God, but who loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?"[1] [Thus] thou seest that love to God is produced by love to man. And [this] soul despiseth the hostile disposition and all the crafty duplicity of the devils which are its enemies, and by the Divine help in which it taketh refuge it cutteth to pieces their snares, and dissipateth their crafts and wiles, and becometh a mansion of Christ, and He, and His Father, and His Spirit come and make their dwelling with it. And it attaineth the heavenly rest and the Sabbath peace in that mystical feast which the tried fathers who have penetrated into the mysteries of the new world have celebrated in the secrecy of their pure minds, [p. 327] by a bond of perfect unity which is joined[2] to its object and which is superior to this world, and which can never be explained by created beings with a tongue of flesh, and which is filled[3] on all sides with understanding which is superior to the learning of books,[4] and the mind plungeth into the obscure and concealed domain of their dark hiding place, and emergeth into the splendour of their enjoyments and forgetteth the world and everything which is in it. And it happeneth that twice and thrice a day [the mind] is absorbed there without perceiving it, even as it is said concerning every one of the holy men, and according also to what happened to Abbâ Sisoes,[5] who when his disciple knocked at the

[1] 1 John iv. 20, 21.

[2] The MSS. have ܡܬܚܒܪܐ, but read ܡܬܚܒܪܐ.

[3] Read ܡܡܠܝܐ agreeing with ܚܘܒܪܐ.

[4] Literally, "the learning of ink."

[5] See *supra*, p. 29.

door of his cell to come in cried out, saying, "Be gone, Abraham,[1] and come not in hither, for this place will not suffice [for thee]";[2] and according to that which [happened] to Abbâ Bessarion,[3] and which was wrought

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[1] This Abraham is mentioned in Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 570, No. 37; and p. 651, No. 14.

[2] This sentence is given by Cotelerius, *Eccles. Graec. Mon.*, tom. I. p. 672, No. xxvii.

[3] The account of Bessarion by Palladius is as follows:—

[illegible]

for the blessed Macarius[1] and others. Observe then to what [height] is exalted the dust of Adam, which is formed with the clay of passions and moistened with the water of wandering from what is right. So mayest thou know that when man is purified from the passions which are within [him] and without, and his course moveth in a supernatural place, he will be able to illumine all deep places, and to throw light into the deepest wells; and thus the spiritual eye, which is the understanding, shineth and illumineth others, like a polished mirror which when placed opposite the sun, also reflecteth in the same manner[2] the glorious rays which overcome the pupils of eyes of flesh. To such degrees and to such great glory were lifted up the holy men, who were superior to the world in their lives and actions, and concerning whom our feeble narrative wisheth to relate, that is to say, Rabban Cyprian the

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ܕܝܢ ܡܬܬܕܪܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘܐ. ܘܟܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܒܗ ܡܕܒܪ ܗܠܝܢ. ܘܐܡܪ. ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ ܐܢܐ ܠܝ ܚܙܝ ܐܢܐ
ܕܐܢܫܐ. ܗܘ ܡܕܡ ܕܐܬܬܚܒܠ ܒܥܠܡܐ ܐܢܐ. ܐܠܐ ܐܘܦ ܡܬܬܕܪܬܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܚܙܐ ܐܢܐ ܚܙܝ ܡܬܩܢܐ.
ܒܗ ܐܠܗܐ ܐܢܐ ܒܠܝܠܝܐ ܘܒܐܝܡܡܐ ܐܢܐ ܠܡܘܬܐ. ܗܘ ܡܬܚܙܐ ܠܝ ܡܚܝܠܐ ܕܒܫܡܝܐ ܕܟܠ ܡܕܡ
ܕܡܬܒܥܐ. ܗܠܝܢ ܕܡܫܡܫ ܐܢܐ ܠܗ ܗܘܐ ܕܒܠܝܐ ܕܥܒܪ ܠܬܚܘܬ ܥܠܡܐ ܕܡܬܢ ܕܡܢܐ ※
(fol. 131 *b*.) The abbot Bessarion lived in the fourth century of our era. He is said to have been able to cross rivers by walking upon the water; to have caused the sun to refrain from setting until he had arrived at the cell of a certain sage; to have healed the sick and to have cast out devils; and to have been acquainted with the decrees of God before they were worked out. For his life and sayings, see Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, pp. 518, 532, 584, 594, 609ff.; Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. viii. p. 348.

[1] See Palladius, *Hist. Laus.*, chap. xix. (Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, p. 719ff.).

[2] ܕܡܬܡܢܝܢܐܝܬ, a rare word.

anchorite and ascetic, by whose hands the Lord completed a holy monastery in the district of Bîrtâ towards the end of his life, [p. 328] and with him was the holy[1] Abbâ Gabriel who also triumphed in this monastery. But before we involve ourselves in these histories and write down their noble deeds for prudent readers, we will lift ourselves above our narrative a little, and introduce into this history [some] mention of the holy anchorites who lived in this country, by whose rays our part of the world was illumined, and who made the country of Margâ to possess a splendid appearance[2] [such] as it never possessed before; and they made it the abode of their holiness, and the scene of their labours in the caves, and habitations, and monasteries which they planted therein. I speak[3] now concerning the holy Monastery of Rîshâ, in which according to what the historians of times and kings say, seven Bishops lived at the beginning, but in which subsequently many [more] lived; and the Monastery of the holy Mâr Ephraim[4] the monk, who lived for the whole period of his life in a double[5] cave, [which was situated] in a place called "Ammîkê" or "Naḥlâ dhĕ

[1] All the MSS. have ܘܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ, but we should probably read ܘܡܕܒܪܢܐ.

[2] In the text p. 65, l. 13, this word is pointed ܚܙܘܐ, but in the Urmî edition of the Old Test. 1852 we have ܚܙܘܐ (Daniel i. 13, p. 978).

[3] The passage beginning on p. 328, l. 8, and ending on p. 330, l. 7, is quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 495, col. 2, p. 496, col. 2.

[4] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 201.

[5] ܡܥܪܬܐ ܕܟܦܠܬܐ = τὸ σπήλαιον τὸ διπλοῦν by which the LXX rendered the Heb. אֶת־מְעָרַת הַמַּכְפֵּלָה. See Genesis xxiii. 17.

Nahrâ",[1] far away from all human intercourse and affairs; and also of the blessed ʿAnân-ʿÎshôʿ, that famous and triumphant man, whose monastery which was [situated] above Ḥêṭârâ[2] excelled preeminently in mighty deeds and miracles; and of the holy Mâr Îth Allâhâ,[3] who passed his whole life in the perfection of ascetic acts and deeds in a small hole in the rock above the village of Lalêsh;[4] and of the blessed Îshôʿ Râḥmêh, to the name of whose piety the Monastery of Beṭmâ[5] was built, the glorious things of whose shrine are still spoken of by the wise and prudent; and of the blessed Ḥebhîshâ whose booth[6] was fixed near the village of Ḥennes,[7] and the resting place of whose bones and of those of the holy men who were his companions was revealed in our days by the hands of venarable men;—[p. 329] now when thou goest into that cave and seest the crosses hewn out of rock [which] hath never [before] been subject to the [chisel of] steel,[8] fixed there as marks of honour

[1] *I. e.,* the Zâb. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* p. 201, note 1594.

[2] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* p. 223.

[3] ܐܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ seems to be the incorrect Nestorian pronunciation of ܐܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ; compare *B. O.,* I. p. 394, note 2, and ܐܝܬܐܠܗܐ, 'Αειθαλᾶς Payne Smith, *Thes.,* col. 174. ܐܝܬ ܐܠܗܐ means "God existeth."

[4] Assemânî has ܠܠܝܫ. This village is situated on a tributary of the Ḥâzir, and is to be identified with the Lailesh or Lêlesh of Yâḳût; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* p. 197.

[5] *I. e.,* The monastery of the terebinth.

[6] Hoffmann thinks that ܡܛܠܠܬܐ is a modest description of a church; compare ܡܛܠܠܬܗ ܕܒܝܬ . . . . ܡܢ ܡܫܡܫܢܘܬܗ p. 408, l. 9 (Syriac text).

[7] *I. e.,* Bavian; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge,* p. 223.

[8] ܕܘܟܝܬܐ = ܦܪܙܠܐ ܩܫܝܐ "hard iron," *i. e.,* "steel." See Duval, *Lexicon,* p. 222; Hoffmann, *Syr. Arab. Glossen,* No. 992, p. 38;

for a testimony of the holiness of those monks, and how the tablets above their coffins[1] are hewn out, and how little holes[2] (or channels) have been left [in the coffins] for the sweet odour from their dust[3] [to come out], thou must marvel and admire—and also of the holy Mâr Addai, whose Monastery was called Râmâ, the strength[4] of which testifies to the solitude of his dwelling place, in which, according to what is said, many mighty deeds and miracles were wrought for all men. And of this company were the holy Gregory, whose holy monastery was [situated] near the village of Berbĕlî;[5] and the blessed Mâr Isaac the ascetic, who made his habitation in the territory of the village

and Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 300. The form ܐܣܛܡܘܢ, *i. e.*, στόμωμα also occurs; see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2601.

[1] Assemânî has ܠܓܠܘܣܩܡܐ ܕܝܠܗܘܢ.

[2] We are here reminded of the *serdâbs* in the Egyptian tombs of the early dynasties, in the walls of which channels were hewn that the *dead man might smell* the odour of the incense, which was burnt by his surviving relatives and friends in the large chamber of the tomb, on certain days of the year.

[3] Assemânî has ܕܫܚܝܡܘܬܗܘܢ.

[4] Assemânî has ܕܫܚܝܡܘܬܐ, but ܕܫܚܝܢܘܬܐ is a better reading, for Thomas of Margâ means to tell us that the Monastery of Râmâ was a strongly built structure, part dwelling-place, part fortress, and that it was sufficiently strong to withstand the attacks of the Kurds and other predatory tribes.

[5] The village of Berbelî or Barbelî is mentioned in connexion with Tellâ (ܬܠܐ ܘܒܪܒܠܝ) *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 569. col. 1. l. 10 = التل وبربلي *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 564, col. 2, l. 22), and may probably be compared with the Be-Rberri mentioned by Badger (*Nestorians*, vol. 1. p. 397) as belonging to the diocese of Gawar; see *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 728; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 222, note 1762. Tellâ lay on the east side of the Upper Zâb, north of Walto, and south of Julamerk.

Harbai,[1] and lived a life remote from all visible things; and the blessed Mâr John, concerning whom we will speak later, who dwelt in a cave like unto a grave in a place which is called Nèrabh Barzai,[2] and who wrought signs and wonders like the Apostles in the conversion of the village of Ḳôph[3] to belief [in Christ]; and the blessed Mâr Abhâ, who built a monastery in a mountain ravine on the Outer Rîshâ above the village of Bêth Zeàṭâ, which is Bêth Sâṭi,[4] where he ended his days, at a good old age, and in a course of life which was superior to the world; and the blessed Mâr Abraham,[5] the dust of whose limbs worketh many mighty deeds unto this day. And a fellow-worker of his was the holy Mâr Aḥâ, who ended the strife of his life of an anchorite in a little cave in a mountain gorge near the Zâb, and he was a fountain of help to all the countries round about him. Now these men were, according to what the early writers say concerning them, [p. 330] bishops and ascetics. And at the time when the abominable doctrine of Arius[6] the heretic was blazing forth,

[1] Assemânî has ܚܪ̈ܒܐ, and a place of this name is mentioned by Bar-Hebraeus, *Chronicon*, p. 320, l. 17.

[2] Nèrabh Barzai or Nèrabh Barâzi was situated not far from Ḳôph and near 'Aḳrâ; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 225.

[3] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 225; and Badger, *Nestorians*, vol. 1, p. 101.

[4] A place named after a man ܣܛܝ. According to the Syriac version of Pseudo-Callisthenes, (ed. Budge, p. 95, l. 14) ܣܛܝܒ = ܣܛܒܪܙܢ, but ܣܛܝ may be an abbreviation of some name like Σατιβάρζανης; compare Horn and Steindorff, *Sassan. Gemmen.* p. 32.

[5] The name of the place where he lived is omitted by the MSS.

[6] Arius, Ἄρειος, was born early in the second half of the

during the reign of Valens[1] the Emperor and of his wicked companions, who tyrannically persecuted[2] the orthodox who would not accept their doctrine,[3] by reason of the insolence and cruelty of those who persecuted them these men fled from the countries of the Greeks, and came to this land of the east, and preferred rather to live in tribulation, and in banishment from their native lands and relatives, than to be near their persecutors, and to be tormented[4] by acquiescence with the diseased doctrine of heretics.

Now once, when [the sense of] what was right urged me to go round about and to pray in their caves where they had lived, I went into them with great reverence, and I understood the affliction and tribulation of their lives, to which the very places where they lived testify, and I was exceedingly sorry and very much grieved, and at once I blamed the teachers who were found in their days, [teachers who] perhaps had been esteemed worthy to see these men, or to behold their wonderful works, because [the sense of] what was right had not urged and obliged them to set down in writing some matters of the noble acts and deeds of such anchorites as

3rd century A. D., and died at Constantinople A. D. 336. For his life and doctrines see Sozomen, *Hist. Eccles.*, I. 15; Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, I. 4, 38; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.*, I. 5; Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 69. 6, 60; Rufinus, *Hist. Eccles.*, I. 13; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. XXI.

[1] Emperor of the East A. D. 364—378. The Nestorians always write *Wâlîs* for Valens; see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1064.

[2] See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, chap. XXV; and Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. VI.

[3] Assemânî has ܠܡܠܦܢܘܬܗ.

[4] Hoffmann would read ܢܬܕܒܩܘܢ.

these; for it is more evident than the sun[1] at noon-day that signs, and mighty deeds, and noble acts must have been exhibited by them to the believing men who lived in their days. And when I had returned from there, that is to say from the clefts and holes of the holy men in the rocks above, I went also into the Monastery of the holy Mâr Cyprian the ascetic, which was situated in the vicinity of [the caves of] these holy men, and I enquired also concerning the holy men who were therein, and if they had any histories of them in their possession which I could read, and with which I could satisfy my eager desire [to know] their triumphs. And the brethren who were therein brought out and gave to me some incomplete narratives, in which there were, [p. 331] however, some few materials relating to the triumphs of the mighty deeds of the holy Rabban Cyprian, and of the blessed Gabriel, and of Paul his brother, from which I could learn whence they came, and how and where they became disciples, and how they lived, and in what manner they ended their days. And when I had gone through them, although they were written in a simple manner by men who loved God, I thanked our Lord and offered up grateful thanks for the gift of the zeal of the ascetic brethren who lived in this monastery during the life-time of these fathers, who had not been negligent like the early [writers] and passed over all the noble acts and deeds of these holy men. And I dared—now such boldness as this is praiseworthy, because it stirreth up those who listen to the

[1] All the MSS. have ܫܡܫܐ, but it is evident that some such word as ܫܡܫܐ is required.

praise of God—to collect from the materials of their most excellent works a spiritual treatise in writing, upon which the brethren [and] ascetics who are in this monastery may meditate, as well as the priests and believing men who are desirous of hearing about the glorious works of these men who are [now] captains of the hosts of the kingdom of heaven. Now first we will make ready our discourse to speak concerning the thrice blessed and holy Rabban Cyprian the ascetic, and we will set down in writing the blessed things of his victorious deeds before wise and prudent readers and listeners, for he lived a long time before Rabban Gabriel, and he was the origin and father of this holy assembly. We will begin, then, to relate [his] history, and may the Divine grace through his prayers be with us, and may our discourse, through Christ Who strengthened him, be a benefit [to all].

Here endeth the Prologue and First Chapter.

[P. 332] CHAPTER II.

OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BLESSED CYPRIAN, AND OF HIS TRAINING AT SCHOOL, AND OF HIS GOING TO JERUSALEM.

There is in the country of Margâ a district, the name of which is Bîrtâ,[1] and in this district is a village,

[1] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 223.

the name of which is Bêth Magûshâ,[1] and it would seem that it received its name and title from the leaning which its former lords and inhabitants had to Magianism, and from this village the blessed Cyprian is said to have sprung. And having been born of believing parents, he was brought up by them in an excellent manner, and carrying out the Apostolic command which [saith], "Fathers, provoke not your children, but bring them up in the instruction and teaching of our Lord",[2] they laboured with all their might in the teaching of the blessed Cyprian; and because a new plant maketh use of everything, and the Lord knoweth those that are His, grace at an early period manifested in him the sign of its working. And having read for a short time the Psalms and the subjects which children are taught in their village church,[3] he arrived at the state of being a young man, when every man doeth his own will and pleasure, without let or hindrance, and he chose these things which belong to the Spirit, and dedicated himself to the service of the Lord, and wandered about as a pilgrim in foreign countries. So then he departed to the holy school in the village of Makkabhâ[4]—now it was flourishing greatly during his

[1] In *B. O.*, iii. 1. pp. 142, 497, Assemânî writes ܒܝܬ ܡܓܘܫܝܐ, but another spelling occurs in Îshô'-yahbh's letter to Mâr 'Ammeh (No. 26) where, at the beginning he writes to him:—ܠܒܪ̈ܝܟܐ ܕܒܝܬ ܡܓܘܫܝܐ ܕܡܢ ... ܘܕܡܘܬܗܘܢ ... ✡

[2] Ephesians vi. 4; Colossians iii. 21.

[3] For an account of the subjects taught in the schools, see *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 919ff.

[4] This was one of the schools founded by Mâr Bâbhai; see Bk. iii. chap. 2, *supra,* p. 296.

days—where he was thoroughly trained in all the glorious doctrine of the Holy Scriptures, and in the books on the dispensation of life, [p. 333] and in expositions of them. And when he arrived at the state of perfect manhood, because he like Samuel, and Jeremiah, and the other holy men, had been set apart aforetime to be a soldier and a member of the household of the heavenly Lordship, and because he had been ordained to be the cause of great benefits at a time when [important] matters began to run their course, He that knoweth hidden things, and things which are about to happen, and things which are afar off, did not fail to give to that blessingworthy person an indication of His providential dispensation that he should become and be called a portion of eternity. And with what result? He inflamed his heart and set on fire his mind with the desire, hotter than fire, of going to Jerusalem to see the holy place where Christ our Lord manifested to mankind His bodily dispensation for the sake of their redemption. And being involved in this thought and determination he prepared to begin the plan of his journey with hot and zealous steps directed thither, and having renounced earthly love, and made himself an alien to the love for parents, and brethren, and human kind, and all his kindred, he laid upon himself the holy Book of the Gospels, and thus like an athlete he began to depart; and he brought his journey to an end in hot haste, letting pass places of tarrying for rest,[1] like a man who hurries home to his father's house and to his family whom he hath not

[1] Read ܡܫܪ̈ܝܐ "halting stations."

seen[1] for a long time. And when he had arrived in Jerusalem and had worshipped in all the holy places, the place where Christ was baptized in the Jordan,[2]

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[1] Read [illegible].

[2] St. Matthew iii. 13—17; St. Mark i. 5—11. Two places for fording the Jordan are mentioned in the Old Testament: one was over against Jericho (Joshua ii. 7; Judges iii. 28), and the other was at Bethabara (St. John 1. 28), which is probably to be identified with the modern Makṭa' or "place of passage." It is nowhere stated expressly where Christ was baptized, but it is thought by some that His baptism by St. John took place at the upper ford. Tradition proves that from a very early date pilgrims believed that the baptism of Christ took place here, and the existence of the ruins of the Monastery of St. John (Ḳaṣr el-Yehûdi) which was built over the cave in which St. John is said to have lived, near this spot at a short distance from the river, lends support to the belief. As early as the time of Constantine baptism in the Jordan was considered a blessed thing, and in the 6th century pilgrims crowded thither from all parts; see Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, vol. iii. p. 353ff.; Reland, *Palaestina*, pp. 271—279; Socin and Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, p. 266. Antoninus Martyr, who visited Palestine about 570, says:—" . . . . . venimus in locum, ubi baptizatus est dominus noster. In ipso loco transierunt filii Israel; ibi et filii prophetarum perdiderunt securim et ex ipso loco assumptus est Elias. In ipso loco est mons Hermon modicus, qui legitur in Psalmo." At this spot both banks of the river were paved with marble steps, and a wooden cross rose in the middle of the stream . . . . "est crux lignea intus in aqua et gradus descendunt usque ad aquam ex utraque parte marmoris." *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium*, ed. Gildemeister, Berlin, 1889, 8vo. pp. 7, 9. Tuch's *Antoninus Martyr, seine Zeit und seine Pilgerfahrt nach dem Morgenlande*. Leipzig 1864, may be consulted upon this subject with advantage.

and the Temple,[1] and Golgotha,[2] and the Sepulchre,[3] and the Upper Chamber,[4] and the Mount of Olives,[5] [places] in which the redemption of our race by a Son

[1] It is difficult to understand what Temple Rabban Cyprian can have seen at Jerusalem. The first Temple was built by Solomon (2 Samuel vii. 5ff.), and all the arrangements were identical with those in the Tabernacle of Moses; the second Temple was built by Zerubbabel when the Jews returned from the Captivity about B. C. 510; and the third and greatest of the Temples was built by Herod and burnt down at the siege of Jerusalem by Titus A. D. 70. Julian the Apostate wished the Jews to return to Jerusalem and tried to rebuild their Temple, and before the end of the Vth century crowds of pilgrims arrived yearly to visit the places made sacred by Christ. Jerusalem suffered greatly at the hands of the Persians A. D. 614 and many of its churches were destroyed; in 637 it was conquered by the Arabs. It is thus clear that very little of any ancient building can have been left in Jerusalem by the time Rabban Cyprian arrived there.

[2] See Socin and Baedeker, *Palestine*, pp. 189—201; and *Antoninus*, ed. Gildemeister, p. 14, No. 19.

[3] The site of the Holy Sepulchre was discovered in the time of Constantine, but previously it is said to have been occupied by a Temple of Venus. The church which he built there was dedicated A. D. 336. For the topography of Jerusalem see D'Anville, *Sur l'ancien Jérusalem*, Paris, 1747; Tillemont, *Histoire des Empereurs*, Brussels 1732, tom. ii. p. 121—132, tom. iv. p. 107; Le Bruyn, *Voyage au Levant*, p. 288; *Itinerarium Hierosol* ed. Wesseling, p. 592; *Ammianus Marcellinus* xxiii. 1; Warburton, *Julian*, London 1751, and the passages quoted by him; and De Vogüé, *Le Temple de Jérusalem*, Paris, 1863; Besant, *Jerusalem*, London 1888; Warren, *Jerusalem*, London 1884; Wilson, *Jerusalem*, London 1889.

[4] St. Mark xiv. 14; St. Luke xxii. 11.

[5] See *Antoninus*, ed. Gildemeister, p. 12. This pilgrim kissed the wood of the Cross and handled the label which was above it, and he saw the sponge and the reed (p. 15).

of our nature was completed, his soul rejoiced, and his spirit was satisfied, and he rested from the toil and weariness of his way; and he praised and glorified Him, by trust in Whom he had been anxious to travel and to see the places which the adorable footsteps [had trodden]. From thence he set out to go to Mount Sinai in Arabia, [p. 334] and in this mountain [he went into] the cave[1] in which the blessed Moses had lived, and in which the Lord shewed him the constitution of all this universe, and where he composed the words of the Spirit,[2] and where also God had spoken with Elijah[3] the great Prophet, and he offered up the sacrifice of praise to the Lord like sweet-smelling odours; and our Lord made His light to shine upon the understanding of the holy young man, and He prepared him to journey uprightly along the path in which there is no blame. From thence he directed the course of his journey straight to Alexandria, and from this [city] he went to the Egyptian desert,[4] where he stayed

[1] At the N. E. angle of the rock which bears the chapel, which is built on a small plateau at the top of Gebel Mùsà (*i. e.*, the "Mountain of Moses"), to the left is a hollow, where Moses is said to have stood when the glory of the Lord passed by, and the monks show the impression of the prophet's head and shoulders on the stone. The tradition is to the effect that Moses remained fasting for forty days in a hollow resembling a cistern near the mosque, while writing the Ten Commandments. See Lepsius in Baedeker's *Egypt*, p. 501.

[2] *I. e.*, the Ten Commandments. ܦܬ̈ܓܡܐ = הַדְּבָרִים (Exodus xx. 1). Compare "Et ascendimus in montem continuo milia tres, et venientes ad speluncam, ubi absconditus fuit Elias, quando fugit ante Iezebel". *Antoninus*, p. 27.

[3] 1 Kings xix. 9.

[4] *I. e.*, the Desert of Scete. See *supra*, p. 39, note 3.

some time going about among the monasteries of the holy men who lived in the desert; and he worshipped at the graves of the righteous and holy Antonius,[1] and Pachomius,[2] and Evagrius,[3] and Arsenius,[4] and Macarius,[5] and Serapion.[6] And from the sight of the holy men who were there and from their labours he gained a good type and example for himself. And just as the bee that is skilful in her handicraft formeth and buildeth up the honeycomb[7] in her dwelling from [various] herbs and grasses, so also did this holy man gather together habits of the monastic life from each of the holy men and did perfect them in himself; and having become initiated into all the monastic life, and

[1] See *supra*, p. 30. According to Antoninus Anthony was buried at Alexandria (p. 32).

[2] See Book IV. chap. 9, *supra*, p. 396.

[3] See *supra*, p. 51, note 1.

[4] See *supra*, p. 29, note 3.

[5] See *supra*, p. 51, note 4.

[6] Serapion the Sindonite is described by Palladius as follows:—
ܗܘܐ ܕܝܢ ܐܝܬ ܗܘܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܚܕ ܕܫܡܗ ܗܘܐ ܣܪܦܝܘܢ ܕܡܬܩܪܐ ܕܣܝܢܕܘܢܝܐ. ܡܛܠ ܕܠܒܝܫ
ܐܝܬܘܗܝ ܠܐ ܐܬܟܣܝ ܗܘ ܠܓܡܪ ܒܡܐܢܘܗܝ. ܐܠܐ ܐܢ ܣܕܘܢܐ ܒܠܚܘܕ ܕܡܬܥܛܦ ܗܘܐ: ܘܡܛܠ
ܕܣܓܝܐܐ ܐܬܥܒܕ ܗܘܐ ܒܡܣܟܢܘܬܐ. ܘܟܕ ܠܐ ܩܢܐ ܗܘܐ ܡܕܡ. ܐܦܢ ܗܘܐ ܠܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܛܒܐ
ܡܢ ܠܒܪ. ܘܡܢ ܩܛܝܢܘܬ ܡܫܒܚܘܬܗ ܘܦܪܝܫܐ ܕܝܠܗ̇. ܐܠܐ ܕܢܩܘܡ ܒܫܠܡܐ ܡܫܟܚ ܗܘܐ.
ܡܛܠ ܕܠܐ ܡܬܢܝܚ ܒܡܕܡ ܕܡܢ ܥܠܡܐ ܗܘ. ܐܠܐ ܡܬܬܒܥ ܗܘܐ ܒܟܠܗܘܢ ܘܡܬܬܠܡܕ
ܠܡܫܬܪܪܘ ܘܡܢܩܐ ܗܘܐ ܢܦܫܗ ܒܛܝܒܘܬܗ. ܘܡܕܡ ܘܡܬܬܠܡܕ ܗܘܐ ܘܡܪܕܐ ܫܬܪܪܐ ܠܘܬ ܐܠܗܐ.
(fol. 104 *b*). Every farthing of money which he obtained he gave away to those poorer than himself, and to do deeds of charity he fasted four or five days at a time. Palladius says that he visited Rome and Athens, and that he died at the age of sixty-two. See Tillemont, *Mémoires*, tom. viii. p. 348, col. 2.

[7] Read ܟܟ̈ܪܐ.

having endued himself with the venerable garb[1] of the monks in one of the monasteries of the orthodox which were there, and having laboured in the service of the community according to the canon of the fathers, and having lived in that monastery a considerable time, the chosen vessel deemed that henceforth he might become an anchorite.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE DEPARTURE OF THE HOLY CYPRIAN FROM THE DESERT TO AN ISLAND OF GREECE.

Now the holy Cyprian [p. 335] heard of a solitary island in the territory of the Greeks in which palms and fruits for food were found, and although there might be men living there he would have no need for the services of man; and he persuaded certain traders of the sea, and they carried him in their ship and brought him thither. And when he had gone into the interior he praised God, the Lord of all, who had prepared that place for him, and he rejoiced in it and loved it, and it seemed to him as if he were in the Paradise of Eden. And thus he took advantage of tranquil solitude to fast, and also[2] to pray and to sing Psalms, and from these [arose] prayer and supplication, which [lasted] day and night, to Him Who loved and Who walked [over] sea and land to fulfil His will in the

[1] ܐܣܟܝܡܐ *i. e.*, σχῆμα *habitum monachalem*: see Usener, *Der Heilige Theodosios*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 171 (note to p. 73. 3).

[2] Hoffmann would read ܘܗܢܐ ܠܬܐܘܪܝܐ "[he benefited by] a contemplative disposition to pray and to sing psalms".

renunciation[1] of every thing. Now he tarried there a long time without the knowledge of [any] man, delighting in the desert and training himself in all the most severe and minute details and particulars of the ascetic[2] life, at the same time sparingly sustaining his life with dates and vegetables and herbs which he took from the earth. How many were the fierce strifes and afflictions which this valiant athlete endured there from the passions of the body and the wickedness of obstinate devils it is not for us to write; but those who have occupied themselves for a long time with the affairs of the solitary life and with the life of an anchorite [know] how hard it is to lead that life, and how difficult, and what fierce enemies attack the wretched monk, and how he eateth [his bread] day and night with the tears of his eyes, and with bitterness. As for consolation it is far from him; as for wars, they surround him on all sides; and helpers he has none. So then, considering contests and strifes of absolute necessity he was entirely collected in his mind, and he was afraid lest the thought which awoke in him irritatingly would put an end to his contemplation, and

[1] Hoffmann thinks that here there is an allusion to λαμὰ σαβαχθανί, ܠܡܢܐ ܫܒܩܬܢܝ (St. Matthew xxvii. 46).

[2] The MSS. have ܓܕ̈ܠܘܗܝ, but we should have expected ܓܕ̈ܠܘܗܝ "its twinings" (or twistings, intricacies, ramifications). For examples of the use of this word compare ܓܕ̈ܠܐ ܕܣܘܟܠܐ *Aphraates*, ed. Wright, p. 137, l. 19; ܘܟܡܝܪ ܠܠܝܐ ܒܓܕ̈ܠܘܗܝ "atra erat nox", *Sancti Ephraem Syri*, ed. Lamy tom. I. p. 437, l. 10; ܘܓܕ̈ܠܐ ܕܡܫܬܘܕܥܢܘܬܐ ܗܘܐ ܕܒܥܠܐ Wright, *Apocryphal Acts*, vol. I. p. 183, l. 6; ܘܓܕ̈ܠܐ ܕܕܘܒܪ̈ܝܗܘܢ ܕܒܝܬ ܚܘܫܒܐ ܣܓܝܐܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܘܕܒܝܬ Land, *Anecdota*, tom. ii. p. 216, l. 28; and سلالة Dozy, *Supplément*, tom. I. p. 670.

would destroy in the twinkling of an eye all his life-long labour; [p. 336] for, as Paul saith, his contest "was not against flesh and blood, but with principalities and powers, and against the rulers of darkness of this world, and against evil spirits under the heavens".[1] His labour was [his] furnace, that [he might go forth] like gold which is tried and tested by the fire. There in the desert he was victorious, and he was profited by afflictions by which as the body melted away and gradually disappeared, the soul shone and became radiant to meet the riches of glorious things after its sufferings and afflictions; for in proportion as the soul entereth into sublime things and becometh exalted, so do its fierce enemies attack it. So then [we cannot] relate concerning the strifes of this mighty man of strength, for they are secret and hidden from us.

Now after he had tarried there for the space of many years he became known even unto the traders in this wise: it came to pass that they once touched that island to brace up their ship which had been greatly shaken by the violence of the waves, and certain of the crew wandered about hither and thither in the island. And they had heard about him from those who had brought him over there when he first came to that island, and when they saw from a distance the palm trees of his garden they knew that the man of God dwelt there. And they went, and found him, and drew near to him, and were blessed by the holy man whom they sought, and they left with him some of their provisions, and received a blessing from him and departed. And this was the cause of his being

[1] Ephesians vi. 12.

perceived there by men and becoming well known. And after his strugglings and strivings which [took place] there our Lord made him to flourish in all the excellence of a perfect ascetic life, and not only were healed those who came to him, but even those who were afar off, and who could not see him, when they called upon the name of the God of Cyprian the anchorite, [p. 337] speedily received healing of their sicknesses. And likewise also the seamen who went down into the sea, when they were in trouble through the raging of the sea, [called upon] the name of the holy man, and the waves became quiet by his prayer, and the billows of the sea subsided. Now when he had lived full forty years in that desert, and had gathered to himself riches of which he could not be despoiled, and had laid up all his treasure in heaven above, according to the Redeeming[1] word, and had received from the Lord all things which could perfect His will, and had become instead of a creature of soul and body, a man of the Spirit, the holy angel of the Lord appeared to him in a vision, [and told him] to return without delay to the country of Margâ, and to build a monastery for ascetics on the border of his village, and to become a spiritual father and a director of solitaries. Now Divine Goodness is accustomed to work in this [manner], even as it did in the case of Moses the Great (whom after he had been the shepherd of a dumb flock for forty years,[2] it raised up to lead and direct the thousands and ten thousands of Israel), and many others; for they were first of all trained and exercised in the solitude of the

[1] St. Matthew vi. 20.

[2] See Acts vii. 23, 30, 36.

desert and mountains, and were afterwards appointed by God and brought to rule over those who led the life of solitaries, and over the Church.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE COMING OF RABBAN CYPRIAN TO THIS COUNTRY OF MARGÂ, AND OF HOW HE WAS REVEALED AND BECAME KNOWN IN THIS PLACE.

Now this holy man, [p. 338] having received from the Lord this permission, changed the place in which he had lived for forty years pleasing God, as was right, and crossed the sea, and returned to this country. And it happened before his coming here that the village of Bêth Magûshè,[1] which was the home of his parents, had been laid waste, and so, Divine Grace leading him, he came and dwelt in the wood which is below the monastery [which he afterwards built]. Now aforetime the place was such that fierce wild animals dwelt therein, and even with the blessed man Cyprian, according to what is written concerning him, during the whole of the time in which he lived in the wood without any man being aware of his presence, there lived two lions, which not only did not do him harm, but stood tranquilly before him like innocent lambs.[2] His food was

[1] Read ܒܝܬ ܡܓܘܫ̈ܐ.

[2] The Abbct Sergius dismissed a lion with his blessing and the lion departed; a lion pointed out the way to an anchorite who had lost his way near the town of Sochus; and Macarius had two lions which brought back food to him each night and which he named "Filioli mei, boni fratres." See Rosweyde,

grass[1] and other green herbs and vegetables which [grew] on this river,[2] but because he had ordered and set himself apart for the benefit of many people he did not tarry long here before men came to know about him and to see him. And in the days of snow the young men of Nîrâm dhê Râ ʿâwâthâ, a village [situated] above the monastery, went forth, and they took (crossed) river after river that they might find wild animals to hunt, and they had with them powerful dogs, and with slings[3] and outcries they surrounded the wood, in which was the blessed old man, for they saw the tracks of the wild animals which were gathered together to the old man. And when they had made much noise, being in fear and terror of lions, and saw that there was no lion there, they went into the wood [thinking] that perchance they might find some animal therein; and when they had gone in they saw a little shelter built above a ravine, like that which wild animals make in the ground, and when they had looked hither and thither they saw the man of God sitting half hidden in his cave. [p. 339] And they pointed their spears at him boldly and threatened [to slay] him, for they did not know that he was a holy man, but he spake with them gently, and went forth, and blessed them, and gave them words of encouragement, saying, "I am one of the company of

Vitae Patrum, pp. 228, col. 2; p. 893, col. 2; and p. 911, col. 2.

[1] ܢܩܝܐ See *supra*, Bk. iii. chap. 7, *supra*, p. 322, note 6.

[2] *I. e.*, the Ḥâzer; see Book vi. chap. 6, Syriac text, p. 344, l. 11.

[3] Syr. ܩܠܥܐ, weapons much used by peasants; compare ܙܢܝܐ ܡܩܠܥܢܐ ܢܓܕܝ ܕܩܠܥܐ, Hoffmann, *Julianos der Abtrünnige*, Leiden, 1880, p. 162, l. 16.

wandering mendicants. I came here last night, and to-day I shall go away. Go back to your village, and behold a stag will meet you, take him and slay him, and so depart to your houses;" then they went forth from him quickly that they might inform their fathers concerning him. Now when they had gone away about a stone's throw, from that part of the wood[1] [where] the old man [was] they found the stag of which he had spoken to them caught by his horns in the branches of the forest, and they took him and slew him, and went in to their village, and they quickly informed the people thereof concerning that old man. Then the whole village came out, and ran swiftly to the old man that they might see and become acquainted with the anchorite who had been sent to help them; the wise physician who was able to heal their sicknesses without payment; the merchant who was laden with much riches which he might spend for their benefit; the spiritual father who was able, like the son of ʿAmram,[2] to stand before the breaches of those who afflicted them; and the man who became altogether like Paul;[3] that they might see John in the Jordan, and hear his voice encouraging sinners to repentance;[4] [and] Elijah the prophet who would burn up and destroy the evil company[5] of heretics as he

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[1] ܚܘܫܬܐ, a rare example of the use of the fem. of ܚܘܫܐ.

[2] *I. e.*, Moses. See Psalm cvi. 23.

[3] Compare Acts xvi. 23; Acts xix. 11; Acts xxi. 33; 2 Corinthians xi. 26, etc.

[4] St. Matthew iii. 2.

[5] ܓܝܣܐ, *band*, *company*, *flock*, *troop*, in a bad sense. Compare ܓܝܣܐ القطيع من الخنازير ويقال ايضا بالاستعاره الشياطين Brit. Mus. Orient. 7203, fol. 181*b*, col. 1, and Orient. fol. 372*a*, col. 1.

burned up the children of Baal.[1] And when they had come to him, and had gone in and seen this holy old man they bowed themselves down to the ground before the ascetic and recluse, and they drew near [to him] and kissed the old rags of his clothing. [p. 340] Now the blessed man perceived no one of them, for he remained before them lying on his face with his eyes streaming with tears, and the man who had led the life of an anchorite for forty years was not able to look boldly upon [any] man in that gathering. And while they were waiting and entreating him that he would hold them to be worthy of the blessings of his prayers, he answered and said to them, "Rise up now, my children, and go to your homes, for behold the head and governor of the churches of this country will come to your village this evening, and as for me I shall remain here to-morrow and the day following;" and he blessed them and said farewell to them. Thus they left him, and departed from him, and according to the words of our master, "[he will come] at the eventide of this day", there came to them the pious and holy Metropolitan of the country, as he was going round visiting his flocks and nourishing the people of his pasture, according to our Lord's command to him.[2] And when they were gathered together to that holy head, they related to him concerning the manifestation of that mighty man of God, and at the same time concerning his asceticism and his venerable appearance, and concerning the self-abnegation and voluntary poverty which they had seen in him, and how he had informed

[1] 1 Kings xviii. 40.

[2] St. John xxi. 15—17.

[3] *I. e.*, ܛܘܪܐ ܕܩܕܝܡ ܕܟܠܘܬܐ. See Bk. iii. chap. 2.

them, saying that "at the eventide of this day the coming of thy holiness would take place." And when the holy father had heard these things, he went down to the holy man in the morning of the morrow with a great assembly of priests and teachers and scholars of the school of Ṣâwrâ; and when the blessed old man perceived that it was the Head of the Church who had come to him, he rose up without delay and went forth to meet him. And the holy Bishop saw him from afar, bent, and bowed, and supporting himself on a small staff,[1] and bowing, and falling down, and rising up, and he hastened towards him [p. 341] and fell upon his face before the feet of the Metropolitan. And the holy Bishop marvelled greatly at the unexampled sight which he saw in the blessed man, for by reason of the long endured burden of his labours he appeared to be like unto a spectre.[3] Then the holy old man wept, and said to the Bishop, "Why did I not come to thee, like a servant to the feet of his lord, instead of thy coming to me, O holy father, [seeing that] I am a sinner [who is bound] to bow down to thy greatness?" (Hail to the humility which is so superior! Hail to mind [which] beareth wisdom!)[4] "For [I] know that honour is due to the priesthood, and for this reason I have come with tears to meet him to whom the ministry of the priesthood hath been entrusted, and not like a man who hath been reared in a desert country, and who is not

[1] ܚܘܛܪܘܪܐ or ܚܛܪܘܪܐ, rare diminutive from ܚܘܛܪܐ.

[2] ܡܬܦܓܕ Ethpha'al "bowing himself down."

[3] ܒܠܗܝܬܐ from √ ܒܠܗ; see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1470; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 809.

[4] This is a parenthetical observation by Thomas of Margâ.

acquainted with the estimation in which the fathers are held, and who hath in his hole in the rock become neglectful and remiss, and who considereth the honouring of that man not to be among things which are necessities." And when both of these holy men had been blessed by each other Mâr Bishop asked the blessed man by degrees to tell him about the manner of his coming here, and from what place he made his way to us; and having informed him about lesser matters he omitted [to speak] of great matters. Then the Bishop rose up and took the old man by his hand and led him round this place where a temple and monastery should be, and in the words of the Lord he said to him, "This is thy portion,[1] build, finish, receive the brethren, and teach disciples, and may the Lord be pleased by thy labour, and by all the course which thou runnest in His commands. For thou shalt increase and become abundant, and thy seed shall inherit the lands which are round about thee, and with the hosts of ascetics which thou shalt beget shalt thou meet the face of the Judge on the day of His coming;" and he marked out for him the dimensions of the temple and of the sanctuary,[2] and he departed from him to [continue] his visitation.

[1] Compare Leviticus vii. 35.

[2] ܒܝܬ ܩܘܕܫܐ, the place of the altar in the apse.

[P. 342] CHAPTER V.

OF THE BUILDING OF THIS HOLY MONASTERY BY THE HANDS OF THE BLESSED MAN.

Then the believing men from these and many other villages came with all solicitude to the blessed man to build the temple and the buildings for the community,[1] and in a few days the building received conclusion. And there were gathered together to Rabban an assembly of ascetic brethren, fifty men who were proved by their wonderful works, and who were stamped with the likeness of their spiritual father; but the wax[2] did not receive the impressions of the gems of the ring, even although they inscribed upon them the likenesses of the holy Cyprian, until there lived among them ascetics who had wrought holy and mighty deeds in this world. And our Lord sustained [them], and provided abundantly all things which were necessary for their use, and little by little the belief of our Lord was fully spread abroad by them, and the renown of the congregation of the holy man was carried into every place; and [one] might see that through the prayers of this holy man, this congregation [was] the fountain of all help which flowed into all parts [of the country]. Now Rabban lived here, from his coming to the day of his death, twenty years, more or less. And the

[1] ܕܝܪܐ = ܟܘܢܫܐ, *i. e.*, the buildings for the common use of the monks; the private cells are not included in this term.

[2] ܩܝܪܘܬܐ. Gr. κηρός. Compare ܘܡܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܗܘ ܕܒܪ: ܕܓܠܝܘܢܐ ܐܝܟ ܩܝܪܘܬܐ ܕܡܩܒܠ ܨܘܪܬܐ ܕܟܠ ܚܬܡܐ ܕܢܚܬܡ ܒܗ ܕܡܘܬܐ ܐܚܬܡ ܟܠܗ: Land, *Anecdota*, vol. ii. p. 121, ll. 21—23. ܩܝܪܘܬܐ = شَمَع Brit. Mus. Or. 7203, fol. 148*b*, col. 1. See also Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 3737.

blessed man became old and gray, and reached a prolonged old age, and his limbs became infirm by reason of the asceticism of those years which had passed over him, for he had lived forty years in that island, and it is well known that he lived [there] upon the meagre fare of green herbs and of the fruit of palms, and [during] the twenty [years] which he lived in this monastery he supported his life with dry bread only; [p. 343] for one of the monks who served in the monastery used to bring to him every evening a piece of ordinary bread, and a draught of common water only. And once when the brethren urged him to take part with them in a meal of cooked food,[1] and he did what they wished, that food became the cause of an illness, for he was not accustomed to [eat] such food as that, and by reason of feebleness in this respect his illness increased, and the end of his term of years arrived, and the athlete of Christ, who had borne the burden of the day and its heat from the morning of youth to the evening of old age in the service of His vineyard, drew near to rest from his labour; and the conclusion of the end of the days of this strenuous worker of the house of our Lord took place with sweaty labours dripping with the sweat of the new life. He received revelations from his Lord, and he wrought among us the mighty deeds and miracles of the Prophets and Apostles, concerning which, selecting certain parts from their whole [mass], it is time for us to narrate, and thus the course of our history draweth towards the end of the contest of our holy father; and it will be possible for us by means of the small portion which is

[1] ܡܒܫܠܬܐ Payne Smith has (*Thes.*, col. 1964) ܡܒܫܠܬܐ.

[here] written down, to explore for wise and understanding [readers—if indeed we have them—] the depth of all his wonderful deeds, for "he that is faithful in a little shall become master over much,"[1] according to the word of Him that laid down the contest [for us].

CHAPTER VI.

WHICH MAKETH KNOWN CONCERNING THE WONDERFUL DEEDS WHICH THE BLESSED CYPRIAN WROUGHT.

The first of the wonders which the blessed Cyprian wrought in our country is the following, [p. 344] and the village in which the working of mighty deeds began was that which first of all perceived his manifestation. Now it came to pass that while two young men from Nîrâm, a village of the Shepherds, were tending their cattle in the fields, it fell out that they were afflicted by devils in one day; but when their parents had brought them to Rabban, the power of the Evil One departed from them straightway, and they ended their lives in freedom [from him].

And while a certain man was passing at night along the road by the side of a fire temple of the Magians which had been a ruin for some time, devils sprang out upon him in the form of black ravens, and they entered into him and convulsed him; and since his kinsfolk and relations had heard concerning the wonders which had been wrought by the hands of this our Elisha, they led him in bonds to bring him to him. And when

[1] St. Matthew xxv. 23.

they had crossed the river Ḥâzer to come to this monastery, those devils answered and said to them, "If ye are going to that impostor Cyprian, we are going to remain here;" so they departed from the man and left him. But they nevertheless brought him to Rabban, and he commanded him not to deprive himself of the attendance at Church, and the receiving of the Holy Mysteries, [saying], "the devils shall not be able to draw nigh to thee again;" and the man undertook [to do this], and departed in joy.

And on another occasion they brought to him from the village of Bêth Ḳaddishê, a woman bound with cord, and with her garments rent by reason of the violence of the struggling of a devil [with her]; but when they had brought her and a *Ḥenânâ* to Rabban,[1]

[1] The ܚܢܢܐ was composed of the dust of some martyr and oil and water, and was made in the following way:—""Bring, master, dust from the place in which martyrs have been crowned, and cast [it] into a vessel into which nothing has fallen except water and olive oil, throw the dust into the vessel and cast water thereupon and knead it well together. Bring a little oil in another vessel and take a portion of the mass [from the first vessel], and besmear it with that oil upon thy hand, and then cut it into pieces like the seals of the ܚܢܢܐ. Take each single piece which hath been cut and roll it upon thy left hand, with the finger of the right hand next to the thumb, until it becometh as fine as a thread, and lay it upon an outspread napkin which thou shouldst have before thee, until [the dust] hath come to an end. Let it dry for one day and one night, and then bring a ܓܡܘܪܬܐ of Mâr Thomas (*i. e.*, a ܚܢܢܐ made of the relics of Mâr Thomas the Apostle) and cast it in the form of a cross into that vessel in which thou hast made the mass of dust, oil and water, and say, 'This ܚܢܢܐ is signed and sanctified by this ܓܡܘܪܬܐ of Mâr Thomas the Apostle to the healing and cure

he signed the sign of the Cross over her, and she was completely healed, and her kinsfolk and relatives took her and went away with gladness.

And a certain man from Margâ had a paralytic son who from the womb had never walked, and this man, having heard of the influence which the prayer of Rabban possessed with God, |p. 345| and that our Lord brought to a satisfactory issue every thing which he commanded, laid the boy upon an ass in firm belief, and came to this our Simon; and when he had set him before the feet of the holy old man, he entreated him with tears to have mercy upon him. Then Rabban brought forth the oil of prayer from the sanctuary—now it was a custom of Rabban to

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of the body and soul, in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.'" [illegible] See *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 278; Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1316; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 764; Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, tom. v. p. 21. The Christians who went to Malabar and visited the spot where Saint Thomas was slain were in the habit of bringing back with them some of the dust or earth which they mixed with water and gave sick folk to drink; see *B. O.*, iii. ii. p. 279.

have the horn[1] [of oil] carefully placed in the κόγχη[2]—and when he had anointed the whole body of the boy, he stepped back from him about ten paces, and calling the boy by his name, said, "Rise up, and come to me," and at the word the boy rose up readily and went to Rabban. Then Rabban laid his hand upon his head, and blessed him, and his father took him and went to his house rejoicing, and every one marvelled and praised God.

And about that time a pestilence fell upon the camels in the country of Bêth Garmai. And the believing men sent to him and asked him to pray for them, and as soon as their messenger had gone into the monastery on that very day the pestilence ceased from their camels; and having received a Ḥênânâ and returned, they asked him concerning the day on which he had seen Rabban, and they knew that it was at that hour that God had manifested His help to them; and they praised and glorified God for the power which the prayer of the holy man possessed, in that while he himself was in the country of Margâ, his prayer was doing battle with the pestilence[3] in Bêth Garmai.

One day they brought a boy to him from Bîrtâ, a village of Rûstâḳâ, with his face turned behind him by the agency of Satan; and when they had brought him in to Rabban, he received healing by the holy right hand of this our father, and he set his face straight, and he became as he was in former times.

[1] Compare אֶת־קֶרֶן הַשֶּׁמֶן of 1 Kings i. 39; and פַּךְ הַשֶּׁמֶן 2 Kings ix. 1.

[2] ܦܝܟܐ see *supra*, 431.

[3] All the MSS. have ܡܘܬܒܐ but it is pretty certain that we should read ܡܘܬܢܐ.

Once there came to Rabban a man from the country of Bêth Bêghâsh,[1] whose name [was] Yahbh Mâran, [p. 346] who although he had lived with his wife for many years had not become the father of children, and he entreated Rabban that he would consider him worthy of the help of his prayer. And Rabban made the sign of the Cross over him with a *ḥenânâ*[2] three times, and having dismissed him to his journey with prayer he departed to his [own] country, and there were born to him two sons and one daughter.

And they brought to him from Ṣêyân, a village of heretics, a woman whose two legs were paralysed, and after she had continued in the monastery two days, lying in the chapel, our Lord gave her healing by the prayers of the holy man.

And again they brought to him from the province of Gârîn[3] a woman who was blind in both eyes—now this woman belonged to a noble family of rich people, and she was exceedingly beautiful in appearance—and by the prayers of the holy man she also received a complete cure in the appearance and beauty of both her eyes, and every man praised and glorified God when they saw the help which that woman had obtained.

[One] night a devil beat a youth from Berbêlî[4] severely, and made him foam at the mouth, and on the morrow in the morning his parents carried him and brought him

[1] ܒܝܬ ܒܓܫ or باغاش was a district situated between Adhôrbâîgân and Ardabîl; in the eighth century the seat of the Nestorian bishop was in the church of Bâi ܕܒ̈ܓܐ ܒܝܬ. See Bk. ii. chap. 39, *supra*, p. 236; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 227 ff.

[2] See *supra*, p. 600.

[3] This province is also mentioned in Bk. iii. chap. 2, *supra*, p. 296.

[4] See *supra*, p. 576, and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, note 1762.

[to the holy man]. And when they had taken him in to Rabban, he sealed him with the sign of the Cross, and rebuked the devil according to the word of our Lord,[1] and all the brethren being gathered together before him, he went forth from his mouth like a carrion crow and flew away and departed; and that boy received healing and became as he was aforetime.

And they brought to him from Nâhêrmeshi[2] a woman who was persecuted by a wicked devil, and by the prayer of this holy man, the power of our Lord freed her also from the conflict with that devil.

And a certain man from Ṣĕyân brought to Rabban his only son who was smitten with a putrid sore, [p. 347] and Rabban commanded him to go down to the river[3] which ran under his cell and to bathe, and by this [means] he sent away [from him] the whole garment of that evil sore; and being healed his father took him with joy and praise of God, and departed to his village.

Once a man from the village of Bêth Talai, who believed in God and loved Him wholly, fell into a severe illness, and by reason of its violence his soul was well nigh departing [from him], and like Hezekiah[4] he sent to this our Isaiah [asking] that he would visit him with his prayer. And when the youth had gone forth from him to come to the monastery, that believing man saw the angel of the Lord standing above him in the form of Rabban as if he were offering up prayer on his behalf, and he was healed completely, and he sat up

[1] St. Matthew xvii. 18.

[2] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 217, note 1732.

[3] Probably the ܚܙܘܪ.

[4] See Isaiah xxxviii. 1.

in his bed, and he praised and glorified God; and by reason of the sound of his praise the people of his house were disturbed, and they went in and saw [him] sitting on [his] bed praising God, and he stood up forthwith and walked. And when the youth came to Rabban he informed him that he that had sent him was made whole; and those and such-like wonders were wrought by this holy man.

Once Satan appeared to a man by night in the form of a mighty man, and as he neither distinguished the vision nor the strange power, when Satan called him by his name, the man answered him readily and as he spoke Satan entered into him and tortured him. And his kinsfolk and relatives brought him to Rabban, and by the holy oil, and the mediation of his right hand, and by proclaiming over him [the name] of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, he received healing and remained whole all his days.

And they brought to Rabban from the village of Shamrakh a man who was vexed by Satan [p. 348] and he lacerated all his body with bites; he also was quickly made whole by the prayers of Rabban, and returned to his house rejoicing and praising God.

And a certain man had a plot[1] of land which was sown with beans,[2] and when the fruit was in the pod,[3]

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[1] ܙܪܥܬܐ, a small plot of ground in which corn or vegetables were sown. ܙܪܥܬܐ ܡܠܝܐ = חֶלְקַת הַשָּׂדֶה in 2 Samuel xxiii. 11. See Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 407.

[2] ܠܘܒܝܐ = التّرمس. The word ܠܘܒܝܐ is derived from the Greek κύαμος, ܩܘܡܘܣ; see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 680; Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 465.

[3] ܩܘܦܣܬܐ is the sack or bag in which the seeds of a plant

the worm fell upon all the pods, and tore them to pieces mercilessly; and when he had brought some of the pods and shewed [them] to Rabban, Rabban gave him some water in which the cross which [he wore] upon him had been washed, and commanded him to sprinkle it over all his plot of land, and straightway the plague ceased, and the praise of God increased through him and flourished.

And again, a certain man had large flocks of sheep, upon which there once fell a pestilence, and many of the sheep perished. And the man came to this holy old man and entreated him to pray against that affliction, and on the day when he returned from us, and had distributed the *ḥĕnânâ* over his flock, by the help of our Lord the pestilence ceased.

And when they had brought to this servant of Jesus the God of all, a woman whose blood had flowed from her for a long time, and she was nigh unto death, she was healed by the prayer of this blessed old man like the woman whom Jesus healed.[1]

In a district called Sâwrâ, which was situated above the monastery, there lived a famous family of Magians,

are contained; compare ܫܪܘܕܩܐ: قشره يكون فيها بزر النبات مثل الباقلى الرطب وغيره, Brit. Mus. Orient. 7203, fol. 180*a*, col. 2; شَرْذَق, plur. شَرَاذِق Dozy, *Supplément*, tom. I. p. 754, col. I; Lagarde, *Praetermissorum*, p. 122, No. 55. The plur. ܫܪܘܕ̈ܩܐ occurs in Ahrens, *Das Buch der Naturgegenstände*, text, p. 37, l. 17, trans. p. 60, note 3. In Brit. Mus. Orient. 2441, fol. 371*a*, col. 2, we have:—ܫܪܘܕ̈ܩܐ: الشرانيق ܗܢ ܗܕܐ الذى يكون في الدماغ قشر الرمان الرقيق ܘܡܫܬܡܗ ܐܦ ܠܒܘܫܐ ܕܓܒܐ: الباقلى وهو اخضر رطب باقماعه يكون فيها بزر النبات

[1] St. Matthew ix. 20.

who had not yet taken upon themselves the bridle of the worship of God the Life of the worlds, but according to the custom of their parents they worshipped fire and the heavenly bodies. And when these men saw the mighty deeds and signs which were wrought by the mediation of this wonderful man, [p. 349] they were overcome [by] a noble-minded victory, and they spat upon the object of their worship, and despised the impure doctrine of Magianism, and came to this light of Christianity, and entreated him that through him they might become members of the household for the worship of his God, for, said they to him, "The God who is worshipped by thee, O our father, is the true God, and we will be His servants and adorers as long as He permitteth us to live in this world, and Magianism is to be denied, together with all its unclean and polluted muttered prayers.[1] Then he with great joy shewed and made clear before them all the glory of Christianity, and of the living doctrine of the Gospel of Christ our Lord and of those good things which are above [this] world, and which are laid up for holy Christians in the world which is to come, and how in all generations holy men have pleased God the Creator and Maker of all created things, and of God the Cause of everything which exists and is made. And he commanded and made ready everything which was necessary for the Mysteries[2] of holy baptism, and according to the order of the service of the Holy Church he baptized them with

[1] Compare "indem der murmelnde Priester mit der Dienerschaft zwanzig Ellen vom Feuer entfernt sitzt," u. s. w., Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 297.

[2] Read ܠܐܪ̈ܙܐ.

his hands in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. And he commanded their wives and children [to be brought], and he baptized them in the church of Ṣâwrâ their village, and he admonished them, and said to them, "This day is a marriage feast made in the heights of heaven above among the ranks of the holy angels, for if our Lord said,[1] 'The angels who are in heaven rejoice over the conversion of one sinner that repenteth', how very much more [will they rejoice] over the many who have gone into the courts of the Holy Church, and [whose names] have been written down and inscribed with the royal stamp of the money of the kingdom! This day have your names been written down with [those of] the first who have been inscribed in heaven; this day have ye cast off the black garment which the error of the worship of fire wove for you; [p. 350] this day have ye made white that soul which was spotted with the polluted passions of the doctrine of erring devils. Now therefore, my beloved, seek the things which are above,[2] and let be earnestly desired the things which are above, and not those which are upon earth, where Christ Whom ye have put on dwelleth in heaven, for ye are dead to yourselves, and your lives are hidden with Christ in God,[3] and when Christ, Who is our Life, shall be revealed, then will ye also be revealed with Him in glory. Mortify then your members[4] which are upon earth, fornication, uncleanness, theft, avarice, and idolatry;[5] try

[1] St. Luke xv. 7—10.

[2] Colossians iii. 1.

[3] Colossians iii. 3. [4] Colossians iii. 5.

[5] The Peshîṭtâ has ܐܡܝܬܘ ܗܟܝܠ ܗܕܡܝܟܘܢ ܕܥܠ ܐܪܥܐ. ܙܢܝܘܬܐ ܘܛܢܦܘܬܐ ܘܚܫܐ ܘܪܓܬܐ ܒܝܫܬܐ. ܘܥܠܘܒܘܬܐ ܕܗܝ ܗܝ ܕܚܠܬ ܦܬܟܪܐ.

everything,[1] and lay hold upon that which is good, and flee from every evil thing." And the Magians hearkened unto him graciously and simply, and undertook [to do] those things which were said by him to them, and they were mingled among the Catholic Church; and they were changed from their former manner of life of marrying their mothers, and sisters, and daughters, and they acted according to the rule of life which Rabban taught them. And they brought an enlightened and learned man, and he taught them the psalms, and hymns, and holy customs, and observances; and thus they were made perfect holily in the new man which they had put on.

And a certain Persian woman having been made by devils their abode, the poor creature was grievously vexed by them, and she used to come against every one who passed near unto her with foul abuse and stone-throwing; and her kinsfolk having brought her to Rabban, she tarried in the martyrium the whole night, and with the dawn our Lord gave to her freedom from the subjection to the devils. And after she had been made whole she related to her neighbours, saying, "An old man came to me in the night, and he laid hold of those black beings[2] which clave to me, [p. 351] and he smote them, and with adjurations forbade them to come near to me again, and they fled and they have not [come] again"; and thus being made whole she returned to her house.

And again, a certain thief once came in the night

[1] Thessalonians v. 21.

[2] ܟܘܫܝܐ, literally, "Ethiopians". Devils often appeared in the forms of black men; see *supra*, p. 405.

and began to dig through the wall of the κόγχη of this monastery that he might carry off the books and property of the monastery, and having struck two blows his right hand straightway withered. And in the morning he went in to Rabban and confessed his folly, but although Rabban laboured much, and made much supplication in prayer on his behalf, the man did not receive healing, and rightly, for it was meet that the man who had dared to break into the house of God's worship, which had [but] newly been built, and to which the blessed brethren had been [but] recently gathered together, should remain with an uncured stroke. For in every beginning of [progress] in Divine things fear and awe are necessary, just as the word of Simon, the chief of the Apostles, cast fear upon Ananias[1] and Sapphira at the beginning of [his] preaching; and it is written moreover, "If a man sinneth against a man, let him entreat the Lord and it shall be forgiven him; but if he sin against the Lord, whom shall he entreat?"[2] So that wretched man remained with his withered arm, like Cain in Genesis,[3] and as he was unable to find food to sustain his life, when he went begging from door to door and from village to village, he became the herald of his own punishment.

On another occasion a certain man took away the silken[4] veil from the martyrium, and as soon as he

[1] Acts v. 1—6.

[2] 1 Samuel ii. 25. The Pĕshîṭtâ has ܐܢ ܢܚܛܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܠܓܒܪܐ ܢܒܥܐ ܡܢ ܩܕܡ ܡܪܝܐ܂ ܘܐܢ ܠܡܪܝܐ ܢܚܛܐ ܓܒܪܐ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܢܒܥܐ܀

[3] Genesis iv. 15.

[4] Compare [illegible], Budge, *Alexander*, (text), p. 195, l. 11.

brought it into his house all his children were vexed by a dévil. And when he saw this he went back to the monastery, [having] the veil with him, and he bowed down before Rabban, and confessed his sin, and Rabban gave him a *hěnànâ* and commanded him to give it to his children to drink, [mixed] with water; and when he had done this they straightway received healing.

On another day a certain heathen went into the garden of the monastery, [p. 352] wishing to gather figs, and the Lord smote him with the sickness of blindness, and he remained the whole night sitting on the wall. And when it had dawned and the monks who served in the monastery came and found him, he confessed the sin which he had committed, and they took him in to Rabban who passed his hand over his eyes, and he received perfect healing and undertook never to do the like again.

Now when Satan, the father of lies, who from the beginning fought with our parents in Eden[1] and who hath in all generations inflicted injury upon our race in many things—and he it is who hath sown bitter tares among the chosen wheat of the congregations of the Cross—saw that the monastery of the triumphant man was adorned with every kind of virtue and that its monks performed their duties and observed with diligent care the stated seasons of prayer, and that they completed with joy all the singing of the Psalms, and the praise of Christ which was formed in the mouth of those who daily went in and came out[2] [of it], he

[1] Genesis iii. 1—6.

[2] We should have expected ܥܳܠܽܘܠܶܐ for ܥܰܠܳܠܶܐ usually means "penitent"; see *B. O.*, ii. p. 173, l. 4. The words ܥܳܠܽܘܠܶܐ ܘܡܰܦܩܳܢܶܐ here = "the visitors going and coming;" compare ܥܳܐܠܝܢ ܘܢܳܦܩܝܢ, text, p. 353, l. 7.

wished to make those ascetic brethren to cease from service of the spirit, through the service of the table, and to pour into and to fill their cells with the votive[1] offerings of meat and drink of the will of Satan, and [to occupy them] with services for the villagers of the country round about and for people of all ranks in the world whom he invited and brought to this poor monastery, instead of the standing up in service before God.[2] And he worked upon a certain erring monk who [belonged] to the corrupt confession of the followers of Severus of Antioch,[3] and he brought with him some rancid[4] oil, and he came to this monastery, forsooth,

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[1] For ܕܘܟܬ̈ܐ see Bk. iv. chap. 7, *supra*, p. 390.

[2] Thomas means to say that as the fame of the Abbot Cyprian spread abroad in the countries round about people of all ranks flocked to his monastery, and that they either made offerings in money, or in kind, to it, or gave gratuities to the monks to conduct services and prayers on their behalf. The offerings in kind were eaten at a common table by monks and visitors, and the gifts in money enabled them to indulge in many of the comforts of life. In a short time the monks lost their keen appreciation of the pleasures of the ascetic life and grew to love the services of Saints' days and holidays, and Satan was enabled to work his will upon them. At this time the Abbot by means of a flask of bad oil, which was introduced into the monastery by a heretic, showed them that this perpetual and wearisome crowd of visitors was as injurious to their spiritual life as was bad oil if used to anoint children and sick people before baptism, and that the odour of such visits was symbolically as the smell of bad oil; he caused the flask of bad oil to be burned, and thus symbolically burned up the disease which was eating away the spiritual life of the ascetics.

[3] For ܣܐܘܪ̈ܝܢܐ see *supra*, p. 41, note 2.

[4] Literally, "oil of wickedness," which typified a wicked spirit.

to pray. And he tarried here the night, and in the morning he took out from his bosom a little horn of that abominable oil, and gave it to the steward, saying, "Keep this prayer[1] oil for me until I come back from a journey which I must needs make"; now the brother in his simplicity took the oil without asking any questions, [p. 353] and hid it in one of the windows of the monastery,[2] until its owner should come and take it. And what did Satan our adversary do? As long as that stinking oil remained here, he stirred up [the people of] every country and district to come and pray in the monastery of Rabban Cyprian, and [they came] not only [from] Margâ, which was near, but from Bêth Nûhdĕrân,[3] and there came Arabs, and Ninevites, people of Adiabene, and the people of Bêth Garmai, Bêth Bĕghâsh, Dâsen, and the field of Ḥeptôn.[4] And he caught and brought hither such crowds upon crowds of people that the monastery and the temple and the cells of the brethren could not hold the multitudes that were going and coming, and that belonged to the congregations which established the will of Satan. And when Rabban, the holy Mâr Cyprian, saw this thing which was not accord-

[1] ܡܫܚܐ ܕܨܠܘܬܐ the oil with which children, catechumens and sick people were anointed before baptism; see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2240.

[2] I have usually translated ܟܘܪ by "monastery", but it is quite clear that a very large room or building destined for the use of ܥܡܘܪ̈ܐ in common is intended, where the monks had their kitchen (Thomas of Margâ, text, p. 343, l. 2) and place for eating and sleeping (compare ܒܠܘܪ ܕܡܘܡܘܢ *B. O.*, ii. p cxxxviii).

[3] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 208—216.

[4] A province belonging to Môṣul; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 233; Feige, Die Geschichte des Mâr 'Abhdîshô, p. 31 (translation); and *supra*, p. 397.

ing to custom, he called to the brethren and said to them, "O my sons, the tumult of all this changing multitude is very foreign, in my opinion [to our life]. Who am I, and what is my righteousness, that my fame hath stirred up all countries to weary us? Shew me if ye have wrought any thing contrary to [our rules], or if there is among you a man who hath associated himself with heretics and hath learned any thing from them; for I know that God is not the cause of all these assemblies." Then the brother who had received the oil from the heretic came and fell down before Rabban, and he answered and said to him, "Master, forgive me, for I have committed sin unwittingly. A certain monk of the followers of Severus of Antioch gave me this vessel of oil,[1] and he said to me, 'Keep it until I return from the journey which I must make'; but what was the object of it I knew not." And when Rabban saw it, he smelled from it the rancid smell of the wicked, and he knew that it was the cause of this damned weariness; and he commanded, and the furnace was made hot, and he threw it into the fire together with the vessel [that contained it]. Thus was extinguished the flame of that spiritual sickness, [p. 354] and those people who were on the roads turned back, and those who were making preparations in their houses to come left off making ready, and we received the grace of God that the heretical doctrine of the Evil One was corrected by the mediation of our holy father.

And a certain woman from Ṣâwrâ had a daughter who was one day vexed by Satan, and she brought

[1] ܒܠܘܛܐ, a vessel in the shape of an *acorn*; see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 532.

her to this driver away of devils. And when she had laid her at the feet of his holiness, he stood up and prayed over her, and we were all looking on, and wasps[1] vicious as those excited by smoke came forth from her mouth, and thus our Lord speedily gave her healing; and the woman took her daughter and went out from before him confessing and glorifying God with us. But why should we strive as if, forsooth, we were able to relate [all] the wonders of this holy man? For who knoweth the mighty deeds which he wrought in that island, and in the deserts of Egypt and Scete, where he lived for forty years? The things which he wrought here he wrought secretly, and we have written down a few of the many things which he did, [being] those which were wrought before us, but we have omitted [to notice] the rest because of their great number.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE END OF THE COURSE OF THE BLESSED MAN, AND OF HIS EXHORTATIONS TO HIS CHILDREN IN THE HOUR OF HIS DEATH.

Let us now shew forth the crowning of the course of this warrior, and how he who for sixty years had not rested, either day or night, from his ardent course towards his Lord, [p. 355] rested from the trouble of his wandering in strange lands. Now after he had

[1] ܕܶܒܳܘܪ̈ܶܐ 'wasps', but ܕܒܘܪ̈ܝܬܐ 'bees'. Compare ܕܒܘܪ̈ܐ ܡܕܒܪ̈ܢܐ Deuteronomy i. 44; and see Hoffmann, *Syr. Arab. Glossen*, No. 3018, p. 107; Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 814.

completed twenty years of life here, and after he had made his monastery to flourish with many brethren, and with the books of the Holy Scriptures, and with readers and ascetics, like the other monasteries of the holy men his contemporaries, the day drew nigh and arrived in which he should rest from his labour, and should finish his contest in glorious perfectness. And he knew and felt that the hour of his departure had arrived, and he called to his holy sons, and spake to them, saying, "Now, my sons, abide in peace, for my time is come, and the moment of the end in which I shall go the way of my fathers, and along the road of all the race of Adam, hath drawn nigh. Take good heed, my sons, to yourselves, and to all the doctrine which ye have received from me; be not neglectful of the seasons of prayer, nor of sitting [in meditation] in your cells, nor of penitential bowings and prostrations to the ground which I have committed to you, and in token of regret for the worldliness of your lives, commanded you to perform. Let not your lives pass away in idleness, for the hour of death is hidden from us, and when it hath come [to you] ye will repent of your days which [ye have passed] in slothfulness. With all your might take good heed that ye be not mingled with profane heretics, and let your souls abominate all their doctrine, for they are enemies of your manner of life, and of your peace of mind, like Satan who is in them. My sons, enter not into their monasteries, and mingle not with the pure gold of your belief the abominable brass of their subtilties; for they are cut off from belief, and are empty of hope, and that their work is Satanic the polluted oil which [we burned] a short time ago [and which] gathered all countries against us, will

teach. Take heed moreover, my beloved, unto the love of those who are in the world and exchange not the love of your Lord [p. 356] for the love which ye once denied before many. Possess neither gold, nor silver, nor clothes more than ye need, that ye fall not, like Gehazi,[1] from the household of our Lord; for just as our Lord is greater than Elisha, so also is the punishment of those who tread His commandments under foot greater; ye shall give answer to our Lord on the Day of Judgment if ye transgress one of these commandments." And when he had admonished and exhorted them, he commanded them and they came near before him, and he kissed each one of them, and said farewell to them; and all the brethren wept with a great weeping at the parting of the righteous man from them. And when he had saluted them, he bowed on the top of his staff, like Jacob,[2] and prayed, and he blessed the Church and her children, and pastors, and masters, and kings, and governors; and he made the sign of the holy Cross over his monastery, and thus with his mouth full of the glory of God, and his tongue [of] praise,[3] he stretched out his legs without sickness and without suffering, and he opened his holy mouth and delivered up his spirit in peace. And as he was gentle and gracious in his life, and never chid any man or behaved harshly [to him], so let him sleep happily until the Voice which shall raise him up alive calleth him, and lifteth him up to heaven with all his holy fellow-labourers. And [the people of] all the village, together with the teachers,

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[1] 2 Kings v. 22.

[2] Hebrews xi. 21.

[3] Psalm xxxv. 28; liv. 14; lxxi. 24.

and scholars, and priests, and deacons were assembled with the congregation of his sons, and they celebrated the day of his commemoration with the praises and canons according to custom, day and night, and he was laid in the martyrium with the honour which befitted his holiness; and on the following day they kept a vigil for him a second time that he might be an intercessor with his followers[1] for them on the day when he shall be paid the wages of his trials and troubles, and that they might sit down happily at the feast of the kingdom above. Amen.

Now after the death of that holy chief our Lord wrought a miracle at his grave, [p. 357] the [like of] which had never been worked by him during his life, that it might be known unto all men that he was alive and with our Lord, and that now he was more near to Him, and that he had obtained freedom of speech before Him. A certain believing woman from the village of Bêth Mârûth, who during the lifetime of Rabban had had experience of the signs [which he worked], had a son, who had been given to her by the prayer of Rabban through a *ḥĕnânâ* which she had received from him; and this son contracted a serious disease, and it waxed grievously sore in him. Now when his mother understood that he was a dead man, for he was nigh unto death, that believing woman, who is worthy of being remembered for good, was, in her faith, like unto the Shunammite[2] woman of Elisha, and she said to her husband, "Rise up, and make ready a she-ass for me, that it may go with my son to my Elisha, Mâr Cyprian,

[1] ܡܠܘ̈ܝܢܐ, *companions, followers, train.*

[2] 2 Kings iv. 24.

the ascetic, the spiritual father of my son". And although every man advised her [saying], "Give up this idea, for when the boy's body is shaken by the motion[1] of the ass, he will die immediately", she was not at all persuaded, but said, "If he die there I will bury him, and if he is made whole it will be the power of God that, by the prayer of the holy man, shall bestow healing upon my son". And having set herself and her son upon the she-ass, she commanded her servant to lead on quickly, and when she had come a distance of three *farsah* the soul of the lad departed from him. And she alighted from the ass, and she bandaged(?)[2] him, and wrapped him round, being strong in her faith. And she came to this monastery and went into the martyrium, and laid him before the grave of Rabban [p. 358], and she gave herself to prayer like the holy woman Hannah,[3] the mother of Samuel, and in a voice which could be heard she spake mournfully, so that every one round about her wept, saying, "O Mâr Cyprian, the servant of God, behold the loan which thou didst grant to me during thy lifetime thou hast taken back in thy death. I did not ask of thee a soulless corpse, neither did I seek to suffer the pangs of childbirth,[4] and to bring up a child if all my care and lullabies were to be in vain. Take pity upon that belief which hath taken refuge in thee now that thou art dead as when thou wast alive, and let not the bosom of thy woman disciple

[1] Read ܒܕܘܒܕܐ.

[2] The exact meaning of ܚܒܫ here is unknown both to Hoffmann and to myself.

[3] 1 Samuel i. 11.

[4] Read with BC and Vat. ܕܚܒܠܐ ܕܡܚܒܠܢ.

be deprived of the child which thou hast placed therein. Entreat now thy Lord, like Elisha, and let Him give back to me the blessing which I have plucked from the tree of the house of Adam by thy prayer; and as concerning Elisha also it is written that a dead man came to life again [through touching] his dead body,[1] even so let the breath of life blow into the son of thy handmaid by the shrine of thy glorious body, for when a servant is near unto his master he hath the greater freedom of speech. Have pity upon the woman who with lamentations goeth round about thy holy tomb, and I will make it a condition with thy Lord that he shall minister in thy monastery all the days of his life, and that like Samuel the son of Hannah he shall be a man set apart to the Lord, and shall be dedicated [to God] all his days. O God of Mâr Cyprian, let the request of thy handmaid enter in before Thee, although I am unworthy [of it], and let Thy holy man Cyprian be [my] advocate before Thee." Then God the merciful One Who spake "Let light shine out of darkness",[2] and "Everything is possible to him that believeth",[3] and "Everything which ye shall ask in prayer, if ye believe, ye shall receive",[4] especially wishing to glorify the son of His household in his death more than in his life, made the soul of the boy to return to its body, [p. 359] and he cried out according to [his] custom. Now we were in the temple [occupied] in the service of Psalms for the night, and the woman was in the martyrium; and when the mother saw that [her] boy moved she

[1] 2 Kings xiii. 20. 21.
[2] יְהִי אוֹר וַיְהִי־אוֹר Genesis i. 3.
[3] St. Mark ix. 23. [4] St. Matthew xxi. 22.

glorified God with a loud voice, and by her voice we perceived that the boy had come to life. And we also went into the martyrium,[1] and saw him sitting before his mother as in former times; and with the life which was restored to him he received a complete cure. And every man praised God and marvelled, and the woman took her son and went to her village, and related to the believers everything which had taken place; and because of this thing the praise of our Lord was proclaimed in all the country. And that believing woman, like Hannah, performed her vow, and she set him apart [to the Lord] even as she had vowed; and when the boy had grown up and had arrived at years of discretion, she brought him to the monastery and left him and went away. And he became a disciple and [afterwards] an ascetic, and every year[2] she came to see him, and brought to him clothes even as Hannah did for Samuel. And he became a perfect example of a solitary brother, and completed his life in this monastery according to the will of God, the Lord of all, to Whom be praise, and honour, and worship, and dominion, and exaltation; and by the prayers of the holy Mâr Cyprian may His grace and mercy [be] upon our assembly, now and always, and for ever and ever, Amen.

Here endeth the history of the blessed Rabban Mâr Cyprian, the priest and ascetic, the founder of the holy monastery in the province of Bîrtâ.

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[1] A kind of side-chapel by the side of the κόγχη.

[2] I Samuel ii. 19.

[p. 360] . CHAPTER VIII.

THE HISTORY OF THE WONDERFUL ACTS OF THE MIGHTY MAN RABBAN GABRIEL, THE ASCETIC IN VERY TRUTH, AND THE HEAD OF THE MONASTERY OF THE HOLY MÀR CYPRIAN.

THE AUTHOR'S APOLOGY TO THE READER.

Now therefore we have the intention of writing concerning that marvellous man among the ascetics who flourished in the later times, the blessed Rabban Gabriel, the man who penetrated the mysteries of Christ, by whose hands our Lord wrought the signs of the Prophets and Apostles, and of weaving with my feeble speech the crown of his strife, from the materials which have been written down by early [writers] concerning his noble acts, and from those things which I have heard repeated about him, some by the monks who saw him whom I have met, and some from the priests and believing men of the country. And I will lay it upon the table of the hearing of those who love the histories of holy men, adding also at the same time, according to the materials which I have found with his history, the narrative of the gentle-minded Rabban Paul, his brother, whose memorial is among the righteous, upon the help of whose prayers I rely. And as far as my ignorance will allow I hope to bring conviction to my hearers of the befitting rank[1] of the excellence of these

[1] *I. e.*, Thomas hopes to be able to show in his narratives of Gabriel and Paul that their acts and deeds were sufficiently noble to justify him in placing them in the same book as the glorious saints whose lives have been recorded in the earlier chapters of this book.

divine men, and I entreat every one who is about to read through these histories, not to consider me blameworthy as if I had drawn nigh presumptuously to set down in writing their glorious deeds; for our Lord knoweth that I have not drawn near to write down their histories for the sake of profane advantages or lying fame. |p. 361| For what profit can the ignorant man who relieth upon his own wisdom inherit from dull and senseless words? Or what benefit can the fool gain, who although he cannot heal himself, is nevertheless occupied with the praise of others? And I was seized with jealousy that the congregation, and the place where their bodies rest should not be deprived of the stories of their holiness, for a paternal inheritance is beloved by children, and the study of the histories of their lives is a blessed thing for the heirs of the fathers. And, moreover, it is not meet that the marvellous fame of the mighty deeds of men, who in their holiness fall short in no way of the early saints, should not be proclaimed and spoken of in the world. So then it becometh the wise and understanding reader to drive out all blame of my shortcomings from his mind, for just as I have drawn near to set down in writing the memorials [of holy men] for the benefit of the community, so also is it incumbent upon him to praise and magnify these things which are written down. And although [my] discourse be weak and halting, let him have regard of the fruit which it beareth, and let him gather roses from thorns, and flowers from brambles, leaving the thorns and brambles behind in their commonness to become food for fire and pasturage for wild animals.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE ORIGIN OF THESE HOLY MEN [RABBAN GABRIEL AND RABBAN PAUL].

In the country of Bêth Garmai there was a village called Lûz,[1] and in it there was a certain house of believers renowned for [their] fear of God, [p. 362] among whom was a believing man whose good works were well attested. For this man our Lord prepared a good wife, as it is written in Wisdom,[2] "A good wife shall be given to the man that feareth God because of his good works", and he begot by her two sons; the name of the one was Paul, and of the other Gabriel. And while they were young children their father departed from [this] temporary life to that of eternity, and his true faith clave to him by the light of his works; and the house remaining to their mother, this woman occupied herself in the reading of the Holy Scriptures and in fasting and prayer, and she gave alms[3] and oblations abundantly to the poor and afflicted. Now when the two boys had grown up and they had determinedly set themselves apart to observe the things which were seemly and which their Creator had placed in the nature of the family of Adam, that believing and holy woman took them, and gave herself to exile for God's sake, holding on to the hands of her sons, and relying upon the heavenly hope, and going along the paths which [lead] towards this land. When God, Who knoweth every thing before it cometh to pass,

[1] A village situated on the Zâb; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 277.

[2] Proverbs xviii. 22.

[3] Read ܙܕܩܬܐ.

saw the love of that believing woman, and that her sons were about to become sons of His kingdom, for she had despised everything in her love for Him, He drew her with her sons to this province of Bîrtâ, to a hamlet called Ṣâwrâ[1] where there was a famous school with enlightened teachers—for that school was still in existence through [the support] of other believing men who feared God, and who carefully provided for the assemblies of scholars, and for the teachers who loved learning. And when this woman had gone into this part of the country, and saw that the believing men who lived there were well attested in the Christian belief, [p. 363] she elected to live in this village, and she entrusted her two beloved sons, Paul and Gabriel, to the school there. And she trained and taught them by works of the perfect life and admonished and counselled them by day and by night to despise and reject all the possessions of this fleeting world, to such a degree that she allowed them to draw nigh to no manner of service, the labour of learning alone excepted. And they remained in that holy school for fifteen years until they were trained in all the doctrine of Divine things, and in the theoretical knowledge of the Scriptures and the understanding and interpretation of them, moreover, they were frequent in the actual practice of fasting, and prayer, and night vigils [which they kept] with their mother, the woman worthy of mention for good; for she would not separate nor depart from them, and she lived in a chamber in the school, and like Hannah the daughter of Penuel,[2] she

[1] This school was founded by the famous Bâbhai; see *supra*, p. 296.

[2] 1 Samuel i. 12.

persevered with them in standing up in prayer in the temple, and in the vigils of holy festivals, and of first days of the week. And when they had been fully instructed, and needed nothing more from the school—for in the fifteen years they had acquired all ecclesiastical learning—that blessed old woman counselled them to renounce henceforth every material thing[1] of [this] world, and to draw nigh to the ascetic life.

[P. 364] CHAPTER X.

OF THE DISCIPLESHIP OF THE BLESSED PAUL AND GABRIEL IN THE MONASTERY OF RABBAN CYPRIAN.

Now at that time the congregation of Rabban Cyprian was famous among perfect, upright and holy men, with whom there still existed the sweet smell of the sweat of the labours of that holy man, and by the will of God, and their own freewill choice, and the desire of their mother they elected to draw nigh to the ascetic life in this monastery. And when they two had entered there, and had asked to be received by the old men, and were numbered among the brotherhood, they completed three full years in the service of the community in the ready obedience [which is] acceptable unto God, having careful regard always for the nursing and attendance upon strangers, and [performing] all manner of service for the community; and they became a fair mirror to all the brethren who

[1] ܗܘܠܢܝܬܐ, literally, 'that which belongeth to matter' from ܗܘܠܐ or ܗܘܠܐ, ὕλη.

were in the monastery, and to the strangers who used to come to them. Now Paul was of a zealous nature and somewhat quick-tempered, but the divine man Gabriel was gentle and mild, and he was a man in whom the love of Christ dwelt, and by reason of his gracious disposition he was called *Sâbhâ*[1] by all the brotherhood. What peaceful disposition ever existed which could be compared unto his? What wise man ever possessed the ready disposition [to receive] all men like unto him? For those who had never seen him distinguished and recognized him at once from the report of his characteristic qualities,[2] the venerable appearance, the gentle word,[3] the measured step,[4] the bent head with his gaze fixed upon the ground, [p. 365] and his stooping position,[5] when meditating upon the Holy Scriptures at such times as he was free from the service of the monastery. And the two [young men] performed the work of the monastery thoroughly and with great discretion, without which no man is able to live perfectly the ascetic life, for they went forth into the outer cells of the monastery when all the other monks were celebrating the vigil of a festival, and remained by themselves. Now the excellent Paul received and ministered unto strangers, and he chose this manner of life that he might afford relief and do honour unto all men, to the poor and afflicted, the troubled and the sick, for he had experience in healing

[1] *I. e.*, "old man".

[2] ܦܘ̈ܪܫܐ qualities of the mind and character; see text, pp. 292, l. 4, 325, l. 11.

[3] Read ܡܠܬܐ.

[4] Read, with C, ܗܠܟܬܐ.

[5] Read, with C, ܩܘܡܬܐ.

the body; and he established the old woman his mother in a chamber near his cell, and thus toiling and labouring in acts of holiness, like the venerable and holy women [of old] and with a good[1] name and a crown of praise, she departed to our Lord in sweet peace; and glorious happiness is prepared for her on the day of His coming. Now the blessed Gabriel chose to dwell in the cell of the monk and to lead the life of an anchorite; and while Paul, like the blessed Abraham, took care by his labour and service to become one who received the poor, Gabriel, like the mighty prophet Elijah, honoured the life of the solitary.

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[1] Read ܛܒܐ.

[2] With the form ܩܪܕܘ, Arab. قَرْدَى, compare ܟܘܣܪܘ, Arab. كِسْرَى. Mount Ḳardô is, according to tradition, the spot upon which the ark rested and where it was swallowed up by the earth. According to a story told in the history of Mâr Âwgîn, a certain Mâr Jacob made up his mind to go to the mountains of Ḳardô, and to pray to the Lord to show him the ark and to bring back a plank therefrom. Having taken the advice of Mâr Awgîn he set out for Ḳardô, and upon his arrival at the skirts of the mountain an angel met him and led him to the spot where the ark had been swallowed up. The Lord then appeared to him and told him that he had arrived at the place wherein the ark was laid, and when Mâr Jacob had asked Him to give him a plank therefrom, He caused a plank of the wood of the ark to be set before him. Mâr Jacob received it with joy and returned to Mâr Âwgîn who straightway made from it a cross which he wore upon his neck, and which he afterwards buried in his monastery. See Bedjan, *Acta Martyrum*, tom. iii. Paris, 1892, pp. 435—437.

CHAPTER XI.

OF THE DEPARTURE OF RABBAN GABRIEL TO THE COUNTRY OF ḲARDÔ TO LEAD THE LIFE OF AN ANCHORITE, AND OF HOW HE CAME BACK AGAIN TO THIS COUNTRY.

Now when [Rabban Gabriel] had been in this monastery a long time labouring and excelling [p. 366] in all the various acts of the life of ascetics, in fasting, and in prayer, in nightly vigils, and sighing and weeping between the times [of prayer],[1] happiness was ascribed to him by all the brotherhood. But when that man, [who was] wise in matters relating to God, saw the honour which was offered to him by all the brotherhood, and that happiness was ascribed to him by every man, he despised and rejected everything, his cell, and the things which were necessary for his use, and everything which he possessed in the monastery, and taking with him the holy Book of the Gospels [wrapped up] in a small cloak, he went out secretly by night, without any one knowing [of his departure]. And because he had decided to become an anchorite and to live remote from any human habitation, and to make himself a stranger to all those who knew him, he directed the course of his journey to the mountains of Ḳardô, and he made himself a dwelling and a place of rest far away from any spot where he was likely to meet a human being, in a hollow which he lighted upon in a thickly wooded glen in a mountain side, for asceticism and voluntary abstinence became his dwelling-place.

[1] *I. e.*, between the services.

which was remote from every human consolation, and he never saw a man, and never approached either a habitation or a peaceful and inhabited place during the whole time that he lived there. His food [consisted] of the roots and the fruit with which the Divine Grace kept his life [in him]. What temptation of devils [is there] which did not pass over him there? And what pains [are there] which mortal nature knoweth [how] to bring upon the child of man, which did not come upon the holy man? Those who have lived the life of the anchorite and have tasted its troubles will know the taste of these bitternesses. Now he held conversations with the wild animals, for they came to him constantly. And just as [they stood] before the blessed Noah at the door of the ark, [p. 367] even so also did they stand tranquilly before him—now a wild animal [usually] departeth, and fleeth and shyly runneth away at the sight and approach of a human being—and although they were [usually] afraid of the cage(?)[1] yet they fed and made their homes near him, as if they had taken refuge and shelter in him.

Now the blessed Paul his brother ceased not to weep by reason of the remoteness of the venerable Gabriel, but by day and by night he and the brethren prayed with supplication and beseeching, and entreated God to make known to them what had become of the holy man and where he dwelt; and after a long time, because the blessed Rabban Gabriel became well known to all the people who were in Ḳardô, for our Lord

[1] ܢܡܘܪܐ does not make sense here and the word must be corrupt. Hoffmann suggests that we should either read ܢܛܘܪܐ "cage", or ܢܚܫܝܪܐ "hunting".

had given healing and great cures by his hand unto many, his fame also reached the wonderful Paul his brother. And having taken a letter of entreaty from the congregation of the brethren who were in this monastery, he rose up and set out to bring him, and he made inquiries about him, and sought [him] out, and it was shewn to him where he dwelt; and when he came up to him, they fell upon each other's neck and wept like loving brothers. And the venerable Paul brought out the letter of the congregation and gave [it] to him, and when he had read it, he did not give his brother a decided answer whether he would go or whether he would not, but he gave the matter to God; and they both stood up the whole night in prayer, [entreating] that the Lord would make known His will unto them. And on the third night when Paul was sleeping through the fatigue of the vigil, the angel of the Lord appeared to Abbâ Gabriel, face to face, and counselled him to set out with his brother, [saying,] "This is the will of the Lord, for thou art set to be a great benefit to that country;" and on the morrow he rose up and came with his brother, while Paul rejoiced, and was glad, [p. 368] and praised God at the return of the holy man his brother. Thus by the power of Christ our Lord which clave to them they came to this country.

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE BLESSED MÂR JOHN, AND OF HIS CONGREGATION IN THE HOLY MONASTERY OF NÊRABH[1] BARZAI.[2]

Now inasmuch as I promised above,[3] in the history of Rabban Cyprian, when I repeated the names of the holy men who lived in this country, and counted among them the holy John who lived in Nêrabh Barzai (for to this [monastery] came Rabban Gabriel when he returned from Ḳardô, and dwelt therein a long time), to relate the history of this place, it is [now] time for me to do so. This mountain glen[4] (*nêrĕbhâ*) had a place of ascent on one of its lower sides, but on [all] the others it was fortified from the most remote generations and times of old, when each country had a chief, and when each chief was held to be a petty king[5] in his country; but each was afraid of the others

[1] The meaning of ܢܪܒܐ has been pointed out by Hoffmann, in *Auszüge,* p. 225. With the word we may compare the Assyrian 𒉌𒊑𒁉 *niribi*, plur. 𒉌𒊑𒁉𒋾 *niribiti;* see Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglathpileser's I*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 143.

[2] ܢܪܒ ܒܪܙܝ *i. e.*, "the glen of Barzai." Barzai, sometimes written Barzî, seems to be derived from *Barz* (for Burz) "high", and a second word; the form ܒܪܙܘܝ, برزوی Barzôe also seems to exist. It is possible also that Barzai may be connected with the Persian *Barâz* "wild boar", a beast which in early times was much prized by the Persians; compare Βαράζης, Οὐαράζης, Βρύζης, Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 240, note 1.

[3] See *supra*, p. 577.

[4] It is clear from this passage that ܢܪܒܐ is a mountain glen or valley with only one place of entrance.

[5] ܡܠܟܘܢܐ diminutive from ܡܠܟܐ; see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2143.

and considered them to be raiders and robbers. And therefore in many places in the mountains, and rocks, and crags thou mayest find fortresses, and castles, and strong cities fenced about with walls, which were built and fortified by the ancients. In this country,[1] according to what is said, there lived a mighty man called Barzai, and he fortified this mountain glen and dug in it great cisterns, that is to say, pits to hold water, and he built caves hewn out of the rock [in it], and it was called Nêrabh Barzai, [p. 369] after the name of that ruler who furnished the fortress and made it a habitable place from the beginning.

Now when the Gospel of our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ had flown abroad, and heathen doctrine and the worship of idols had ceased from the world, all the furrows[2] of the world ascribed praise to the wise Creator by the mouths of the holy men who were in it,[3] and the mountains also ascribed praise to God through the ascetics and anchorites who dwelt in them, according to the word of Isaiah[4] the prophet, "Those who dwell in the rocks shall give praise, and from the top of the mountains shall they cry out." To this mountain glen then, with other [ascetics] from the territory of the Byzantine Greeks, came the blessed Mâr John, the Metropolitan, the companion and colleague of the seven Bishops who dwelt together all their lives in the holy Monastery of Rîshâ, and this holy Mâr John

[1] Extracts from this chapter are quoted in *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 499, coll. 1, 2.

[2] All the MSS. have ܕܒܝ̈ܬܐ, but we must read ܡܕܒܝ̈ܬܐ "furrows"; compare Job xxxi. 38; Psalm lxv. 10.

[3] Read ܕܒܓܘܗ.

[4] Isaiah xlii. 11.

established there a congregation of anchorites; and he himself dwelt among them in a [cave like unto a] grave without light and without intercourse with his fellow-man, except on rare occasions, and sometimes he went to participate in the Holy Mysteries. All [those] men were perfect and divine men, as the cave in which their bodies were laid testifieth, and their names are written in the Book of Life;[1] and behold if thou readest above their coffins thou wilt find their names written over the places where they are buried, but some of them are known to have been erased through the long interval of time. Now the congregation of that place was preserved[2] and continued until the time of the holy Rabban Gabriel, and in the days when he came from Ḳardô there were forty men in that holy Monastery of Rabban Mâr John. [p. 370] And this Mâr John taught the inhabitants of the village of Ḳôph,[3] and this village before his time never accepted the teaching of Christianity, but was mad[4] and drunk with the worship of idols and of trees and other things. When Mâr John received the Divine revelation concerning the teaching of that village, that divine man rose up and came forth from the place in which he had shut himself up,[5] and went down to the village of Ḳôph, and the Magians and Manicheans[6] and heathen who dwelt therein were

[1] Compare Philippians iv. 3; Revelation xiii. 8. Hoffmann thinks that "Book of Life" may refer to the ecclesiastical diptychs; compare ܣܦܪ ܚܝ̈ܐ *B. O.*, ii. p. 202, col. 2.

[2] Read ܢܛܝܪܝܢ.

[3] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 225.

[4] Assemânî has ܫܢܝܐ ܗܘܬ; see *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 499, col. 2, l. 21.

[5] Mâr John was a ܚܒܝܫܐ or "recluse."

[6] See *supra*, p. 481.

gathered together to hear his discourse and to listen to what he had to say to them; for they knew of the virtue and righteousness of the man, and they had also heard of the mighty deeds and signs which he wrought in the name of Christ. And when, according to the words of the blessed Paul, "Those who believe will not ask for signs, but only those who do not believe",[1] they asked him to shew them the greatness of his doctrine and belief which [arose] from [the signs], he manifested mightily to them his great works. He brought to life again a man who had been dead three days, and they marvelled; and again he withered by a curse only a large, tall olive tree, to the worship of which Satan had led them on by reason of the beauty and splendour of its growth, the abundance of its fruit, and the density of its foliage. He mocked at fire, for he used to go and sit in it, like Ananias[2] and his companions, and was in no wise injured; the sun which was held to be a god by those who worshipped it, he turned back by his command; he adjured a fountain of water and stopped it from flowing, and again he gave the permission, and the water came forth; and the blessed John greatly moved and terrified the inhabitants of Ḳôph by the power of his signs. And when those people saw that the power of God was manifested by his command, not only upon creatures and things, but also upon physical bodies which were accounted gods by them, [p. 371] they bowed the shoulders of their free-will to take upon them the yoke of the chariot of the Cross. And he brought them

[1] Compare 1 Corinthians xiv. 22.

[2] See *The Song of the Three Holy Children*, v. 66.

nigh to holy baptism, he made them partakers in the happiness of the propitiating Mysteries, he pulled down the fire-temple and built them the church which still standeth [there], he brought a teacher for them, he established schools there, and he sanctified it and purified it. From being a field of tares and a shrine of the Calumniator, it hath become this day the field of Christ, and the abiding place for His will, and [its inhabitants] make a boast in the name of the holy Mâr John, as people who by his hands were converted to the worship of God the Maker of heaven and earth.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE COMING OF RABBAN GABRIEL TO THE MONASTERY OF NÊRABH BARZAI, OF THE HEADSHIP WHICH HE ACCEPTED, AND OF THE DEATH OF PAUL HIS BROTHER.

Now when the congregation of this Monastery of Nêrabh Barzai heard that the blessed Rabban Gabriel had drawn[1] nigh to their border, since the head who had been appointed over them was dead, they went out to meet him with great honour and ceremony, and they led him to their monastery. And when he had tarried with them a few days, they and the believing men of the place prevailed over him with their entreaties, and he unwillingly accepted the headship of that holy monastery; and he did not wish to dwell with them [in the monastery] below, but in the cell of the holy Mâr John in the place where he was wont to shut

[1] Read ܩܪܝܒ.

himself up. And he lived there for many years, [p. 372] even until he reached the limit of his old age, ministering in the service of angels, and profiting and making [others] profit, and leading [others], and being led himself. And he was watchful to guard himself and the brotherhood which had been entrusted to him, and he was never once negligent in [making] intercession and prostrations in prayer, and in [performing] labours, and in continuing in his strenuous career by day and by night.

Now Rabban Paul his brother lived in the Monastery of Rabban Cyprian, and after a few days the head of that monastery departed [this] temporary life to that of eternity, and by the election of the brethren and by the wish of the believing men [Divine] Grace marked Paul out to be the head and governor of the brethren. And when he had accepted this work he went down to the country of Bêth Garmai, and sold his village Lûz, for as much as anyone would give him, disputing nothing, and he removed and built in this place the temple which had been built some time ago, in the days of Rabban Cyprian, because it was well nigh crumbling into ruins and falling down by reason of its great age. And he also built and furnished the Monastery of the holy Mâr John, where his brother Rabban Gabriel was the head, and whatever [money] was left over he gave and distributed among the poor and needy (may his alms be laid up in heaven!), caring for himself nothing at all, but only that he might give food to the orphans, and the afflicted, and the distressed, and the beggars who came to him. He was kind and gracious to the orphans, he fed the widows, and in his monastery the table was at all times laid ready with good, substantial food as much for the stranger

who came there, as for the brethren whom he had appointed therein. He ministered unto the sick, he visited the prisoners, he clothed the naked, he filled the hungry with food, he gave the thirsty to drink, he visited continually the prisoners who were confined in the gaol of Shuḳâ-dhe-ḥadh-bhĕ-Shabbâ[1] for [non-payment of] taxes, he himself carrying in his own hands food for them, and whatever they were in need of, [p. 373] clothing for the naked, and fruits (?)[2] for the sick who were among them. But how many [more] times shall we repeat the glorious things of this strenuous labourer who took upon himself the burden of every man? In that day shall our Lord cause him to hear the joyful sound, "I was hungry and thou gavest me to eat, I was thirsty and thou gavest me to drink, I was naked and thou didst clothe me, I was sick and thou didst visit me, I was in prison and thou didst come unto me; enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."[3]

And it came to pass that he went into the city according to his habit of anxious care [for others] to bring back clothes for the ascetics and strangers, and he fell ill there of the severe attack of sickness through

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[1] *I. e.*, سُوق الأَحَد the "Sunday-market," or "Sunday-bazaar". For the names "Tuesday-market" and "Wednesday-market" and of places beginning with سوق see Yâḳût, tom. vi. p. 123; and De Goeje, *Bibl. Geographorum Arabicorum*, tom. vi. p. 194, l. 8.

[2] All the MSS. have ܡܒܣܡܘ̈ܬܐ. This may be a mistake for ܡܒܣܡܢܘ̈ܬܐ (Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2002), or a form derived from ܡܒ̈ܣܡܐ "fruit" (Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2185), or it may be connected with the √ ܒܣܡ and so mean "comforts", or dainty, appetising foods."

[3] St. Matthew xxv. 21, 35, 36.

which he departed from [this world]. And the brethren who were with him carried him upon an animal and brought him to the monastery, and [his] illness became more severe, and thus being soaked with the sweat of his labours, and his feet worn and broken through [his] travelling in the paths of holy men, he exchanged [this] life which passeth away for that of heaven, and he became the heir of the saints. Then the brethren and the people of all the country were pained at the death of the holy man, and all the brethren from the monasteries round about were gathered together, and they bore his holy body with honour and laid it on the west[1] [side] of the martyrium towards the north by the command of Rabban Gabriel, [who] solemnly adjured and forbade that any tomb-stone or monument whatever should be built above his grave, for he looked upon humility as his monument; may our Lord by his prayers give help and redemption to those who care for this holy house, Amen!

Now when a certain believer whose name was Malbadh, who belonged to a noble family, saw that Rabban Paul had built this monastery and finished it, and had obtained a great and fair renown thereby, he was smitten with envy, and he presumed to set himself in opposition to these holy men, and wasted much money uselessly, and built a so-called monastery[2] near Ṣâwrâ. [p. 374] And he filled it with fine buildings, and provided it with cells, and he invited [thither] ascetics, promising [them] that he would care for them in everything; but he did not know that a monastery

[1] Read ܡܥܪ̈ܒܝܗ.

[2] Read, with BC, ܥܘܡܪܐ ܕܒܫܘܡܗܐ.

for ascetics must be built by holy ascetics and virgins [themselves], and not by wealthy denizens of the world. And Rabban Gabriel, who was in the habit of enjoying Divine revelations, made a mock of that building, saying, "Behold, as it is written in Ezekiel,[1] it is founded, but it shall not prosper;" and in a short time that house began to be deserted, and the two or three ascetics who dwelt therein were scattered, and it remained in its miserable[2] condition as it is apparent to all men.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE HEADSHIP OF THE MONASTERY OF RABBAN CYPRIAN WHICH RABBAN GABRIEL RECEIVED, AND OF HIS WATCHFUL REGARD FOR EVERY DUTY.

Now after the departure of Rabban Paul of holy memory to [his] everlasting home, this monastery began to be in want and to become poor; for their divine protector Paul had already left them, and the monks also began to depart. And the people of this country together with these brethren were gathered together, and they went to Rabban Gabriel in the Monastery of Mâr John of Nêrabh Barzai, and shewed him that this monastery would certainly fall into decay if it was deprived of his protection. And they said to him, [p. 375] "All the brethren are going away, and this holy place which thou hast toiled to build up is becoming deserted." And the blessed man answered

[1] Ezekiel xvii. 10. Correct the reference at the foot of the Syriac text.

[2] Literally, "common state".

and said to them, "I am unable to go to [any] place without the Divine command which permitted me to return from Kardô, and which gave me rest in this holy place; but return all of you, each man to his house, and this night I and these brethren will pray to our Lord, and that which is best He will do for us". And in the evening at the general service of prayer he commanded the brethren to pray concerning the matter, and he himself went up to the cell of Abbâ John, and offered up prayer to God the whole night. And towards the morning when his wakefulness rested, his mind was carried away, and it was as if he were in the martyrium of Rabban Cyprian. And Rabban Cyprian himself was alive and singing this psalm[1] by himself, "How good, and how pleasant [it is] for brethren when they dwell together", and it seemed as if Rabban Cyprian were asking him to sing the verses of this psalm in turn with him. And when he had said the last verse, "For there the Lord commanded blessing and life for evermore", he woke up and came to himself glad and rejoicing, and he knew that the vision was from the Lord, and that he had received permission to depart from there to the dwelling of [Rabban Cyprian]'s monastery where his marvellous brother Paul had ended his life. And in the morning he went down to the monastery and appointed a guardian in his stead, and promising that he would never forget them, he and the brethren of the monastery came down hither. And he began the work of relieving the poor and the brethren of the monastery like unto his brother, but he helped them more than he did, and he manifested the greatest

[1] Psalm cxxxiii. 1—3.

care [for them], for our Lord had given him the gift of dominion over devils, [p. 376] and he healed every wound and sickness by the might of the Cross; and revelations were shewn to him by God, and he could look into and see things that were afar off like things that were near. He bore the Cross of his Master with glorious fervour, and he clave to the reproach of the Cross; and as he had laboured in the vineyard of his Master the whole day, and had borne the burden and the heat without shewing slackness in his spiritual traffic, his Master honoured him, as with a pledge[1] by the mighty deeds and wonders which He wrought by his hands, and by the glorious revelations which He made him enjoy, until the day for which he waited should come when He would call him, and set him at His right hand, as a guest of the company of Antonius,[2] and Macarius,[3] and Arsenius,[4] and all the righteous men of his calling and manner of life. For after the manner of the Prophets and like unto the Apostles he wrought healings and wonders in this monastery, and on account of this, many ascetics were gathered together here. And every one who flagged, or was lax in carrying out the works of the ascetic life, became young again, and his strength was renewed for the labours of the monastic life when he saw this holy old man. And he constantly admonished the brethren who persistently carried out the work to which they had been called, saying, "My beloved, it is but a little time that we

[1] ܪܗܒܘܢܘܬܐ; see also Syr. text, p. 220, l. 8.
[2] See *supra,* p. 30.
[3] See *supra,* p. 51, note 4.
[4] See *supra,* p. 29, note 4.

can serve our Lord in this life, and [then] we pass away, but the reward for our small service is laid up for us [for] a space of time which is not diminished by the course and revolutions of times and seasons. Consider, my beloved, how many troubles and trials the holy Prophets bore, and how many afflictions and tortures the blessed Apostles endured, and the sufferings and bitter deaths which the victorious martyrs suffered for the sake of the kingdom of heaven! Consider the ascetic fathers how they forsook the world and its possessions, [p. 377] and [how] they forgot the love of parents and brethren, and how they went forth naked into the wilderness to live by themselves for the love of our Lord Who said to them, "Whosoever will not forsake parents, and brethren, and sons, and daughters, and everything, and hate himself, and take up his cross", —that is to say troubles, and trials, and bitterness— "and endure for My sake everything which shall afflict [him], and deny himself the things that are visible, is not able to be my disciple."[1] Let us not then, beloved, be readers of the glorious deeds of holy men without carrying out in ourselves their course of life, for God, the Lord of all, reproacheth the man who readeth but doeth not, by the hand of David,[2] thus, "What hast thou to do with the books[3] of My commandments? Thou hast taken My covenant in thy mouth, but thou hast hated my instruction, and thou hast cast My words behind thee." And again the divine Paul writeth in his beloved epistles,[4] "Those who know[5] the law are

[1] St. Luke xiv. 26, 27.
[2] Psalm l. 16, 17.
[3] The Pĕshîṭtâ has ܘܠܟܬܒ̈ܐ.
[4] Romans ii. 13.
[5] The Pĕshîṭtâ has ܥܒܘ̈ܕܘܗܝ.

not [accounted] righteous before God, but those who do the law are justified". Let us not put our trust upon the tunic, and the black cloak, and the tonsure, and the garb with which we are clothed, as if these were anything at all before God. For there are in the world poor people who do not possess even these things, but are naked and in want, and are afflicted and needy, and have not even the bread of the day, yet God doth not shew compassion on them for the the sake of their being in want, because poverty is their business in life. And although ye fast and pray, and watch, and work, still all the labour of all the days of your lives is not worthy to be compared with the gift of food with which God sustaineth you in this life; give up, then, expecting to be rewarded for it with a reward in the world which is to come. For the happiness of that world is not given for the sake of labours, but is bestowed upon holy men by Divine Grace, for the wages which are laid up there are in proportion to the righteousness of God, [p. 378] and the [merits of the] labours of holy men are completely put out of sight by the Grace of God. So then, my beloved, let us not imagine that the little work which we do [here] can justify us before God, but let us be the more filled with fear lest our parents and our brethren who are involved in earthly affairs, and who give tribute, whose heads are bowed under the payment of imperial taxes, who relieve the afflicted and shew compassion upon the needy, and who imagine that we are righteous, may be found there before our Lord to be better than we are; for it is written, "Blessed is he that giveth more than he that receiveth."[1] Let us not then destroy

[1] Acts xx. 35.

that blessing by eating the labour of believing men, and by doing nothing which is worth our food; for the hireling who laboureth honestly before his companion keepeth [his] covenant with his master who hath hired him; and if in the presence of a man like unto himself he is careful not to eat the bread of his labour without fatigue, how much more is it meet for us to live upon the bread of our Lord with tears, and not to neglect for one moment the service and labour which our holy garb demandeth. My brethren, let us remember that unchangeable kingdom, and that never-ending feast and that everlasting[1] light in which the saints revel with delight. And let us earnestly desire that brotherhood which is never attacked by envy,[2] and that undisturbed[3] concord, and that unbroken[4] unanimity, and that insatiable[5] love by which the hearts of the righteous are filled at the sight of the adorable splendour of Christ. And [let us remember] that assembly of the Church gathered together from spiritual and corporeal beings which is never to be dispersed; [p. 379] and that unchangeable happiness of the sounds of the songs of joy of those who sing; and that humility which can never be puffed up;[7] and that inheritance which can never be spoiled,[8] which the righteous inherit

[1] ܕܠܐܦܣܩܘܬܐ, wanting in Payne Smith's *Thes.*

[2] ܕܠܐܚܣܡܝܬܐ, wanting in Payne Smith's *Thes.*

[3] ܕܠܐܒܠܒܠܝܬܐ, a rare form.

[4] ܕܠܐܦܠܓܝܬܐ, wanting in Payne Smith's *Thes.*

[5] ܕܠܐܣܒܥܝܬܐ, a rare form.

[6] ܕܠܐܒܕܘܕܝܬܐ, wanting in Payne Smith's *Thes.*

[7] ܕܠܐܐܬܚܡܝܬܐ, a rare form.

[8] ܕܠܐܒܙܙܝܬܐ, a rare form.

in the world of light; and the incomparable[1] glory with which the children of light there are clothed; and the gift which can never be stolen away,[2] which the blessed inherit in the new world of Christ; and that praise which can never be silenced,[3] which is loudly proclaimed by all rational beings. And if the vigilant understanding of your souls be occupied in meditation upon these and such-like things, O my venerable brethren, ye will find the power and be able to tread down and to hold in contempt the foul passions which are stirred up within you by reason of the wretchedness and earthiness[4] of the body with which ye are clothed, and by the erring nature of the changeable soul which is in you; and ye shall be worthy of the Grace which is the bestower of all gifts, so that ye may live out your days in peace which is free from all strivings, according to the Will of your Creator. And ye shall become in this world holy temples in which the praises of the Lord are sung; and ye shall be glorious tabernacles in which the songs of glory and redemption are heard; and ye shall become like luminaries [shining] in the darkness, whose good works [men] shall see and shall glorify your Father Who is in heaven; and ye shall be crowned with the glory which is laid up for all the righteous who have been and who shall be." And with these and such-like words did that holy mouth preach and make to listen the ears of the flock which had been entrusted to him. And they became like

[1] ܡܬܦܚܡܢܝܬܐ, wanting in Payne Smith's *Thes.*
[2] ܡܬܓܢܒܢܝܬܐ, a rare form.
[3] ܡܫܬܬܩܢܝܬܐ, a rare form.
[4] ܥܦܪܢܘܬܐ, wanting in Payne Smith's *Thes.*

unto good seed sown in a cultivated field of good ground, and the furrows of the souls of his disciples brought forth fruit; and the holy children of his fatherly [rule] became well known and esteemed, and every day and always the sons of this congregation, [which was under] [p. 380] the direction of this good and famous labourer in the sanctuary, the all-wise and holy Rabban Gabriel, became the occasion of praise of their Lord.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THOSE ASCETICS AND HOLY MEN WHO WERE TO BE FOUND IN VARIOUS PLACES IN THE DAYS OF RABBAN GABRIEL.

Now in the days of Rabban [Gabriel] many ascetics were to be found, some of whom were solitary brethren who lived in a monastery, and some were Bishops and Metropolitans, of whom we have made mention in this history that we might be blessed through recording their names; and we will shew forth concerning Rabban Gabriel who was well known and famous among them.

In the holy monastery of Bêth ʿÂbhê there lived a holy ascetic whose name was Abbâ Dômat (Domitius), and he was a righteous and famous man by whose hands Christ our Lord wrought many mighty deeds. And the rags from his garments drove away the devils openly as did those from the clothes of Paul;[1] now as he also came from the country of Bêth Garmai he had great affection for Rabban Gabriel.

[1] Acts xix. 12.

In the Monastery of Bêth Rabban bar-ʿIdtâ[1] there lived a holy man who was called Îshôʿ-sabhran bar-Mâmai,[2] a good and self-denying man, and sicknesses were driven away by the *masṭaba*[3] upon which he rested himself; [p. 381] he was finally appointed Bishop of the great city of Nineveh (Môṣul). This man restored the temple of that monastery, and removed it from its site, as did Rabban Paul in this monastery.

In a mountain glen called Bêth Gazzâ there dwelt the marvellous ascetics Khômînâ[4] and Maʿnâ, [who were] aged solitaries, and who wrought many mighty deeds, for they were many times seen by believers to cross over on the top of the Great Zâb river.

The holy Abbâ Pethion lived a glorious life of asceticism by himself in a cell [situated] in a mountain glen called Ṣaphî. He was a good and self-denying

[1] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 181.

[2] Dr. Jensen of Marburg has been so kind as to call my attention to Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. ii. plates 51, l. 53*a*, and 55, l. 41*a*; and vol. iii. pl. 67, l. 14*d*, from which it appears that *Mami* is the name of *Bêlit ilâni*, "the mistress of the gods."

[3] ܡܣܛܒܐ *i. e.*, مَصْطَبَة, دُكَّه مرُبّعة (Duval, *Lexicon*, col. 1139, note 5); Compare Gr. στιβάς. This word also occurs in *B. O.*, I. p. 427, col. 2, last line, and the plur. ܡܣܛܒܐ is probably to be found in the Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite, ed. Wright, p. 23, l. 21 (ed. Martin p. 22, l. 6); see also Hoffmann, *Syr. Arab. Glossen*, No. 6503, p. 251; and Nöldeke, *Bibliographische Anzeigen*, in *Z. D. M. G.*, Band xxx. p. 355, at the top.

[4] This name is probably Persian, and Hoffmann thinks it may be the same as خُومَيْنا (εὐμανής); compare fem. خُمانى, from whence we have the name of the place هُمانيا and هُمينيا (Yâḳût, tom. iv. p. 992).

[5] ܡܥܢܐ, Gr. Μαιάννας; see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2186.

man, and was seen by men but rarely; devils and sicknesses fled away from the bread which had been blessed and given [to people] by him. He departed this temporary life there, and his body was removed to a village called Rîshâ.

Abbâ Ḥabhîbhâ and Jacob his brother shone with the light of virtue in the mountain of Yânân; they made whole those who were sick of the palsy, they gave barren women children, they forbade the locusts to injure the vines, and everything was obedient to their command.

In the Monastery of Bêth Ḳôḳâ[1] there lived—famous for holiness—Abbâ Sabhr-Îshô῾, surnamed Khĕphîphâ (*i. e.*, Humpback), who was a truly ascetic monk, and also Abbâ ῾Abd-Îshô῾ of Kartaw.[2] This latter ascetic had no door to his cell so that no man could come into his cell, and he could go out to no man. Now he was exceedingly poor, and he had no care for his dwelling-place—even so also was the holy man Gabriel—and he was like the ostriches and other birds, [and he lived] remote and in solitude away from disturbing influences in the voluntary poverty of his mind.

In the mountain of Zînai[3] there lived tried solitaries, [p. 382] and discreet anchorites, concerning one of whom whose name was Amonius the [following] wonderful thing is told. Every wild goat which had fallen from a rock or any high place, and injured itself, came to him to be healed; and once when his servant, [who

[1] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 215, note 1715.

[2] The Kartaw-Kurds lived in the country to the west of the Lower Zâb, above Arbela; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 207, note 1639.

[3] See *supra*, p. 108, note 4.

was] a believing man, went to carry [his] food to him, he found there with him a she-goat with her leg broken, and it had been set and bound up by that holy old man, and her two young ones were with her. And as a proof of the truth of [this] wonderful thing the believing man took one of the young ones, and brought [it] to his village, and I have seen people who saw that kid which lived tame in the village from year to year.

At that time certain holy fathers flourished in the government of the Church. On the throne of Arbela [sat] the blessed Metropolitan, Mâr Aḥâ,[1] and after him the marvellous Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh,[2] and after them Mâr Îshôʿ-yahbh[3] the Metropolitan. Now the venerable Rabban Gabriel flourished during the life-time of those three Metropolitans who wrought many mighty deeds during their governorships, and as he sprang from this country which was [under] their jurisdiction, they had great affection for him, and he was accounted by them a mighty man, and a servant of righteousness.

In the church of the city of Adiabene [there lived] the holy and praiseworthy Bishop Mâr Solomon, [who was] a fellow-worker with the Apostles, and who, like Peter,[4] by his command only used to drive away refractory devils; he passed over on the top of the great river Tigris many times, and he cursed the wicked man Ḳardagh, and made a horn to grow out of his forehead. [p. 383] But why should I weary my fingers with writing his glorious deeds? for behold they are

[1] See Thomas of Margâ, Bk. ii. chaps 34—39, *supra*, pp. 248—262. [2] See *supra*, p. 304 ff.

[3] *I. c.*, Îshôʿ-yahbh of Adiabene; see Thomas of Margâ, Bk. ii. chaps 7—10, *supra*, p. 131.

[4] St. Mark iii. 15, 16.

written at great length by his disciples. Now the [hair of] his head and his beard were shaved off from this man, worthy of blessing, by a heathen king because of the conversion which he wrought among the heathen.

Now in the Church on the episcopal throne of Sinjâr[1] the holy Mâr Shâbhḥal-Mâran was being glorified, and all his great and splendid works were superhuman. For when he was appointed Bishop in the great church of Nisibis,[2] and was obliged to go to the Patriarch that [the enthronement] might be performed, he took the boat in which he embarked from Bâlâdh to Baghdad in one night,[3] [that is] he made the boat go down to Baghdad; and so also when he came up he brought the boat in which he sailed back to Bâlâdh in one night. And [once] when Satan smote his disciple and blinded his eyes he adjured Satan, and he

[1] *I. e.*, سنجار, the famous city situated about three days' journey W. of Môṣul. For an Arabic derivation of the name of the place, and for the legends which relate that the ark of Noah rested near here, see Yâḳût, tom. iii. p. 158f.

[2] The name of this town occurs in the Assyrian inscriptions under the forms  D. P. Na-ṣib-na,   D. P. Na-ṣi-bi-na, and  D. P. Na-ṣib-i-na; see Rawlinson, *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, vol. ii. pl. 52, ll. 17*b*, 36*b* and 38*a*; vol. ii. pl. 53, l. 43; and Bezold, *Catalogue*, p. 224.

[3] I have been told at Môṣul that the journey from Môṣul to Baghdad was once made in less than two days by a man sitting upon two inflated sheep-skins at the time of the spring floods, and with a very full river it is just possible that a man might be carried from Bâlâdh near Eski-Môṣul to Baghdad in forty-eight hours. The journey from Baghdad to Môṣul is performed by the post in from three and a half to five days; the distance by road viâ Kerkûk is about 300 miles.

brought stones upon an ass for the building of his church instead of his servant.

In the country of Ḥânâithâ,[1] in a mountain half way towards Ma allthâ,[2] there dwelt a certain solitary whose name was Mârôi, and on the mountain of a village near him there lived a dragon which used to come each day and carry off an ox from the herd. And when those men came to him, and wept before him concerning the injuries which they [suffered] from that destructive beast, he went with them to the dragon's cave; and when the dragon saw them he hissed like a serpent and came down against them, and the holy old man cursed him, and straightway he became like a senseless stone. And he stands [there] to this day, and is like unto a clay building, and those who pass along the road rest under his shadow, and marvelling, praise God and bless that holy man, and make entreaty for his prayers.

[p. 384] And on the episcopal throne of Salâkh[3] there shone with apostolic light the holy Bishop Mâr Ìshô'-zĕkhâ, who came from the country of Bêth Armâyê;[4] this [holy] man cursed a certain large vine belonging to some proud and insolent men, and tore it up by its roots.

In Salâkh Gâwaitâ[5] there was a village called 'Ulâi,[6]

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[1] Read ܚܢܝܬܐ Ḥĕnâithâ. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 216ff.

[2] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 210.

[3] *I. e.*, the city of Seleucia.

[4] *I. e.*, from the country round about Seleucia. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 252ff.

[5] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 244ff. and *supra*, p. 316, note 4

[6] All the MSS. have ܥܘܠܝ, but in the Syriac text, p. 110. 16, the name is spelt ܥܘܠܝ.

the inhabitants of which had but recently become converted to the way of Christ, and when they built a church in their village they endowed it with a thicket of many nut trees; but when those old men were dead their children raised a dispute about the nut trees, and took possession of them. And when this holy man went to them the priests of that church laid a complaint before him against the believing men; the believing men said, "They are ours", and the priests said, "[They belong to] the church." Then the holy man stood up and prayed, and said before them all, "I trust in our Lord, Whom I serve, that if[1] those nut trees belong to the believing men they will remain in their place[s], but if they [belong] to the church that Christ will bring them to the courtyard of the church." And when the night had passed, and they came early in the morning, behold, they saw that the whole of that thicket[2] had departed [and come] near the church, without any one of the trees having [suffered] injury, or leaving behind any of its roots in its former position; and all those who saw and heard [this] glorified God.[3]

And again, in the Monastery of Rabban Aphnî Mâran[4] the truly venerable and holy Abbâ bar-Dairâ the anchorite put forth signs and mighty works, which

[1] We must add ܕ and read ܕܐܝܬܝܗܘܢ ܕܕܡܗܝܡܢܐ.

[2] Read ܠܘܬ.

[3] This story is told at greater length in Bk. ii. chap. 32, *supra*, p. 239.

[4] See Bk. ii. chaps. 3 and 41, *supra*, pp. 121, 273. Aphnî Mâran flourished about A. D. 622, and his monastery was built in the diocese of Môṣul; see *B. O.*, ii. p. 422; iii. 1. p. 187, note 1.

are greater than any related in history; it is not however, our affair to relate things about him, but that of the holy men who have composed accounts of his noble deeds.

In the Monastery of Bar-Ṭûrâ[1] there shone like a heavenly star with the light of his holiness, the blessed Abbâ Mark, who put the heathen to shame, and exalted the horn of the Church by the noble deeds which he shewed forth before multitudes of people.

And in those days and times, [p. 385] the monk and ascetic the holy Abbâ ʿAnân-Îshôʿ, who is worthy of being mentioned with all the righteous, built and completed the monastery near the city of Ḥadhattâ, and he established a famous congregation by the mighty deeds and wonders which our Lord wrought by his hands.

In the country of Bêth Bĕghâsh[2] the holy Bishop Mâr Simon[3] was glorious in his ecclesiastical pasture and government which was [situated] there; he it was who built the church in the village of Shalmath[4] when he was a teacher there, and he shewed forth many healings in the world in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. During the time of his episcopate the mention of his name was a subject for boasting for all Christians, and even after his departure from the tabernacle of his holy bones every healing of the body and of

[1] See *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 343, col. 2, where this monastery is mentioned as being with Bêth ʿÂbhê freed from the jurisdiction of the Bishop.

[2] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 223, 227.

[3] See Bk. ii. chap. 39, *supra*, p. 262.

[4] We should probably distinguish this Shalmath from the Shalmath mentioned by Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 224.

the soul was vouchsafed unto whomsoever took refuge in him.

These and such-like wonderful things were performed by the hands of these holy men, [to write] the noble deeds of each of whom would require a history to be specially devoted to the purpose; I have, however, written down the histories of certain of them in another book. Now inasmuch as I have made mention of them twice, [I did so] the first time, that I might make manifest what lamps were shining in the Church in the days of Rabban Gabriel, and the second time, that those who read this book might hearken to [the account of] his wonderful deeds, and might not remain unbelievers when they hear repeated before them [the story of] the mighty works which our Lord wrought by the hands of this member of His household.

[P. 386] CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE REVELATIONS CONCERNING THINGS OF THE FUTURE WHICH THE HOLY RABBAN MÂR GABRIEL[1] RECEIVED FROM GOD.

Unto what limit now shall we extend our feeble discourse in demonstrating the greatness of this marvellous man? Let us come now, little by little, and as it were by brief signs and indications we will [first] relate concerning the revelations which came to him, and afterwards [we will speak] about the miracles and

[1] The forms of this name used by Thomas are ܓܒܪܐܝܠ ܓܒܪܝܐܝܠ, ܓܒܪܝܠ and ܓܒܪܝܠ.

mighty works which he wrought, and thus with the steps of [our] narrative of him we shall travel on to the conclusion of [this] history.

Who now is unacquainted with 'Amran bar-Muḥammad[1] of the family of el-Azd,[2] who was descended from the [tribe of] the great Taiman,[3] the exceedingly stubborn servant whose asperity was softened and mollified by means of this holy head? Now before this Arab came to this country, God, the Lord of all, had revealed before the eyes of the mind of the holy man the beginning and end of this man, and concerning his children, and his childrens' children, for five generations; and he became known to him in this wise:—Rabban once wished to sell certain oxen of the herd belonging to the monastery to provide for the ministration of the brethren, and he sent ten oxen with a monk to the market of the village of Yazdainâbhâdh,[4] and he commanded him, saying, "Take these oxen, and go to Yazdainâbhâdh, and do not take them into the market, but pasture them above the village. And behold, a man will come to you mounted upon a horse, and will haggle concerning their price with thee with

[1] *I. e.* عمران بن محمد الازدى. According to Ibn Ḥaukal, the Banû 'Imrân, a branch of the tribe of el-Azd, were settled in Kurdistân. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 254, note 1867; and Thomas of Margâ, Bk. iv. chap. 21, *supra*, p. 450, note 1.

[2] ܐܙܕܝܐ, "the man of el-Azd."

[3] ܬܝܡܢ translates the Heb. תֵּימָנָה, דָּרוֹם and נֶגֶב (Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1606) Taiman is the district called Yemen, اليمن, by the Arabs. For the place called 'Imrâniya, see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, pp. 200, 224, and compare *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, Pars ii. tom. 1. Fasc. 1. p. 107.

[4] ܝܙܕܝܢܐܒܕ, also written ܝܙܕܝܢܒܕ; see Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser*, p. 384; and Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 218, note 1739.

[p. 387] many words, but thou shalt not strike a bargain with him, neither shalt thou accept their price from him. And when he shall say to thee, 'Wait until I bring thee their price,' thou shalt say to him, 'Thus saith Mār Gabriel, Whenever it is easy for thee, take their price and come [with it] to me to the monastery'." And when that brother had gone and had done as he had been commanded, behold 'Amran came, and when he saw the oxen he turned aside [to look at] them. And having enquired about their condition he said, "Hast thou brought them to sell?" and the brother answered and said to 'Amran, "What is thy name?" and he said, "Why askest thou concerning my name?" The monk said, "My father Rabban Gabriel commanded me, saying, 'Behold a certain Ishmaelite whose name is 'Amran will come to thee, deliver the oxen to him freely, and say to him, I know that thou hast not the money to pay for them, but whenever God hath made it ready for thee, take [it] and come [with it] to me to the monastery that I may see thee'." And when 'Amran heard these things [about himself from] this holy old man who was not even acquainted with him, for he had not as yet entered into [his] inheritance of the estates of Margā,[1] he marvelled and was astonished, and he knew that this man must be great, for, said he, "He saw my coming to the market, and saw that I wished to buy oxen;" and he knew and perceived with his soul's understanding that the esteem of the Christians was mighty and exalted before God, for behold their holy men see and know the things which are hidden. So he took the oxen and went [his way], and

[1] See Bk. IV. chap. 21, *supra*, p. 450.

the monk returned to Rabban and informed him of all that had happened meanwhile; and Rabban was silent and answered never a word. Now after a day or two behold ʿAmran knocked at the door [of the monastery], and when they opened the door for him and he had gone in he asked for Rabban and fell down upon the ground before him, and Rabban kissed him on the head and blessed him; [p. 388] and ʿAmran brought [out] the money, the price of the oxen. And as he was sitting down he embraced Rabban's legs as a mark of honour, and entreated him to pray for him, and Rabban answered and said to him, "If thou wilt establish a covenant before God and before myself that thou wilt not slay the Christians, I will reveal to thee what thou shalt become, and what shall happen to thy children, and to thy children's children." And he swore before him, saying, "From this day and henceforth to the most remote time,[1] among the Christians a man like unto thyself I will never harm. Thou hast heard concerning the children of Bôzî,[2] but they acted wickedly towards me, and exasperated me with their fables and pride." The blessed man answered and said to him, "If thou wilt restrain thy sword from the people of God, behold God will make thee, and thy children, and thy children's children to inherit peacefully all this country of Margâ, and the men who shall arise from

[1] Read ܘܠܗܠ ܕܙܒܢܐ:.

[2] The "children of Bôzî" seem to have been a Kurdish or Persian family from whom the place ܒܝܬ ܒܘܙܝ took its name, and it would appear from Thomas of Margâ's report of ʿAmran's conversation that they had been driven out of their dwelling-place by the Banû ʿImrân; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 196.

thy seed shall become strong and mighty, and no man shall be able to stand before them and conquer. Like Nisàn[1] with its blossoms and flowers, and the vine with its clusters of grapes, even so shall they be distinguished in their appearance and strength from the other families of the Arabs. Thus hath it been revealed to me by God, in comparison with the love of Whom I count the whole world as nothing, and I entreat thee to command the sons whom God shall raise up from thee to shew love to the Christians, and especially to the monasteries and convents, and to ascetics, and scholars, and priests, and deacons." And ʿAmran undertook to act according to the command of Rabban, and he did so, and he likewise commanded his sons to do so. Such was the revelation which appeared to the holy old man.

And again, there were three hamlets near the monastery of the holy man, the inhabitants of which, together with all the heathen, robbed and vexed this holy house; and when the brethren made a complaint [to Rabban], [p. 389] he said to them merely, "They will be made desolate utterly", and this actually came to pass. Moreover, by the [gift of] prophecy which dwelt in him he made known concerning the revolt in the kingdom which took place before this our generation. And as we have said above, he shewed aforetime to the brethren concerning the desolation of the Monastery of Malbadh,[2] and the ruin of all his family, and of the

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[1] *I. e.*, part of April and May.

[2] It is not probable that ܡܠܒܕ is the ملبد بن حرملة الشيبانىّ whose acts are described in Ibn al-Athìr, tom. v. pp. 369—371. We are told by Thomas of Margà, (*supra*, p. 650) that Gabriel

glory which descended[1] not after him; and behold the sight of that ruined and desolate place testifieth to the words of the holy man.

And he shewed aforetime concerning the death, which should take place before his own, of his beloved fellow-labourer and ascetic Abbâ Dômat (Domitius) of Bêth ʿÂbhê, and when that holy old man was dying [Rabban] said to the brethren, who were in his monastery, "In this night shall the perfection of the blessed Abbâ Dômat (Domitius) be accomplished, and his soul shall be exalted to the treasuries of heaven; this day shall Satan, the foe of holy men, be put to shame by reason of the escape of that divine old man from his crafty wiles."

Now divine visions which surpassed our knowledge appeared to him frequently, but through the negligence of authors they have not been set down in writing; we, however, by a very few of the things which have been said about him, like a drop of rain out of the whole shower, or like a single block of stone out of the whole mountain, make known to what measure [of power] this divine man attained.

was a contemporary of Mâr Aḥâ, Mâr Mâran-ʿammeh and Mâr Ìshôʿ-yahbh [of Adiabene], and we know that these Metropolitans lived in the VIIth century of our era; مَلبَد بن حَرملة, however, died about A. H. 137 (A. D. 754), and if he had been a contemporary of Mâr Aḥâ he must have been considerably more than 100 years old at the time of his death. For the account of Malbadh's monastery see Bk. VI. chap. 13. *supra* p. 639.

[1] Hoffmann prefers to read ܕܠܐ ܢܚܐ ܒܬܪܗ "which should not live after him."

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE WONDERS, AND MIGHTY WORKS OF HEALING, AND CURES OF ALL KINDS WHICH WERE WROUGHT BY THE HANDS OF RABBAN GABRIEL.

Let us now turn, [p. 390] the might of the prayer of this holy man cleaving unto us, to the mighty deeds which Christ wrought, and the wonders which He shewed forth by his hands. "A city which is built upon a mountain cannot be hid,"[1] as [long as] it pleaseth Christ our Lord, and according to His command, neither may His disciples conceal His mysteries and revelations. Now although certain holy men have excelled in mighty works of excellence, yet wonders and the working of mighty deeds have not been performed by their hands; and this did not happen through any defect or lack of renown on their part, but because God, the only wise Being, giveth to every man that [gift] which is most suitable for him. And because human nature is deceitful,[2] and Satan lieth[3] in wait continually, and lurketh[4]

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[1] St. Matthew v. 14.

[2] ܦܘܠܓܪܐ, *qui hallucinatur*, = Gr. ἠλίθιος; see Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1501.

[3] ܕܓܪ For other examples of this word see Land, *Anecdota*, tom. ii. p. 262, l. 2; p. 336, l. 2; Hoffmann, *Syr. Arab. Glossen*, No. 1463, p. 51; Thomas of Margâ, text, p. 397, l. 5.

[4] All the MSS. have ܘܡܣܬܟܠ, but Hoffmann thinks that we should read ܘܡܣܬܟܢ "and lurketh in secret places," which gives much better sense. The noun ܡܣܬܟܢܐ occurs also in the *Chronicle* of Bar-Hebraeus, ed. Bruns, p. 336, l. 16 (rendered "exploratores"); and in Cureton, *Eccles. Hist. of John of Ephesus*, p. 345, l. 22 (rendered "hordes" by Payne Smith in his translation, Oxford, 1860, p. 371). The word is explained by ܓܘܕܐ

to compass its ruin, especially in the case of holy men and of those who have often cut through his snares and laughed at his wily tricks, our Lord God withholds from certain men this gift of healing. For behold, we see that to the divine Paul, who was the tongue of Christ,[1] who fulfilled His designs,[2] and who was the great pillar and father of the churches of the Gentiles which had been sanctified by his hands with the mark of the Cross of Christ, was delivered a goad for his flesh,[3] the messenger[4] of Satan, which was his moderate weakness, lest by the excellence of the revelations and signs which he used to work, after he had preached to others he himself might become a castaway.[5] So then everything[6] cometh from the will of the Governor,[7] Who, according to His inscrutable fore-knowledge, perfecteth in those who are participators in His counsel those things which are administered for the common good. Now this holy man, our father Mâr Gabriel,

"ambush", and by ܦܠܚ̈ܐ ܕܠܘܚܡܐ ܕܡܦܝܩܝܢ. ܗܢܘ ܕܝܢ ܡܠܘܚܝܢ ܠܓܢ̈ܒܐ ܕܐܟܠܝܢ ܕܡܬܚܒܪܝܢ ܠܐܚܪ̈ܢܐ ܒܡܪܘܕܘܬܐ ܘܡܬܩܝܡܝܢ ܠܡܚܛܦ ܘܠܡܓܢܒ܀ "bands of thieves who lie in wait, that is to say, thieves who plunder people, and who band themselves together with others in revolt, and unite together to rob and steal;" see Duval, *Lexicon,* col. 1147. Compare مقنّب "band of brigands," and قَنَّاب "voleur", Dozy, *Supplément,* p. 408, col. 2.

[1] Read ܕܡܫܝܚܐ, and compare ܠܫܢܗ ܕܡܪܢ *B. O.*, iii. 1. p. 119, l. 24.

[2] Read, according to Hoffmann, ܕܒܝ̈ܬܘܗܝ.

[3] 2 Corinthians xii. 7.

[4] Literally, "the angel of Satan."

[5] 1 Corinthians ix. 27.

[6] *I. e.,* revelations and signs.

[7] Read ܕܡܢܗܝܢ ܟܠܗܘܢ ܒܨܒܝܢܗ ܗܘ ܕܡܕܒܪܢܐ.

having aforetime, from the beginning of his discipleship, [p. 391] embraced humility, chose to be considered of no account and unknown, and he passed the whole period of his life in this [manner], even until his old age, when by the Divine choice he was called to the headship of this holy monastery, and our Lord gave by his hands mighty deeds and gifts which fell short in nothing of those possessed by the early fathers. And, not withstanding that he was the fountain and origin of the healings which were wrought by him, many afflictions came upon him from the wicked men who were his neighbours in this place, whom Satan, the enemy of our master, stirred up [against him] every day and always, and they were gathered together against him with threats and curses to put him to shame in this place, as afterwards, little by little, by the help of God we will prove with our words.

Now when Rabban [Gabriel] lived in the Monastery of Mâr John, and was carrying out his customary duties, a certain man from the village of Tellâ[1] came to him in the month of[2] Îlûl, and said to him sadly, "The vines in our village have been severely smitten by the hail, and my vine only remaineth uninjured." The blessed man said to him, "My son, a punishment hath been sent upon you by God for your benefit, and whosoever receiveth the chastisement of the Lord, the Lord will bind up his wound. Had the hail smitten thy vine also it would have been for thy benefit; but thou must know that destruction [of thy vine] awaiteth thee. If the sin is the sin of the whole community, the chastisement also must be of the whole community." And

[1] A village in Margâ; see Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 227.

[2] *I. e.*, אֱלוּל, part of August and September.

that man went and pressed the grapes of his vine, and he poured his wine into a wine jar and sealed it; and when he went back to look at it on the following day, behold the wine jar was empty and there was nothing inside it. Thus the words of Rabban were actually fulfilled.

Once while he lived in the cell of Mâr John, [p. 392] when he was sitting in front of his cell and reading a book, an eagle came and carried off a kid of the goats belonging to the monastery. And when Rabban saw that the kid bleated, and that the eagle was carrying it up to his nest to devour, he said to the eagle, "For the sake of our Lord let down carefully what thou hast taken"; and the eagle, as if some heavy thing were hanging from him, let the kid down little by little, and laid it on the ground without injury, and spread out his wings and flew away. And all those who heard concerning these things from the shepherd, praised God, but because they were the beginning of the miracles of the blessed man they were perturbed and frightened. And the holy man answered and said to them, "My brethren, be not astonished at this thing which hath taken place, for it hath not happened through my power, but by God, Who hath made manifest these things on your account; I am a weak man and a sinner, and this hath been wrought by your prayers. Every wild animal, and beast, and bird, and reptile is made subject unto divine and holy men,[1] even as

[1] A wild ass was obedient to Antony; Paul of the Thebaïd handled snakes, serpents and scorpions with impunity; a crocodile carried Pachomius across the Nile at his command; a hippopotamus forsook the country at the command of Beno; a serpent was obedient to Hilarion; a monk lived in the Cave of

it was to Noah at the door of his ark, for the God of the people of these last times is the God of the ancients.

Another time also there came to him a certain Persian believer from the village of Bêth Ḳĕwâz, which [is situated] on the Great Zâb, leading with him his two sons who were vexed by evil spirits; the name of the one was Noah, and that of the other Marwâ, and he entreated Rabban to pray for them. Then Rabban commanded and the boys were brought to him, and he anathematized those devils, saying, "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who cast out legions[1] from him who dwelt among the tombs, I command you to come forth from these boys"; and while the brethren were standing before him and all looking on, [the devils] came forth from their mouths in the form of fire. Thus by the word of Rabban [p. 393] they received healing from the vexation of obstinate devils, and that man returned to his house rejoicing and praising God.

One day a mad dog came forth from the village of Nîram, and as it passed by some children who were playing, it fell upon one whose name was Mârôn, and tore open his belly, and his bowels came out freely, and his parents carried him and brought him to Rabban. And when he saw him he was much grieved for him, and he commanded and they put the child's bowels back into his belly, and he made the sign of the Cross over them, and thus by the word of Rabban the wound was healed.

Sapsa with lions; and Macarius had two lions whom he called "Little sons." See Rosweyde, *Vitae Patrum*, pp. 49, 654, 120, 459, 84, 857 and 228.

[1] St. Mark v. 9.

In the village of Ḥĕṭârâ,[1] which is situated on the [bank of] the river Ḥâzer,[2] there was a certain man whose name was Naggârâ;[3] he belonged to the race of the Shahrîghân,[4] and had a son whose name was Maslamâh.[5] Now this boy was smitten with a very virulent sore, and his father sent him to this monastery, and the old man gave him a *ḥĕnânâ*, and commanded him not to eat meat or anything of that nature until the end of the Fast of the Apostles; and when the fifty days were ended the boy had become whole.[6] And his father commanded one of the members of his home to bring some fish from the river, and to carry [them] with the boy to Rabban, and some they fried [to eat] in the village, and some they left alive and took with them as they came to this monastery. And the young man who was with Maslamâh was a heathen, and when they drew near to the precincts of the monastery on the first day of the week which ended the "Week of the Apostles"—now the boy was fasting to receive the Holy Mysteries—the heathen young man counselled the boy with the counsel of Eve,[7] saying, "Thou art fasting now, and when thou goest to the monks thou wilt be ashamed to eat, [p. 394] but I will

[1] See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 185f.

[2] Read with BC خازِر, شيّوة.

[3] النجّار?

[4] See *supra*, p. 309, note 4.

[5] *I. e.*, مَسْلَمَة.

[6] The Fast of the Apostles lasted seven weeks, namely from Whit-Sunday to the last Sunday of the Week of the Apostles called Nausardîl; see *supra*, p. 466, note 3, and the authorities there quoted.

[7] Genesis iii. 6.

place in this tree a piece[1] of fish with [some] bread, so that when we come back thou canst eat;" now the boy did not prevent him, and according to his word they placed [the meat and bread there], and set forth [again] on their journey. And when they had gone in to the old man they laid the basket[2] of fish before him, and he commanded the brethren to dress them by the time of the Holy Mysteries. And while the fish, which they were about to fry on the fire in Rabban's chamber, were lying in the pan, Rabban's cat[3] came and took one of them. And Rabban answered and laughing, said to him, "Do not be more greedy than the brethren, for he that brought the fish did not receive healing from thee, but through their prayers; let it go, wretched creature, that chastisement may not come upon thee;" and with the word of Rabban, a strong eagle seized the cat and bore him up into the air. And Rabban said to the eagle, "Let him go and offend not a second time," and the eagle let him down

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[1] ܦܘܣܩܪܐ. This word is explained by قدر لقم; لقم قطعة, and ܦܘܣܩܪܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܪ ܒܗܠܘܠ. ܦܣܘܩܬܐ ܕܒܣܪܐ ܘܕܡ ܕܢܘܢܐ; see Brit. Mus. MSS. Rich. 7203, fol. 152*a*, col. 2; Orient. 2441, fol. 330*b*, col. 1.

[2] ܩܪܛܠܐ *i. e.*, κάρταλλος. Compare Brit. Mus. MS. Orient. 2441, fol. 347*b*, col. 1 ܩܪܛܠܐ ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪ ܒܪ ܒܗܠܘܠ. ܘܣܠܐ ܕܚܘܨܐ ܗܢܘ ܩܘܦܐ قراطالات.

[3] ܫܘܪܢܐ or ܫܘܪܢ, plur. ܫܘܪܢܘܬܐ; see Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. ܩܢܘ, l. 19, where the word is explained by ܩܛܘܣܐ̈ (sing. ܩܛܘܣܐ, Chald. פַּרְכּוּשְׁתָּא), and Wright, *Kalilah and Dimnah*, pp. 172, l. 22; 175, l. 15; 209, 22; 263, 11; and 367, 16 (on p. 263, l. 18, ܫܘܪܢ is feminine). Compare the Arabic قِطّ, plur. قِطاط; and Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1790. ܫܘܪܢܐ = سِنَّوْر in Brit. Mus MS. Orient. 2441, fol. 333*b*, col. 1.

and laid him upon the ground uninjured; and the young men and the brethren marvelled and were astonished.

And with this miracle the blessed man wrought also another wonderful thing at the table in the refectory while they were eating. When the brethren had taken the gift and had sat down to eat the good things[1] which the Lord had brought to them, Maslamâh and his companion ate with deliberation.[2] And Rabban said to Maslamâh,[3] "My son, see what this my servant telleth me." Now the old man had as his disciple a young man whose name was Ḳûphrâ,[4] the son of Sabhr-Îshô', a believer [who came] from Nîram, a village of shepherds, and when many illnesses had waxed strong in him, his father set him apart to become the servant of Rabban, if ever he should become well, and by the mediation of this holy man this actually came to pass, and he became a disciple, and a monk, and afterwards head of a monastery. At that moment this young man was standing before Rabban, [p. 395] and to him Rabban directed the gaze of the boy Maslamâh, saying, "This [my] servant counselleth thee to eat abundantly, for a crow hath carried off that which ye hid in a tree." And with the word of Rabban, behold [there came] upon the roof a large black crow,[5] [holding] in his beak the bread and the fish which the young men had hidden in the tree; thus astonishment about the crow and what he carried followed closely upon their wonder con-

[1] Literally, "the grace", or "the charity", meaning the fish.

[2] ܡܬܡܬܢܝܬ.

[3] B has ܡܣܠܡܐ, which is an older orthography.

[4] A shortened form of ܩܘܦܪܝܢܐ?

[5] Read ܥܘܪܒܐ.

cerning the cat.[1] These and such-like things were wrought by the hands of this our prophet.

At another time there came to him a certain believing man from Nineveh (Môṣul), who, although he had lived with his wife a long time, was not called the father of children; to him Rabban gave a *ḥenânâ*, and having prayed for him, he dismissed him, and three children were born to him through the prayers of Rabban, and he also was called the father of children.

A certain man from the village of Amûlḥir[2] was sorely vexed by Satan, and he shouted out with cries by day and by night, and he was brought to Rabban by his parents; and as soon as he had gone into the martyrium and Rabban had anointed him with the oil of prayer,[3] he was made whole, and became free from attack.

And a certain man from the village of Birtâ who had no children, came and knocked at the door of the old man with supplication, and asked for his prayers,[4] and in due time twins were born to him. And Rabban commanded him to minister unto the poor and the strangers "in return for the double blessing which God hath given thee;" and that believer undertook and did according to the command of Rabban.

In the village of Nîram there was a woman who was a ministrant unto rebellious devils. And when she

[1] ܫܘܢܪܐ, Talm. שׁוּנְרָא (Buxtorf, ed. Fischer, p. 1232, col. 1), Arabic سِنَّوْر. In Masʿûdi (*Les Prairies d'Or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, tom. iii. p. 13, l. 10) we have السنانير وهى القطاط.

[2] *I. e.*, أُمّْ الخَيْر. See Hoffmann, *Auszüge*, p. 195.

[3] See *supra*, p. 613, note 1.

[4] Read ܨܠܘܬܗ.

saw the mighty deeds and wonders which the holy man was working against the devils her masters, [p. 396] she set herself in opposition to him, that they might make an end of him and destroy him out of the world. And although Rabban had known concerning her for some time past, he had never done her any harm, nor given information concerning her; now this woman set her face to slay Rabban, whom the wretched creature was not only not able to harm in any way, but she, the wretched creature, destroyed herself. And she took in her bosom[1] some dried white grapes and went straight to him; now Rabban was saying Compline at the door of the martyrium.[2] And when she saw him, she bowed down before him, and reproaching him in, as it were, a loving manner said, "Because I am a poor and sinful woman, thou neither liftest up my head, nor takest any care for me, as thou dost for the other widows whom thou feedest." And the holy man rebuked her, saying, "Depart, wretched woman, thou hast no need of sustenance at my hands, for thou hast other protectors;" but she did not understand that he spake of the devils whom she served, and sighing she sadly entreated him

[1] Read ܒܥܘܒܗ̇.

[2] ܒܝܬ ܣܗ̈ܕܐ. This martyrium is, in Nestorian Monasteries, a chapel lying on the left or north side of the ܩܢ̈ܟܐ, κόγχη, or square in which the altar stands; it is entered through two doors, one being to the north of the κόγχη, and the other at the east end of the left aisle or side nave. Here the ܒܝܬ ܣܘܒܟܪ, or place where Compline was sung, must have been immediately before the door of the martyrium and have formed the left part of what Badger calls the chancel, *i. e.*, the space before the closed κόγχη, where the lecterns stood. In this case that part of the church was accessible to every body, and the appearance of this woman in it can be readily explained.

to receive the few dried grapes which she had brought to him. And Rabban, knowing of the strange power that was hidden therein, answered and said to her, "Get thee gone, woman; I have harmed thee in no way, what hast thou to do with me? Light hath no portion with darkness, neither can the adorers of the Cross be participators in the table and the food[1] of devils." Now although [Rabban had spoken] thus, she nevertheless dared to throw the grapes down upon the doorstep of the martyrium before the holy old man, and she left [him] and went away. And as Rabban was singing the psalm, with the top of his staff he traced [a figure of] the Cross over and among them, and they were straightway changed into large, [p. 397] strong wasps. And they flew after that despicable woman and overtook her on the road, and they took vengeance upon her for the insult to the holy man, and they stung her upon her face and head, and she died immediately, and fell into the river;[2] and every man was astonished at the terrible death which had happened to the wretched woman.

And again the Calumniator, who wishes to make a mock of the holy men of our Lord, and who was lurking[3] in ambush and watching for the ruin of that mighty old man, into whom none of his arrows ever stuck,[4] and whom no spiritual or corporeal blemish ever touched, brought upon him, and upon his monastery innumerable trials, in which Rabban was victorious, and inflicted severe defeat upon his enemy, who

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[1] ܦܘܫܪܐ see *supra*, p. 390, note 1.

[2] *I. e.*, the Ḥâzer, خازر.

[3] ܟܡܝܢܐ, see *supra*, p. 661, note 3.

[4] ܢܩܦ, √ ܢܩܦ.

sometimes troubled him by the stubborn heathen, and sometimes by other afflictions.

Now there lived in the village of Bêth Òbhîd[1] a woman who was exceedingly beautiful, and she set the beauty with which mortal nature had endowed her as a stumbling-block for the children of the race of mankind, and Satan invited and led on this woman [to attempt] the ruin of this divine man. And she rose up and adorned herself like a harlot with all the ornaments which stir up lust for women in men, and she put *kohl*[2] on her eyes, and tired her head like Jezebel, and like Jezebel she also was about to drink the cup of the wrath of the Lord; and she hung upon herself all her ornaments of gold and silver, and she rose up and set out from the village and made her journey to the monastery of Rabban. Now Rabban was among a great crowd of people who were sick and afflicted with devils, and she also went in among them all breathing forth the evil smelling scent of her perfumes, and she waited until every one had gone forth on his way. And when she saw that Rabban remained alone she dared to stand before him with her face uncovered, [p. 398] and she showed him her beauty without shame. And Rabban answered in his accustomed gracious manner, and said to her, "What is the cause of thy

[1] *I. c.*, بيت عُبَيْد.

[2] Compare 2 Kings ix. 30; and Jeremiah iv. 30. The √ כחל occurs in Ezekiel xxiii. 40; compare تَكَحَّل, to paint the eyes with كُحْل. The use of *mestchemet* or "eye-paint" in Egypt is as old as the time of Unas, who reigned about B. C. 3300, and a wall painting at Beni-hasàn in Upper Egypt proves that as early as about B. C. 2500 *mestchemet* or "eye paint" was brought to Egypt from Syria.

coming here?" and the audacious woman said to him, "I have come to thee that I may sleep with thee this night and that thou mayest be united with me." And Rabban was passionately enraged with her, and he cursed her, and she fell down on her face straightway, and he called brother Kûphrâ his servant to gather her up, and commanded him to drag her outside; and she went to her village in great pain, and on the morning of the morrow she was buried, and behold she was reserved for a judgment more bitter than death. And this thing was known to all who dwelt in the country, and they glorified our Lord Who made the holy man victorious, because by the memory of her [whom] the holy man burnt up with his curses and destroyed, the lust of the lascivious perished.

And on a certain day the heathen from the hamlets round about came by night and fell upon Bêth Ḥêsîkhê,[1] the forest[2] of the monastery, with axes and scythes, and they mercilessly hacked and hewed and threw down [the trees]; and they at the same time were making threats against the monastery, saying, "We will burn it with fire, and we will make it a waste place as if it had never existed;" and when the sacristan went out to strike the board for morning [prayer], he heard the noise of those that were cutting the trees, and he

[1] ܒܝܬ ܚܣܝܟܐ, *i. e.*, the dense thicket of the forest which hid and protected the monastery. For the word ܚܣܝܟܐ used in this sense compare ܠܒܪ ܡܢ ܥܒܐ ܘܚܣܝܟܐ ܕܩܝܣܐ "outside the woods and places defended by trees;" see Cureton, *John of Ephesus*, p. 402, l. 24; and Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 1331. A Monastery of ܚܣܝܟܐ is mentioned in *B. O.*, ii. p. 65, l. 26.

[2] Read ܥܒܐ.

went in and informed Rabban. And the holy man went out to speak with them, and to admonish them for their daring behaviour, but the children of destruction poured out insulting words upon him, and with bitter pain in his heart he cursed them as Elisha cursed the children,[1] and straightway the angel of the Lord slew them with the exception of one who remained [alive] to proclaim their audacious behaviour. Thus the prayer of this altar of prayer was heard and accepted, [p. 399] and at the first moving of his request the work [of destruction] was performed.

And again Satan, who desired their destruction, inflamed [the hearts of] the inhabitants of a village called Bêth Ṭîmai,[2] who were heathen, and evil livers, and thieves, to come and smite the monks and to plunder the community; and when they had come and many of the brethren had been badly wounded, and had had their bones broken by them, the [other] brethren went in and informed Rabban of the audacious violence[3] of those godless men. And Rabban admonished the brethren, saying, "My sons, for the sake of Christ, your Lord, endure insults and blows from [your] enemies, for He said, 'In the world ye shall have tribulation';[4] and what man or what saint ever departed from [this] world

[1] 2 Kings ii. 23.

[2] ܒܝܬ ܛܝܡܝ Hoffmann considers to be a name of endearment or a diminutive of ܒܝܬ ܛܝܡܬܐܘܣ.

[3] ܡܬܒܥܒܢܘܬܐ. Compare ܡܪܕܢ, Hoffmann, *Syr.-Arab. Glossen*, No. 1378, p. 48; ܡܪܕܢ ܕܡܪܕܐ, Ahrens, *Buch der Naturgegenstände*, p. 14, l. 1; and ܠܐ ܡܣܬܟܝܢ ܗܘܝܢ ܠܡܪܕܢ Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. ܗ, l. 20.

[4] St. John xvi. 33.

without affliction?" And while Rabban was admonishing and exhorting his disciples with such words as these, those men from Bêth Ṭîmai seized the herd of cattle [belonging] to the community and departed, and they hid themselves in a certain place called Bêth Saphwân,[1] so that when the night came they might carry the oxen away unobserved[2] to a distance and sell them. Now when it was evening Rabban went forth after them secretly, and he went into the wood and took with him two fierce lions, and drew near to those wretched men. And when they saw him and the lions, [one] on his right hand, and [one] on his left, and saw that they were ready at his command to swiftly destroy them, mounting upon rocks, and hiding in caves they adjured him by his God to take what belonged to him, and to save their lives from destruction by those cruel lions; and they swore to him that they would never come back to the monastery. And the holy man spake to them darkly, saying, "I trust in God, [p. 400] Whom I serve, that from this day and henceforth ye will need neither to buy nor to sell, nor to go forth outside the borders of your village, but that ye may rest in relaxation and peace for ever, and that ye may not wake up until the time appointed beforehand for this universe." And the men worthy of woe rose up and went to their village, and the Lord destroyed them in a short time, and their village was made a desolation for ever, so much so that even its name and memorial were blotted out entirely from this earth. And the holy man took the herd of cattle and returned

[1] ܨܦܘܢ for ܙܦܘܢ, like ܡܨܒܥܬܐ for ܡܙܒܥܬܐ.

[2] We should read something like ܕܠܐ ܚܙܘܐ ܕܐܢܫܐ.

to the monastery in the evening when it was quite dark; and this wonder was proclaimed throughout all the country.

And again when the ʿAmran bar-Muḥammad—whom we have mentioned above[1]—had gone in and inherited the lands [round about], and with them also Nîram of the shepherds, in which he lived, because of the love which he had for this righteous man—for he had actually done what Rabban asked him [to do]—he called to one of his servants and said to him, "Go to Rabban Gabriel and say to him, if he has a little wheat, let him lend it to us, and as soon as we bring the corn into the granary we will pay him double." Now it was the season of Nîsân[2] when it happeneth that many people are in need [of wheat]. And when he that had been sent had come [to Rabban], the holy old man rose up and shewed him a hollow[3] in the ground, that is to say, a pit, full of wheat, and said to him, "Behold, my son, take all this wheat and carry it to thy master". And this servant took up out of the pit as many loads as he pleased, leaving, however, some behind, for he was mindful not to take all the grain, having compassion for the brethren that they themselves might not lack. And he left [the monastery] and went to ʿAmran, and when ʿAmran asked him if any [wheat] was left in the pit, he was afraid of his master's violence, and told him, saying, "I did leave a little there for the food of the monastery and of the old man." [p. 401] Then ʿAmran according to his cruel disposition asked him

[1] See pp. 450, 656.

[2] *I. e.*, "springtime".

[3] ܡܛܡܘܪܬܐ. See Bk. v. chap. 11, *supra*, p. 513, note 2.

to go back and bring also what was left, saying, "Rabban Gabriel will lack nothing." And when the servant had gone back to the old man he made the matter known to Rabban, who answered and said to him, "O my son, I have lent all the pitful [of wheat] to 'Amran, do not therefore leave anything in it that thou dost not carry away." And when the servant went to the pit he opened it and saw, and behold it was full to the top as before, and he looked and was astonished, and he went back having loaded the mule, and related [the matter] to his master, who marvelled and was astonished, and did not send again [to Rabban]. How wonderful is the love of God towards holy men, who having elected to live in penury and to be unpraised and unknown, in that, contrary to their wishes, it leadeth on their part to[1] the praise of His great power, and in such a way that they provoke those who love its excellence! And this holy person who was beloved by his Lord wrought many most astonishing things which were full of His glory. This man was a prosperous gardener who fenced round his own vineyard with the sure hedge of keeping the commandments, that [wild animals][2] might not enter in and destroy the fruits of his sweetness. He was a wise builder who dug down deep and laid the walls of his house firmly upon the sure rock of belief, that they might not move by reason of the blast of the mighty winds of pride, and that the thief might not enter in and spoil the riches of his treasure. He was a faithful

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[1] The reading of BC ܒܥܒܕ is preferable here.

[2] We must add after ܦܐܪ̈ܐ ܕܚܠܝܘܬܗ some words like ܚܝ̈ܘܬܐ ܕܒܪܐ.

steward who laid upon the table[1] before those who sat at meat in his master's house the portion which had been entrusted to him. He was a diligent mariner who saved his valuable ship from the waves and storms, [p. 402] and who steered straight out of them for the quiet harbour. He was a merchant [who] understood what was advantageous for him, and who laid up his treasures in heaven above[2] where the fingers of thieves draw not nigh to plunder the riches of the prosperous. He was a soldier without blame who went forth to meet the enemies of his Lord, and who never turned his back until he had destroyed them. He was a husbandman who sowed the seed wisely, and who cleansed the field of his thoughts from every plant of stubborn tares, and he shewed his field [to be] full of choice fat wheat. He was a valiant warrior who conquered all the armies of the mighty Philistines[3] who had driven out the upright from the land of promise. He was a Gideon[4] victorious in the wars of the Lord, who pursued spiritual Midianites, and took the gold and the crescents[5] of their camels, and plundered them until he had made them pass from out of his dominion. It was in such a manner that he was victorious, and these and such-

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[1] The allusion here is to his ministering at the Eucharist.

[2] St. Matthew vi. 20.

[3] *I. e.*, the heathen Kurds and Persians.

[4] Judges viii. 21.

[5] ܣܗܪ̈ܘܢܐ, Heb. שַׂהֲרֹנִים, Chald. סַהֲרֹנַיָּא "little moons". In Hoffmann, *Opuscula*, p. 96, l. 5, this word is explained by ܡܘܢܟ̈ܐ ܣܗܪܢܝ̈ܐ ܗܢܘܢ ܛܘܪܩ̈ܐ ܕܡܬܢܣܟܝܢ ܒܕܡܘܬ ܣܗܪܐ ܚܕܬܐ "crescents-haped collars (or neck-chains), that is torques, which are cast in the shape of the new moon". Another explanation is (Payne Smith, *Thes.*, col. 2539) "Chains of gold like unto the moon, that is to say the half

like triumphs did he exhibit. What speech can fathom the hidden virtues of this man, and bring [them] to the light and shew their glorious character? It is meet that his praises should be recited by blessed and righteous men whose discourse is savoury and sweet, in that it hath been seasoned with the salt of chastity, and not by ignorant men who are overwhelmed in sin like myself. It is meet that thy noble triumphs should be set down in writing, O pearl of asceticism, wherefore we have made bold to write [the history of them]. We will attribute honour to thy love, and we will award gratitude to thy holiness, in order that the dust of thy limbs, which alive or dead, driveth away devils, and the vessel in which thy body is laid, may be known by the prudent and not be despised. And although it was pleasing to thee in thy life and in thy death to follow after humility, [p. 403] yet if [thy triumphs] remain unknown they will bring injury and harm [upon men]; [therefore we have written them] that they may be a benefit[1] to them. To thee be praise and to thy Lord glory!

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moon, in which are set precious stones; they also call ܩܕܫܐ that [piece of] iron which is made like the half moon, and which the Arabs put on their camels above their nostrils." The Arabs call every thing which has the form of a crescent or new moon أَهِلَّة.

[1] The MSS. have ܠܡܣܘܪܢܐ, but read ܠܡܘܬܪܢܐ.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE LAMENTABLE DEATH OF RABBAN GABRIEL, AND OF HIS DEPARTURE TO THE WORLD OF JOY.

And how much longer shall we weary [our] listeners with our common and ignorant words? After these things then, let us proceed and advance to the sickness which smote the holy man, and to those things which happened during his illness, so that with the end of his career we may also bring our lines to a close. Now while that holy man was bringing down this and such-like help upon all mankind, one by one the years of his life came to an end, and old age and feebleness troubled him; day by day he began to complete the path of his journey in this world and to set out on the paths of death, so that he also might go and join all the saints in the never-ending mansions for which and because of which he had toiled all his days. And the holy man fell ill of a disease of the bowels and suffered from diarrhoea for four months, like the majority of the holy men who have departed and who will depart from the world. And at the end of the months of his sickness the report of his departure from this life was carried to all the nobles and governors of the country, and they were gathered together and came to see him. [p. 404] And the honourable and noble Zâdôi bar-Zadhbhâh, [who] is worthy of mention for good because of his noble deeds and his protection of the schools,—for he had taken upon himself the burden of maintaining them—was also among the many who came to the monastery to see the holy man, and the honourable Zâdôi, who was sitting behind Rabban, supported him in the hour of his death, and he was

grieved at the departure[1] of the holy old man. And while all the brethren were standing before him, (now some of them were sitting) the eyes of the blessed man dropped tears of grief, and he wept abundantly. And when the brethren saw that he wept, all the believers wept also, saying to him, "If thou weepest, Rabban, and art grieved at thy departure, what shall we who are sinners do?" He said to them, "I am not afraid of death, neither am I grieved at my departure, but I am afraid of the judgment of our Lord, for God judgeth by fire. If Saint Paul was terrified at the judgment hall of God and said, 'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God,'[2] who am I that I should not be stupefied with terror? For I know not what the Judge will make me hear there, or what answer He will return to me, for I know not whether my work will be pleasing before Him or not. And behold I am going along[3] a road upon which I have not journeyed, and to a judgment hall of sin into which I have not entered, and the face of the Judge is terrible towards sinners, among whom I am reckoned. His Holy Cross shall be an advocate for me before His justice, and I will take refuge in it;" and as the holy old man wept and [his] tears poured down wetting his beard and his neck, a cry went up to heaven from every man. [p. 405] And after the weeping and the tears the beauty of grace shone upon his countenance and drew forth great astonishment from every man, and the eyes of the brethren and of the believers looked upon him. And when they saw him in that changed

[1] Read ܒܡܘܢܚ.

[2] Hebrews x. 31.

[3] We must follow the reading of BC here.

condition of heavenly splendour, and saw that he had composed his mind and had become peaceful [after] his weeping, the brethren and monks answered and said to him, "Our father, to whom wilt thou leave us? From this day and henceforth who will hedge us in from before the enemies by whom we are surrounded? Whilst thou wast alive they swallowed us up alive, and when thou art dead what evil will they not make us suffer? They will certainly make a desolation of this poor monastery." The blessed man answered and said to them, "My brethren, take heed to your redemption and to your reward, and multiply [your] prayers for the Church and the government. Pray also for me that I may have openness of face before our Lord, [and if it be granted to me] by the fifth day of the week not one of your enemies shall remain alive;" and this actually came to pass according to the old man Rabban's word, for he departed [this] life at dawn on the fifth day of the week and by the following fifth day they had all come to an end and perished, [and], their lands[1] are made desolate unto this day. And having his mouth filled with praise, and admonishing and encouraging the brethren not to be cast down before the afflictions and sufferings and trials from within and without, he delivered up his soul to his Master and ended his valiant contest; and immediately the whole house in which he died was filled with a sweet smell. And the teachers, and scholars, and priests, and deacons, and believing men were gathered together and came to be blessed at the bier of the holy old man, [p. 406] and every man wept and was sad and mournful

[1] Read ܘܐܪ̈ܥܬܗܘܢ.

by reason of the departure of [their] father; the monks for their head and governor who watched on behalf of their souls; the widows for the supporter of their lives; the orphans for the foster-father of their destitution; the poor for the man who filled their bosoms with his crumbs; the wandering strangers and abjects for him that gathered together their wanderings [into a house]; the afflicted for the man who relieved their need; the troubled for the man who alleviated the pains of their wounds; the oppressed for him that delivered them from their oppressors; the sick for the physician who healed them for nothing; those who were in anguish for the consoler of their sorrow; and the rich because he made their alms wing their way to heaven. In his death the man who was entirely and in every way like unto Paul was lamented by every man. And the venerable and holy body, which was in truth the fountain of help, was borne with honour and laid in the south side of the martyrium in front of the shrine of the bones of the true ascetic Rabban Râ^{c}yâ, the disciple of Rabban Cyprian, for the holy Gabriel had commanded and strictly enjoined that the pavement[1] should be his grave, as it was that of Paul his brother, and commanded that no monument should be built above him. And so he was buried by all the grades of ecclesiastics in all the honour of which the majesty of that holy old age was worthy; and he left behind in the world the fair renown of his strife, and the sweet odour of his name. The death of the righteous is not death, but sleep.

And some days after his death and departure God

[1] Literally, "the place which is trodden upon."

wrought a wonderful thing. Two sick men vexed by devils were brought to this monastery, and when they had gone into the martyrium and had bowed down before Rabban's grave they received healing immediately.

And again a certain Persian, [p. 407] who was hostile to the monastery, came and took away an ass from the community by force; and when he had gone forth to depart the Lord smote him with a severe pain, and with an abundant gift he brought the ass back here.

To God now, for Whom holy men live, Who doeth for the benefit of our nature everything which He doeth in their lives and in their deaths, to Him Who hath made victorious the early [saints], Who hath sustained those who come next, and Who hath made mighty those who come last, be praise, and honour, and adoration, and exaltation, from every rational being who hath lived and who liveth. By the prayers of these saints whose histories we have recounted, may He make His blessings to accompany this assembly in all its crises, and may He extend to it His help, now and always, and for ever and ever! Amen.

Here endeth the book of the history of the life of Rabban Gabriel, the priest and true ascetic, and with it endeth [the whole work].

By the help of our Lord, and by the support of His power here endeth the writing of this book which is called the "Book of Governors," which consisteth of the histories, and noble triumphs, and profitable stories

concerning the holy men and ascetics who lived in the holy Monastery of Bêth 'Âbhê, together with discourses divided into distinct chapters, which shew forth all their histories, and which was composed by the divinely pious man and spiritual philosopher Mâr Thomas, Bishop of Margâ. May his prayers, and those of his master Mâr Jacob, and of the saints whose noble triumphs he wrote, be a high wall to all believers, [p. 408] especially to the poor scribe, and to the man who had this spiritual composition copied, and may the Lord God hold them worthy of the remission of [their] sins in the day of judgment! Amen.

BIBLE PASSAGES QUOTED OR REFERRED TO BY THOMAS, BISHOP OF MARGÂ.

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